THE

JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

With which are incorporated the Proceedings of the

Society of Biblical Archaeology



April 1937

April 15

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
74 GROSVENOR STREET, LONDON, W.1

Price Fifteen Shillings

LONDON
THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
74 GROSVENOR STREET W 1

RULES RELATING TO MEMBERSHIP AND SUBSCRIPTIONS

1. (a) Members shall be divided into three classes:—

(1) Resident Members; those who usually reside or have a place of business within the London Postal Area.

(2) Non-resident Members, those who usually reside outside and have not a place of business within, the above-stated Area.

(3) Honorary Members and Foreign Extraordinary Members admitted, as hereinafter provided.

(b) Members in the first two classes are hereinafter designated Ordinary Members

4 Any person desirous of becoming an Ordinary Member must be nominated by one Member and seconded by another, of whom one must act on a personal knowledge that the candidate is likely to be a suitable and useful Member; and the nominating Member shall address the Secretary in writing and give the candidate's name, address, and occupation, or status, and shall state to which of the aforesaid classes the candidate desires to be admitted Provided always that in the case of persons domiciled abroad, it shall be within the power of the Council on being satisfied as to the credentials of any particular candidate, to dispense with these conditions

17 The annual subscriptions of Ordinary Members shall be as follows —

	£	s	d
Resident Members	3	3	0
Non resident Members residing in the British Isles	2	2	0
Non-resident Members residing abroad	1	10	0

17A The Annual Subscription for Associates shall be as follows.—

	£	s	d
Library Associates	1	10	0
Student Associates		10	6

19 An Ordinary Member may compound for all future annual subscriptions by paying in lieu thereof one sum calculated according to the Member's age and category as follows:—

Under 40 years of age Eleven times the annual subscription as laid down in Rule 17

Between 40 and 60 years of age Nine times the annual subscription as laid down in Rule 17

Over 60 years of age: Seven times the annual subscription as laid down in Rule 17

23 The first payment of subscription is due on election, but if a Member be elected in November or December of any year, the first annual subscription paid by him shall cover the year beginning on the 1st January next after his election

24. Annual subscriptions shall be due on the first day of January of each year

---

Every member of the Society whose subscription is paid is entitled to receive the quarterly JOURNAL post free

P T O

When proposing a candidate for election, this form may be filled in and sent to the Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society, 74 Grosvenor Street, London, W. 1. Certificate of Recommendation to be made out in block capitals.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

CERTIFICATE OF RECOMMENDATION

being desirous of becoming a Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, *we, whose names are hereunto subscribed, being Members of the said Society, do hereby recommend to the Society as a Candidate.*

Members { *Proposer*
Seconder

Revised Price List. April, 1937.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS

ON SALE AT THE ROOMS OF THE SOCIETY

74 GROSVENOR STREET, LONDON.

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND

NEW SERIES

8vo.

(1–5) REHATSEK (E.). Mīr Khwānd's "Rauẓat-us-Safā" or "Garden of Purity". 1891 to 1894. 12*s*. 6*d*. a volume.

(6) TAWNEY (C. H.). The Kathā Koṣa. 1895. 12*s*.6*d*.

(7) RIDDING (Miss C. M.). Bāṇa's Kādambarī. 1896. 12*s*. 6*d*. *Out of print*

(8) COWELL (E. B.) and THOMAS (F. W.). Bāṇa's Harṣa Carita. 1897. Reprinted. 1929. 12*s*. 6*d*.

(9) CHENERY (T.). The first twenty-six Maḳāmātat of al Ḥarīrī. 1898. 1926. 12*s*. 6*d*.

(10) STEINGASS (F.). The last twenty-four Maḳāmāta of al Ḥarīrī. 1898. 12*s*. 6*d*.

(11) GASTER (M.). The Chronicles of Jeraḥmeel; being a collection of the most ancient Biblical legends translated for the first time from the unique Hebrew MS. in the Bodleian, with an introduction, full of literary parallels, copious index and five facsimile reproductions of the Hebrew MS. 1899. 12*s*. 6*d*.

(12) DAVIDS (Mrs. Rhys). The Dhamma Sangaṇi. 1900. Reprinted. 1923. 12*s*. 6*d*.

(13) BEVERIDGE (Mrs. H.). Life and Memoirs of Gulbadan Begum. 1902, 1927. 12*s*. 6*d*.

(14, 15) WATTERS (T.). On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, 629–645. Edited by T. W. Rhys Davids and S. W. Bushell. 1904–5. 12*s*. 6*d*. a volume.

(16) Whinfield (E. H.) and Mirzâ Muḥammad Ḳazwînî. The Lawâ'iḥ of Jâmî. Facsimile of an old MS., with a translation and a preface on the influence of Greek philosophy upon Sufism. 1914. Reprinted, 1928. 7*s*. 6*d*.

(17) Barnett (L. D.). Antagaḍa-dasão and Aṇuttaroavvâiya-dasão. From the Prakrit. 1907. 6*s*. 6*d*.

(18) Keith (A Berriedale). The Sâṅkhâyana Âraṇyaka. 1908. 6*s* 6*d*

(19, 22) Rogers (A) and Beveridge (H.). Memoirs of Jahângir Translated Vol I, 1909 Vol. II, 1914. 12*s*. 6*d*. a volume. *Out of print*

(20) Nicholson (R A) The Tarjumân al-Ashwâq of Ibn al-'Arabî. Text and Translation. 1911 7*s* 6*d*.

(21) Wardrop (Miss M) The Man in the Panther's Skin. By Shot'ha Rust'haveli 1912 12*s* 6*d*.

(23) Wardrop (O) Visramiani The Story of the Loves of Vis and Ramin A romance of Ancient Persia Translated from the Georgian Version 1914 12*s* 6*d*

(24) Ui (H) Vaiśeṣika Philosophy, according to the Daśapadârtha-Śâstra Chinese Text and Translation Edited by F W Thomas 1917 7*s* 6*d*

(25) Salmon (W H) The Ottoman Conquest of Egypt from the Arabic Chronicle of Ibn Iyâs 1921 5*s*

(26) Gaster (M) The Asatir, or The Samaritan Book of the " Secrets of Moses " 1927 12*s* 6*d*

(27) Margoliouth (D S) The Table-talk of a Mesopotamian Judge, being the first part of the Nishwâr al-Muhadarah or Jâmi' al Tawârikh of Abu 'Alî al-Muhassin al-Tanûkhi (*text*) Edited from the Paris MS 1921. 12*s*. 6*d*

(28) Margoliouth (D S) Translation of the above. 1922 12*s* 6*d*

(29) Miller (W M) Al-Bâbu 'L-Ḥâdî 'Ashar" A Treatise on the Principles of Shî'ite Theology by Ḥasan B Yûsuf B. 'Alî Ibnu'l-Mutahhar al-Ḥillî. Translation. 1928 10*s*

(30) STEPHENSON (J.). The Zoological Section of the Nuzhatu-l-Qulūb of Ḥamdullāh al-Mustaufī al-Qazwīnī. Edited, translated, and annotated. 1928. 15*s*.

(31) JORGENSEN (HANS). Vicitrakarṇikāvadānoddhṛta. Nevārī Text and Translation. 1931. 12*s*. 6*d*.

(32) THOMAS, F. W. Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents from Chinese Turkestan. Vol. I. 1935. 20*s*. (*Vol. II in the Press.*)

(33) GRIERSON, G. A. Puruṣa Parīkṣā or Test of a Man. 1935. 12*s*. 6*d*.

(34) ROBSON, J. Ibn abi'l Dunga's Kitāb al-Malāhī. (*In the Press*).

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY MONOGRAPHS

8vo.

(1) GERINI (G. E.). Researches on Ptolemy's Geography (Further India and the Indo-Malay Peninsula). 1909. 15*s*.

(2) WINTERNITZ (M.). Catalogue of South Indian Sanskrit MSS. belonging to the R.A.S., with an Appendix by F. W. Thomas. 1902. 5*s*.

(3) HIRSCHFELD (H.). New Researches into the Composition and Exegesis of the Qoran. 1902. *Out of print.*

(4) DAMES (M. Longworth). The Baloch Race. 1904. 4*s*.

(5) LE STRANGE (G.). Mesopotamia and Persia in the Fourteenth Century A.D., from the Nuzhat-al-Ḳulūb of Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī. 1903. *Out of print.*

(6) BROWNE (E. G.). Chahár Maqála of Niḏhámí-i-'Arúḍí-i-Samarqandí. 1899. *Out of print.*

(7) CODRINGTON (O.) A Manual of Musalman Numismatics. 1904. 7*s*. 6*d*

(8) GRIERSON (G. A.). The Piśāca Languages of North-Western India. 1906. *Out of print.*

(9, 10) DAMES (M. Longworth). Popular Poetry of the Baloches. Text and translation. Two vols. 1907. 15*s*.

(11) SAYCE (A. H.) and PINCHES (T. G.). The Tablet from Yuzgat in the Liverpool Institute of Archæology. 1907. 4*s*.

(12) BAILEY (T. Grahame). The Languages of the Northern Himalayas, being studies in the Grammar of Twenty-six Himalayan Dialects. 1908. *Out of print.*

(13) BAILEY (T. Grahame). Kanauri Vocabulary. 1911. 2*s*. 6*d*.

(14) LE STRANGE (Guy). Description of the Province of Fārs, in Persia, from the MS. of Ibn-al-Balkhī. 1912. 4*s*.

(15) BRANDSTETTER (R.). An Introduction to Indonesian Linguistics, translated by C. O. Blagden. 1916. 7*s*. 6*d*.

(16) PINCHES (T. G.). Babylonian Tablets of the Berens Collection. 1915. 4*s*.

(17) GRIERSON (G. A.) and BARNETT (L. D.). Lallā-Vākyāni. Edit. with translation. 1920. 10*s*.

(18) BAILEY (T. Grahame). Linguistic Studies from the Himalayas. 1915. 10*s*.

(19) GAIRDNER (W. H. T.). Al-Ghazzālī's Mishkāt al-Anwār. A Translation with Introduction. 1924. 5*s*.

(20) PRAN NATH. A Study in the Economic Condition of Ancient India. 1929. 12*s*. 6*d*.

(21) THOMAS (Bertram). The Kumzari Dialect of the Shihuh Tribe, Arabia, and a Vocabulary. 1930. 2*s*. 6*d*.

(22) FISCHEL (W. J.). Jews in the Economic and Political Life of Mediaeval Islam. 1937. 12*s*. 6*d*.

PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND

8vo

(1) HULTZSCH (E.). Prākritarūpāvatāra of Simharāja. The Text in Nāgari characters, with Notes, Introduction and Index. 1909. 5*s*.

(2) BODE (Mrs. M. H.). The Pali Literature of Burma. 1909. 5*s*.

(3) HULTZSCH (E.). The Meghadūta with Vallabha's Commentary. 1911. 5s.

(4) BRAY (D de S.). The Life-history of a Brāhūī. 1913. 5s

(5) GRIERSON (G. A.). Ishkāshmī, Zēbakī and Yāzghulāmī. 1920. 7s. 6d.

(6) LORIMER (D. L. R). The Phonology of the Bakhtiari, Badakhshani and Madaglashti Dialects of Modern Persian. 1922. 5s.

(7) STCHERBATSKY (Th.). The Central Conception of Buddhism and the meaning of the word Dharma. 1923. 12s 6d.

(8) BAILEY (T. Grahame). Grammar of the Shina (Ṣiṇā) Language 1924. 7s. 6d.

(9) RANDLE (H N.) Fragments from Dinnāga 1926. 6s.

(10) MALALASEKARA (G P.). The Pali Literature of Ceylon. 1928 10s

(11) GRIERSON (G A) Torwali An account of a Dardic Language of the Swat Kohistan. 1929. 12s. 6d.

(12) WOLFENDEN (S. N) Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Morphology 1930. 15s.

(13) IVANOW (W). A Guide to Ismaili Literature. 1933 9s

(14) LICHTENSTADTER (I) Women in the Aiyam al-Arab. 1935. 5s.

(15) JOHNSTON (E H) Early Sāmkhya (*In the Press*)

JAMES G. FORLONG FUND

(1) HODSON (T. C.). The Primitive Culture of India. 1922 6s.

(2) GIBB (H. A. R.). The Arab Conquests in Central Asia. 1923. 5s.

(3) RICHMOND (E. T.) Moslem Architecture. 623–1516. 1926 12s. 6d.

(4) Ross (E. Denison). Ta'rīkh-i Fakhru'd-dín Mubáraksháh Edited from a unique manuscript. 1927. 7s. 6d.

(5) Trenckner (V.). The Milindapañho: the Pali Text. New edition with General Index by C. J. Rylands and Index of Gāthās by Mrs. Rhys Davids. 1928. 12s. 6d.

(6) Ḥasan (Hādī) Falakī-i-Shirwānī. His Times, Life and Works. 1929 12s. 6d

(7) Varma (S) Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians. 1929. 12s. 6d.

(8) Isemonger (N. E) The Elements of Japanese Writing. 1929 £1 5s

(9) Ḥasan (Hādī). Falakī-i-Shirwānī. Dīwān. 1929 10s

(10) Juwaynī Ta'rīkh-i-Jahān-Gushāy of Juwaynī, vol iii Being a facsimile of a manuscript dated A.H. 690 belonging to Wahid-ul-Mulk With an Introduction by Sir E Denison Ross 1931. 7s 6d

(11) Wingate (R O) and Ross (E Denison) Dialogues in the Eastern Turki Dialect on Subjects of Interest to Travellers 1934 4s 6d

(12) Yoshitake, (S) Phonetic System of Ancient Japanese. 1934 6s

(13) Sutton Page, (W.) An Introduction to Colloquial Bengali 1934 10s 6d.

(14) Dave, (T N) A Study of the Gujarati Language in the Sixteenth Century (v s) 1935 10s 6d

(15) Read (A F C) Balti Grammar 1934 8s 6d.

B. C. LAW TRUST SERIES

By the generosity of Dr. Bimala C Law of Calcutta a Trust has been founded to facilitate the publication of Monographs on Buddhism, Jainism and Ancient Indian History and Geography up to the end of the Thirteenth Century A D.

ORIENTAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Report on the Terminology and Classification of Grammar. Oxford University Press. 1930. 1s.

Centenary Volume of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1823–1923, compiled and edited by F. E. Pargiter. 7s. 6d.

Centenary Supplement. 1924. 7s. 6d.

Decade Index of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1920–9. Paper Covers similar to JOURNAL, each 1s.; Bound in paper boards, each 1s 6d.; Bound in paper boards and interleaved, each 2s.

Members are entitled to buy these publications at 25 per cent discount.

2d *in the shilling allowed to the trade.*

3d *in the shilling allowed to the trade if paid on purchase or in advance.*

4d *in the shilling allowed to the trade for purchase of any one publication to the amount of £10 and upwards if paid on purchase or in advance, and for purchase of various publications to the amount of £20 and upwards if paid on purchase or in advance The publications mentioned above, in connection with discount to the trade, do not include either the Journal of the Society or its Index.*

Nett charges for the advertisement of Oriental publications

		£	s.	d.
Inside of Cover	**Whole page**	**5**	**0**	**0**
" "	**Half** "	**2**	**10**	**0**
" "	**Quarter** "	**1**	**5**	**0**
On Fly-leaf	**Whole** "	**2**	**10**	**0**
" "	**Half** "	**1**	**5**	**0**
" "	**Quarter** "	**0**	**15**	**0**
Insertion of Loose Sheets	**Unfolded—**			
	Not exceeding 8 × 5 in	**1**	**0**	**0**
	Folded	**2**	**0**	**0**

Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland

74 GROSVENOR STREET, LONDON, W.1

PATRON

HIS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY THE KING.

VICE-PATRONS

FIELD-MARSHAL HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT

THE VICEROY OF INDIA.
THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS

1925 THE RIGHT HON. LORD CHALMERS, P C., G C B , F B A.
1925 SIR GEORGE A GRIERSON, O.M., K C.I E., PH D , D.LITT.

COUNCIL OF MANAGEMENT FOR 1935-36.

PRESIDENT

1934 PROFESSOR D S. MARGOLIOUTH, M A , D.LITT , F.B A.

DIRECTOR

1934 SIR E DENISON ROSS, KT , C I E , PH D , D LIT

VICE-PRESIDENTS

1934 L. D BARNETT, ESQ , M A , LITT D
1935 C OTTO BLAGDEN, ESQ , M A , HON D LITT
1933 SIR WILLIAM FOSTER, KT , C I E
1934 SIR EDWARD MACLAGAN, K C S I , K.C I E , M A

HONORARY OFFICERS

1919 A G ELLIS, ESQ , M A (*Hon Librarian*)
1935 C E A W OLDHAM, ESQ , C S I. (*Hon Secretary*)
1923 E S M PEROWNE, ESQ , F S A (*Hon Treasurer*)

ORDINARY MEMBERS OF COUNCIL

1935 R E ENTHOVEN, ESQ , C I E
1936 C. J. GADD, ESQ., M.A.
1934 M GASTER, PH D
1935 REV PROFESSOR A GUILLAUME
1934 L C HOPKINS, ESQ , I S O
1935 E H JOHNSTON, ESQ , D LITT
1935 PROFESSOR S H LANGDON, M A , B D , PH D , F B A
1936 LIEUT.-COL D L. R LORIMER, C I E , I A
1936 SIR JOHN MARSHALL, KT., C.I E , M A , LITT D , F.S A.
1935 R S LE MAY, ESQ , PH D
1934 R A NICHOLSON, ESQ , LITT D , F B A
1934 H N RANDLE, ESQ , M A , PH D
1935 A S TRITTON, ESQ , D LITT
1935 PROFESSOR R L TURNER, M C , M A , LITT D
1934 SIR OLIVER WARDROP, K B E , C M G , M A
1936 PROFESSOR W PERCEVAL YETTS, O.B.E , D LIT., M.R.C S

SECRETARY AND LIBRARIAN

1930 COL D M. F HOYSTED, C B E , D S.O.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY

1925 MRS M DAVIS

ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN

1932 MRS F M G CARDEW

HON SOLICITORS

MESSRS T. L. WILSON & CO
Westminster Chambers, 5 Victoria Street, S.W. 1

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY'S JOURNAL

April, 1937

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

PAGE

India

Art, Archaeology, Anthropology

Biblical Archaeology

Cuneiform

Islam

ERRATA

JRAS, January, 1937.

p 134 Line 2. " J H Burkill " should be " I H. Burkill ".

p 134 last line but one After " language " insert " (p 222) ".

p. 135 Line 5. For " (p 1923) " read " (p 1933) ".

JRAS., July, 1936.

p 537 Line 19 For " Wilhelm " read " Willem "

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY 1937

PART II—APRIL

Archaic Chinese Characters

Being some intensive studies in them

PART II

BY L. C. HOPKINS

The origin of the character 去 *ch'u*, to go away; to dismiss, do away with, deprive of

THE solution about to be proposed is quite new. By such Chinese specialists as may see it, if any, I confidently expect it to be derided By the few Western students who concern themselves with this branch of inquiry, it will perhaps seem rather improper, rather improbable, and "rather interesting, all the same"

The present usually accepted account of the origin of the form of this character is based on the Lesser Seal scription found in the *Shuo Wen*, which is And this is said to represent a dish with a cover [1] I believe this explanation is due to the author of the *Phonetic Shuo Wen*, 說文通訓定聲 *Shuo Wen t'ung hsun ting shêng*, an authority much consulted by both Chalmers and Wieger.

[1] Chalmers, *The Structure of Chinese Characters*, p 46, and 18, and Wieger, *Chinese Characters* (English version), "an empty vessel and its cover," p. 103.

Now let us see what the *Shuo Wen* says under this character *ch'ü*, its 172nd Radical, and what it does *not* say. It devotes just eight words to the entry, four to the explanation of the word, and *four* to the analysis of the character. Those of the explanation are 人相違也 *jên hsiang wei yeh*, "A man departing." (or, more literally, "a man turning his back on. . . .") This is followed by 从大凵聲 *ts'ung ta ch'ü shêng*, "Composed of *ta* and *ch'u* for the sound." And here we should bear in mind an important distinction drawn by the author of the *Shuo Wen* in his analytic treatment of characters. It is this. When, as here, in his view, one component of a character is present only for the sake of its sound, he uses the single word 聲 *sheng*, "sound." When, as he believes, the component, besides indicating the sound, contributes also to the meaning of the full character, then the formula is 亦聲 *i sheng*, "also phonetic." Hence, clearly, Hsu Shen did not believe that the element 凵 had anything in common with 去 *ch'u* but the sound.

So then, we should note that under this character 去 *ch'u*, his 172nd Radical, the author says nothing at all about its probable meaning "at first a dish with a cover". I desire to emphasize this silence.

But under his 171st Radical, written 凵 as the Lesser Seal norm but 凵, when occurring in his own explanatory text Hsu writes as follows, 凵盧飯器以柳為之象形 *ch'u lu fan ch'i i liu wei chih hsiang hsing*, "*Ch'u-lü*, A food vessel made of wicker. A pictogram." It is this passage which has been lifted from its proper place by some later editor (I suppose the author of the *Phonetic Shuo Wen*), and applied to elucidate the succeeding Radical 去 *ch'ü*, whose lower element is alleged to be a food vessel, while, to put the lid on the matter (so to speak), the upper element in the Lesser Seal, as previously shown, is alleged to represent the vessel's cover.

This conjectural analysis has hitherto held the field. But when the results of the Honan excavations came to be

examined, certain forms of the character *ch'ü* 去 were disclosed, earlier than any previously recorded, which render the standing explanation so incongruous as to be untenable. Here are four examples in illustration and support of that assertion.

[1]

1 2 3 4

Will anyone maintain that a primitive artist desiring to represent a food vessel and its cover, would have drawn a design of such patently disproportionate relations between the two parts as are shown in the above figures? No. We must try back to the text of the *Shuo Wen*, and to the brief and useful note on it by the great scholar Tuan Yü-ts'ai. It touches both the explanation and the analysis of the character given by Hsü Shên. On the former, 人相違也 *jên hsiang wei yeh*, Tuan glosses, 違離也 *wei li yeh*, "*wei*, to turn the back on, is equivalent to *li*, to separate"; and then adds, 人離故从大大者人也 *jên li ku ts'ung ta, ta chê jên yeh*, "A man separating, hence composed with 大 *ta*, 大 is 人 *jên*, man." This last is a pregnant saying, and cannot be left unnoticed.

On the face of it, it appears incorrect. *Ta* means *great*, it does not mean *man* How then does Tuan come to use such a seemingly paradoxical phrase? It is because he knew and bore in mind a feature in the construction of compound characters, well understood and illustrated by the author of the *Shuo Wen* (as for instance in the character before us), but either unrealized or ignored by some later writers. In most cases of compound characters where a component element is not used for the sake of its sound, it is embodied for one of two reasons.

The first and far the commonest is when the component form is used for the sake of the meaning of the spoken word

[1] Fig. 1, *Y.H.S.K.*, Hou Pien, 上, p. 12; (2) *Y.H.S.K.*, Ch. 6, p. 37; (3) Yin Ch'i I Ts'un, Bone 98; (4) Ibid., Bone 537.

to which ancient tradition and usage have assigned it: such, for instance, is 日 *jih* the sun, in 旦 *tan*, dawn.

But the second, far less often used, and less recognized when used, is the choice of a component for the sake of the figurative value of its design, and not for its typical function as a selected form to represent a particular unit of speech. Such a figurative value has the lower element in the complex  (cleverly equated by Yeh Yu-sên with the later and modern 春 *ch'un*, Spring) This lower element, though on the face of it seemingly the early form of 口 *k'ou*, mouth, was not so designed, but, as Kuo Mo-jo maintains, represents an ancient drawing of 盆 *p'en*, a tub or bowl, and the full character picturing "a plant in a tub joyously striving towards the splendour of its blooming" (盆 中 艸 木 欣 欣 向 榮 *p'ên chung ts'ao mu hsin hsin hsiang jung*)

And such a figurative value also has the original upper element in  *ch'ü* So did the author of the *Shuo Wen* understand it, when he wrote "a man departing". And so did his editor and commentator understand it as he glossed "大 *ta* is man", namely a linear figure of a man viewed frontally (or, dorsally) with arms extended and legs wide apart And so, last and least, do I conceive it, standing under the banner of the author, and the editor above named But now we part company

As will have been seen, Hsu Shên, in his *Shuo Wen* treats 去 *ch'ü* as a Phonetic Compound, the lower element supplying the sound This is where I dissent, and become deeply heterodox I disbelieve that this element 凵 in the Lesser Seal of the *Shuo Wen*,  in the Honan Bone examples, has any concern with the sound of *ch'ü*, or is the first syllable of the term *ch'ü-lu*, a food vessel

For consider the relevant facts. In the class of characters known as Phonetic Compounds, 諧 聲 *Hsieh Shêng*, one part was chosen to guide the reader to the sound of the whole combination. To do this it must be a character assumed to be known already to the limited ranks of literate persons. Is it

at all likely that at an early stage of writing a form representing one part of a disyllabic term for a humble wickerwork food vessel would have been in existence, and in use among the few official scribes attached to the courts of those primitive ages, to whom, almost alone probably, was confined the art and mystery of recording events and inquiries to spiritual beings? To me it seems most unlikely, and though the figure of this "food-vessel", 凵 or 𠙴 is the *Shuo Wen's* 171st Radical, it is followed there by no other characters, and may have been included by the author only because of his need to explain the succeeding 172nd Radical 去 *ch'ü*, as a Phonetic Compound. But the solution about to be proposed discards the view that 去 *ch'ü* was ever a Phonetic Compound. A few preliminary sentences will perhaps help to render my contention more credible despite its novelty.

Very early in their exacting task the designers of the primitive Chinese characters must have had to face one particular difficulty presented by the nature of their spoken language. This was their need to give visible signs or tokens to many words having highly generalized functions, as nouns, adjectives, or verbs, and applicable over a wide and indeterminate field of usage. The problem was obvious and exigent. How was it met? Let us discover this from a word and its character already familiar to us in the previous part of this entry, the word *ta*, great, and the early form 大 of its character. Clearly there was and could be no single visible design equally suited to a man or a mountain, a crime or a crocodile, an empire or an emotion. The only means open to the prehistoric artist was ingenious *selection*, the choice of some one of the many applications possible, to serve in the first place as an example of one of these, and then as a type of all. Something familiar, and yet likely to attract and arrest the attention was called for. What more familiar than *man*? And what better able to arrest the attention of the onlooker than a man seen frontally, and in his full dimensions,

arms extended from his sides and legs wide apart? So was displayed the physical quality of largeness in the figure of a great, big man. And thereby was invented the character now written 大 *ta*.

And these same considerations, as I submit, will provide us with a reasonable, pertinent, and credible solution of the construction of the character 去 *ch'ü*, but an altogether new one.

Although this word *ch'ü* in modern and especially in colloquial Chinese, is almost confined to the sense of going away, or bygone, its use in literary and historical writings is even more common as an active verb, to put, send, drive, away, to get rid of, to deprive of, thus 去火 *ch'ü huo*, to "drive away the fire", to reduce the inflammation, 去惡 *ch'ü o*, to put away evil, 去官 *ch'ü kuan*, to deprive of office, 去疾 *ch'ü chi*, to do away with disease (the remarkable personal name of a noble personage mentioned in the *Tso Chuan*). Here again the same difficulty in finding a visible figure that would be relevant to so many and such various relations between the subject of the verb to deprive of, and the objects of its action. So here again, a choice had to be made.

Now there is in Chinese an expression of two words, of which 去 *ch'ü* is the first, namely, 去勢 *ch'ü shih*, to deprive of virility. This term connoted a punishment in early days only too familiar, easier to illustrate than to endure, and when indicated graphically certain to arrest attention. It was therefore fitted to fulfil the conditions required in this type of character, as explained above. And it is as a selected example and illustration of this limited use of the term *ch'ü*, that, it is now submitted, the original figure and symbol  was conceived. Between the legs of the man and separated from him, is a small object, neither mouth, nor food vessel, nor tub, as elsewhere, but a crude symbol of the amputated emblem the deprivation of which constituted what the whole character aimed at suggesting, namely, Castration.

至 *Chih*, To come to, or go to, to reach.

Only a short note is needed upon the origin of this character. The Lesser Seal scription is . And Hsü Shên proceeds to explain it thus · 鳥飛從高下至地也 *niao fei ts'ung kao hsia chih ti yeh*, A bird flying from aloft and descending to the ground; composed with the stroke —, which is, as it were, the ground. He adds a so-called archaic form . Now the normal scription of 至 *chih* on the Honan Bones, where it is quite common, is , with very slight variations, such as And the same form is found on some of the older Bronzes, such as the 散氏盤 *San shih p'an* and the 同敦 *T'ung tui* And Lo Chên-yü is quoted in the *Chia Ku Hsueh* of Chu Fang-p'u 朱芳圃 (though not from Lo's *Yin Hsu Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih*) as pointing out that the scription in the Bronzes is , where all but the base line really depicts an arrow, and that in certain Bronzes quoted by him, the character or (modern 侯 *hou*, orig. a target) displays the inverted form of 矢 *shih*, arrow Hence in the archaic original of 至 *chih*, "the base line — is the ground, and is the arrow coming from afar descending to the ground; and is not the figure of a bird."

Lo Chên-yü might have adduced, had he known it, Longfellow's couplet, "I shot an arrow into the air, It fell to earth I know not where," and possibly the point might not have escaped him.

夏 *Hsia*. Summer, also a tribal or ethnic name.

This character has a remarkable, perhaps unique history. In its medieval phase, the Lesser Seal as recorded by Hsü Shên in his *Shuo Wen*, it is written thus , and described as a combination of 夊 *ch'iu*, to shuffle, 頁 *yeh*, the head, and 臼 *chü*, the two hands, and the author adds, 夊 is the two feet or legs, and gives as a *ku wên* form. He defines the

word *hsia* as 中國之人也 *chung kuo chih jên yeh*, "a man of China" (was this some curious distinction from 中國人也 *chung kuo jen yeh*, "a Chinaman," akin to that between our own Men of Kent and Kentish men ?) It is noticeable that Hsü Shên makes no mention of the sense of Summer in his entry, which altogether is not one of his most successful essays in hermeneutics

But the discovery of the Honan Relics and the systematic researches into their inscriptions by Chinese and Japanese scholars, in this particular instance especially by Mr Yeh Yü sên and Mr Tung Tso pin, have fairly turned the *Shuo Wen's* account of 夏 *hsia* inside out, and provided a fascinating and ingenious alternative

What we now learn from the Honan Bones is that during the Yin Dynasty there were in use not one but *two* words for summer, one pronounced with whatever was the contemporary sound of the modern 楙 *mou* the other with that of modern 夏 *hsia* *Mou* is found in full, and in several contracted variants, but in all cases preceded by the word *chin* 今, now, the present I need give 4 only,



1 2 3 4[1]

All these composites vary round a type now written 楙 *mou*, a word connoting luxuriance abundance, and when 日 *jih* sun or day was added to the character, this indicated its special application to the season of luxuriance Which season was that ? Mr Yeh Yü sen after citing the *Shuo Wen's* explanation that 楙 *mou* is luxuriant vegetation, 楙木盛也 *mou mu sheng yeh* observes 夏爲木盛之日，當卽夏之別構, *hsia wei mu sheng chih jih tang chi hsia chih pieh kou*, "Summer being the season of luxuriant vegetation, [楙 *mou*] should be another construction of *hsia*"

[1] 1 T'ieh yün Tsang Kuei p 22 2 Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i Vol 7, p 28 3 *Ibid* Vol 6, p 39 4 Yin Hsü Wen Tzŭ in the I Shu Ts'ung Pien No. 14, p 22

"Another construction" or framework must mean of the character 夏 *hsia*. Then Yeh's view must be that two totally different characters, normally having very different sounds, were currently used in the speech of Yin times for the word *hsia* meaning Summer

It may have been of course as Yeh thinks. But if I may suggest another explanation, it is that there may have been really two separate and unrelated words in contemporary use for Summer, one pronounced *mou*, meaning "the Growing season", and the other, *hsia*, the Summer, in the same way as in English, Autumn and Fall are equivalent terms.

The character 毌 *kuan*.

This is the 243rd of the *Shuo Wen's* so-called Radicles. It is obsolete now, being replaced by its augmented successor 貫, with the same sound, which is the first of its two dependent characters

The author's description of 毌 *kuan* is as follows: 穿物持之也从一橫毌毌象寶貨之形 *ch'uan huo ch'ih chih yeh, ts'ung i hêng* 毌, 毌 *hsiang pao huo chih hsing*; lit to perforate objects and hold them, composed with a horizontal stroke (—) piercing 毌, which depicts coinage. I have followed Tuan Yü ts'ai's "corrected" text, and I have rendered *pao huo*, lit valuable goods, by coinage

Such is the *Shuo Wen's* account of the character. But the discovery of the Honan Relics, which has raised more problems for us than it has helped to solve, has also led to numerous competing determinations which time alone can decide between

In this last group is a type covering several variants, of which the following are examples —

中 中 中 中 中 申.

On these six *forms*, Mr. Sun I-jang 孫詒讓 has the following note. After quoting in full the *Shuo Wen's* explanation, Sun observes Accepting Hsü's explanation of "a horizontal line piercing the figure 毌", this is not a very

close illustration of the significance of the character. On examining the tortoiseshell inscriptions we find a form 𠦃 which should be the earliest pictographic figure of 毌 *kuan*. Another variant is 申, a contracted modification of the above, for 回 is the figure of a coin having a central open space, 蓋 回 為 寶 貨 有 空 好 之 形, *kai* * *wei pao huo yu k'ung hao chih hsing* The vertical line piercing downwards, being a mere difference between the vertical and the horizontal, but a most signal confirmation of the signification of (something) passing through (a quantity of) coins.

Further, in the phrase used in the *Ta Ya* Section of the *Book of Odes*, 串 夷 載 路 *ch'uan* [here said to be read *kuan*] *i tsai lu*,[1] the 串 is also an unusual form of 毌 *kuan*. For as the ancient scription 𠦃 was originally two 口, a larger and a smaller, one contained in the other, this when modified by the two 口 being aligned one above the other, produced the character 串 *ch'uan* And from these consecutive changes deducing the most primitive phase of the character, we can be sure that the earliest character certainly consisted of two 口 shaped forms

In a brief note another expert in this study, Mr Yeh Yu-sen, agrees as to this equation of these newly found characters

I have just space to make two remarks on the above

First, though Sun I jang does not state the fact explicitly, it is a corollary from his argument that the ideal original shapes of the two 口 he describes must have been either



in which case it would be a 璧 *pi*, or, if the central hole was square, it would be the



common Cash of China

Secondly, Mr Kuo Mo jo differs entirely, and believes the subject of this discussion is an early form of 干 *kan*, a shield

[1] Legge Chinese Classics, vol. iv, part 2, p. 450 renders this "The Kuan hordes fled away."

The Book of the Cure of Souls

By A. J. ARBERRY

IN a former number of this journal I published a specimen translation of one of the *Rasā'il* of Junayd, as an announcement of my intention to make that famous personage the subject of a monograph.[1] It will be useful at this stage to print the text and translation of what is one of the most interesting of the little treatises preserved in the Istanbul manuscript, both because of its contents, and also for the reason that it is the only work of Junayd for which we have a second authority [2] It is unfortunately true that the Istanbul manuscript, as the copyist himself is at pains to admit,[3] is derived from a very faulty archetype, and with such an author as Junayd the work of emendation is necessarily attended with countless pitfalls The Cairo manuscript of the *Kitāb Dawā' al-arwāh* exhibits roughly ninety variants as compared with the Istanbul manuscript, in the space of rather less than 2½ folios.[4] In by far the majority of places the Istanbul manuscript appears to be the more correct.

The present opuscule is in reality a meditation on the theme of the vision, or perhaps more properly, the knowledge [5] of God. The author takes a handful of Qur'anic passages in which God is spoken of as appearing—to Muḥammad, or to Moses—and by applying the principle of *istinbāt* [6] indicates their significance for the Ṣūfī in his dealings with God. He concludes with a meditation on the familiar theme, "the true Ṣūfī." The whole work is well knit together, and forms a separate and independent treatise.[7]

[1] *JRAS* July, 1935, pp 499–507

[2] In the text, C = Cairo *majāmī'*, 75, I = Istanbul Šehid Ali, 1374.

[3] On fols. 57*b*, 60*b*.

[4] Equally striking divergences are exhibited by the *Kitāb al-Luma'* in those passages which are common to it and the Istanbul MS

[5] For the "vision" of God, literally understood, is a conception abhorrent to orthodoxy.

[6] Cf. Massignon, *Essai*, p 28, n. 2

[7] A similar meditation on a Qur'anic passage occurs on fols 58–9 of the Istanbul MS.

كتاب دواء الأرواح

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم.[1] الحمد لله الذى أبان بواضح البرهان، لأهل المعرفة والبيان، ما خصّهم[2] به فى قديم القِدَم قبل كون القبل حين لا حين ولا حيث ولا كيف ولا أين،[3] ولا لا حين ولا لا حيث ولا لا كيف ولا لا أين،[3] أن جعلهم أهلاً لتوحيده، وإفراد تجريده، الذاتيّين عن ادّعاء[4] إدراك تحديده،، مصطنعين لنفسه مصنوعين[5] على عينه[6] أُلقى عليهم[6] محبّةً منه له،[7] وَاصْطَنَعْتُكَ لِنَفْسِي (xx, 43) وَلِتُصْنَعَ عَلَى عَيْنِي (xx, 40) وَأَلْقَيْتُ عَلَيْكَ مَحَبَّةً مِنِّي (xx, 39) فأحد[8] أوصاف مَن صنعه لنفسه والمصنوع على عينه والمُلقَى عليه محبّته منه له أن لا[9] تستقرّ[10] له قَدَمُ على مكان ولا موافقةُ عقلٍ على استقرار همّهِ ولا مناظرةُ عزمٍ على تنفيذ[11] همّ، م[12] الذين جرت بهم المعرفة حيث[13] لا حرى بهم العلم الى لا نهايةِ غاية،[14] خنسَت العقول وبارت الأذهان وانحصرت[15] المعارف وانقرضت الدهور وتاهت الحيرة فى

[1] + I رب وفق للاتمام؛ C وبه الاعانة [2] C ادآء [3-3] C — [4] C احبهم [5] C والمصنوع [6] C — [7] C واحد [8] C والملقى عليه [9] C — [10] C يستقر [11] I نفذه [12] C وهم [13] C بحيث [14] + I غاية [15] I وانحصرت

الحيرة عند نعت أوّل قدَمٍ تَقلّت لموافقة[1] وصف محلٍ لمحبّة مِمّا[2] جرت عليهم[3] به العلوم التى جعلها لهم[4] به له.
هيهات ذاك[5] له ما له به عنده فَأَيْنَ تَذْهَبُونَ (lxxxi, 26)، أما سمعتَ علم طيّه[6] لِما أبداه، وكشفه لِما واراه، واختصاصه لسرّ الوحى لمن اصطفاه،، أَوْحَى إِلَى عَبْدِهِ مَا أَوْحَى مَا كَذَبَ ٱلْفُؤَادُ مَا رَأَى (liii, 10-11) بِٱلْأُفُقِ ٱلْأَعْلَى (liii, 8)، شهد له أنّه عبده وحده، لم يُجر عليه استبداد النيرة[7] بخفيّ ميل همّةٍ ولا إلمام شهوةٍ ولا محادثة نظرةٍ ولا معارضة خطرة
C, 24b ولا سبق حقٍّ بلفظة | ولا سبق أهل الحقّ بنطقة ولا رؤية حظٍّ بلمحةٍ، أَوْحَىٰ[8] إِلَيْهِ حينئذ مَا أَوْحَى (liii, 10) هيّأه[9] لفهم ما أولاه بما به تولّاه واجتباه لأمرٍ فحمّل ما حُمِّل
I, 53a[9] فحمل، أَوْحَى إِلَيْهِ حينئذ مَا أَوْحَى (xxiv, 53) | بِٱلْأُفُقِ ٱلْأَعْلَى، ضاقت الأماكن وخنست المصنوعات عن أن يجرى فيها أو عليها وخفيَ ما أُوتى إلّا[10] بِٱلْأُفُقِ ٱلْأَعْلَى (liii, 8) إِذْ يَغْشَى ٱلسِّدْرَةَ مَا يَغْشَى (liii, 16)، نظرٌ من جلالٍ نظره من غير منظوره الى السدرة حيث غشاها ما

1 C الموافقة 2 C لها 3 — C 4-4 C بدله 5 C ذلك 6 C ظنه
7 C النير 8 C الله + 9-9 — C 10 — C

غشى فثبتت لما غشاها. وأنظرْ الى الجبل حيث [1] تجلّى له [2] جَعَلَهُ [3] دَكًّا وَخَرَّ مُوسَى صَعِقًا فَلَمَّا أَفَاقَ قَالَ سُبْحَانَكَ تُبْتُ إِلَيْكَ (vii, 139-140) أن [4] أعود لمسألتك الرؤية بعد هذا المقام الى إكباره [5] ما فرط من سؤاله وإلى [6] أنّ العلم لو صادف حقيقةً [7] فى [8] وقت المسألة لم يكن القول سائغًا يليق به، وفى هذا المكان علمٌ ليس حقّه الرسم ولا يليق [9] الكتب. [10] وأنظرْ الى إخباره عن حبيبه [11] وَلَقَدْ رَآهُ نَزْلَةً أُخْرَى عِنْدَ سِدْرَةِ الْمُنْتَهَى (liii, 13) والعند [12] هاهنا لا يقتضى مكانًا إنّما يقتضى وقت كشف علم الوقت، فأنظرْ الى فضل الوقتين ومختلف المكانين وفرق ما بين المنزلتين فى العلوّ والدنوّ، وكذلك فضلت عقول [13] المؤمنين من العارفين فنها [14] ما يطيق خطاب المناجاة مع علم قرب مَن ناجاه وأدناه فلا يستره [15] فى الدنوّ علم الدنوّ ولا فى العلوّ علم العلوّ، ومنها ما لا يطيق ذلك فيجعل الأسباب هى المؤدية اليه الفهم [16] وبها يستدرك فهم الخطاب فيكون منه الجواب،، ولا تقف عند قوله وَمَا كَانَ لِبَشَرٍ أَنْ يُكَلِّمَهُ

[1] C – . [2] C إكباره . [3] C ان . [4] + I الجلال . [5] I ! ! . [6] + C صلى الله . [7] C الكتم . [8] + C ، . [9] – C . [10] I [illegible] . [11] I حبيبه . [12] – C . [13] C ستره . [14] C منها . [15] – C . [16] C القلب . [17] عليه وسلم

أَللّٰهُ إِلَّا وَحْيًا أَوْ مِن وَرَآءِ حِجَابٍ أَوْ يُرْسِلُ رَسُولاً
فَيُوحِيَ بِإِذْنِهِ مَا يَشَآءُ (xlii, 50). وهذه أماكن يضيق
بسط العلم فيها إلّا عند المفاوضة لأهل المجاورة وفى[1]
C, 25a الاشتغال بعلم مسالك الطرقات المؤدية | الى علوم أهل
الخالصة الذين خلوا من خلواتهم ، وبرئوا[2] من إراداتهم ،،
I, 536 وحيل بينهم وبين ما | يشتهون وعصفت بهم رياح
الفطنة ، فأوردتهم على بحار الحكمة ،، فاستنبطوا[3] صفو ماء
الحيوة لا يحذرون غائلةً،[4] ولا يتوقّعون[5] نازلةً، ولا
يشرهون[6] الى طلب بلوغ غايةٍ، بل الغايات لهم بدايات ،
هم الذين ظهروا في باطن الخلق وبطنوا في ظاهرهم ،[7]
أمناء على وحيه حافظون لسرّه نافذون لأمره قائلون
بحقّه[8] عاملون بطاعته ، يسارعون[9] في الخيرات وهم لها
سابقون ، جرت معاملتهم في مبادئ أمورهم بحسن الأدب
فيما ألزمهم القيام به من حقوقه[10] لم تبق[11] عندهم نصيحةٌ إلّا
بذلوها ، ولا قربةٌ إلّا وصلوها ،،[12] سمحت نفوسهم ببذل

[1] C ومن [2] C وتراوا [3] C فاستبطوا [4] C — [5] C بتوقفون [6] C يسرعون [7] C ظواهرهم [8] C لحقه [9] C ومسارعون [10] C حقوقهم [11] C سعة [12] C وطيوها

المهج عند أوّل حقّ من حقوقه فى طلب الوسيلة اليه
فبادرت ¹ غير مُبقية ولا مُستبقية بل نظرت الى أنّ الذى
عليها فى حين بذلها أكثر ممّا ² لها بما ³ بذلت، لوائح
الحق اليها مشيرة، وعلوم الحقّ لديها غزيرة ⁴، لا توقفهم
لائمة ⁵ عند نازلةٍ، ولا تثبّطهم رهبة عند قادحةٍ، ولا ⁶
تبعثهم رغبة عند ⁷ أخذ أهبةٍ ⁸، حافظون لما ⁹ استحفظوا
من كتاب الله ¹⁰ وكانوا عليه شهدآء أن عرّج بهم ¹¹ اللجأ
عند القيام ¹² بواجب الى ¹³ طلب الاستعانة لإتمام ما ¹⁴
¹⁵ قد رأوه، لم ¹⁶ تبخهم ¹⁷ الناصحة الإصماء الى محادثه ¹⁸
ما بقيت ¹⁹ منهم بقيّة حيوة موجوده إشفاقاً من دخول
الوهم مع وجود العلم بواجب الحقوق الى حقوقها. نزل ²⁰
التوقف عن استقبال المبادرة فى حين الأمر بالسعى ليكون
العمل عقيباً للأمر بلا فصل محدود يُعلم فى غير صفة
الأمر به. وهذه صفات أهل الموالاة ²¹ من أهل المصافاة C, 234
الدائم نظرهم الى ما يجرى بهم القول ممّا ألزم حقّ

¹ C وبادرت ²·³ C له ⁴ I الا ⁵·⁶ C احدى هنة ⁷ C ما
⁸ C + عز وجل ⁹ C لهم ¹⁰·¹¹ C – ¹² C – ¹³·¹⁴ I قدوه
¹⁵ C ولم ¹⁶ C تخصهم ¹⁷ C marg. محادثهم ¹⁸ C بقيت ¹⁹ C ترك
²⁰ I الموالات

العبودية فى الرهبانية التى[1] وقع الذمّ لمن التزمها ولم يقم
بواجب حقّها بترك رعايتها، فسبقت نفوس العاملين[2] بما لهم
I, 54a بعلمهم[3] فاحتجبوا برؤية ما لهم بعلمهم عمّا لهم بعلم علمهم[3] عمّا
لهم بالإنعام[4] عليهم بكشف علم علمهم[5]، فتكاثفت الحجب
[6]بالحجب عن كشف علوم الحجب[6] فأقاموا تحت التغطية،
وبعد الخروج من هذه الأماكن تبدو علوم كشف التغطية
لَقَدْ كُنْتَ فِى غَفْلَةٍ مِنْ هَذَا فَكَشَفْنَا عَنْكَ غِطَاءَكَ
فَبَصَرُكَ ٱلْيَوْمَ حَدِيدٌ (L, 21)، وقف على حدود الأشياء
بكشف[7] بارئها[8] لها[9] وما ألبسها من نور الصنعة وزهرة
الإرادة بنفاذ[10] القدرة على جمعها وتفريقها ومجاريها[11] وتحقيقها
وَلاَ يَؤُدُهُ حِفْظُهُمَا وَهُوَ ٱلْعَلِيُّ ٱلْعَظِيمُ لاَ إِكْرَاهَ فِى
ٱلدِّينِ قَدْ تَبَيَّنَ ٱلرُّشْدُ مِنَ ٱلْغَيِّ (II, 256) [12]

[1] I الدى [2] C العاملين [3] I½ عملهم [4] C مالاسعام [5] I¹ عملهم
[6–6] — C [7] C تكشف [8] C الاثار [9] C بها [10] I سفاد [11] I وعاريها
[12] + C تمت بعون الله تعالى وصلى الله على محمد النبى المكرم المطهر المفضل المرحوم وعلى اله وصحبه وعترته الاطهرين الطيبين الاخيار النجبا الابرار والحمد لله رب العالمين وهو حسبنا ونعم الوكيل + I

Translation

In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

Praise belongs to God, Who has made clear with manifest demonstration, to the people of gnosis and revelation, what special favours He bestowed upon them, in pre-eternal eternity, before "before" came into being, when there was neither "when" nor "where" nor "how" nor "there", and when there was neither "not-when" nor "not-where" nor "not-how" nor "not-there",[1] by making them worthy of His unification, and the separation of His isolation, who had passed away from the pretence of attaining His limitation.[2] For they were chosen for Himself, and made under His eye, and on them He cast a love from Him and of Him: "and I chose thee for Myself"[3] and "that thou mayst be made under My eye",[4] "and I cast on thee a love from Myself".[5]

Now one of the qualities of those whom God has fashioned for Himself, making them under His eye, and casting on them His love from Himself and of Himself, is this: that their knowledge stays not fixed[6] in one place, nor does their intellect accord with a fixation of a certain intelligence, nor is their resolve directed towards the accomplishment of a single purpose. These are they who are transported by gnosis whither knowledge never transported them—to an infinite aim. Intellects would shrink, minds perish, gnosis be constricted, times pass away, bewilderment would wander in bewilderment, at the description of the first step taken

[1] Such descriptions of the indescribable nature of God are common places in Ṣūfī literature; see the well known definition of Ḥallāj quoted (anonymously) in Kalābādhī, *Kitāb al-Ta'arruf*, p. 13.

[2] Sc. of setting bounds to the illimitable nature of God.

[3] Q. xx. 41. This and the following quotations in their context refer to Moses; here they are given a universal application.

[4] Q. xx. 40.

[5] Q. xx. 39.

[6] Literally "they have no foot (cf. Q. x. 2) of a knowledge . ." The meaning of this and the following phrase is, that the mystics pass on continuously from revelation to revelation, so that their minds are in a state of flux.

to accord with the quality of a locus for a love,[1] because of the various degrees of knowledge, appointed by God for them through Himself and of Himself, which continued passing over them. For ah! that, which is His, is His through Him being with Him[2]: "whither then will ye depart?"[3] Hast thou not heard of the knowledge of His folding up what He Himself displayed, and His revealing what He Himself concealed?[4] Of how He chose whom He chose to receive the secret of His revelation? "He revealed unto His servant what He revealed, the heart belied not what he saw"[5] "at the highest horizon".[6] He testified to him that he was His servant alone; therefore God did not use him jealously, because of any secret yearning for a desire, or a covert gratification of a lust, or a commerce with a glance, or traffick with a thought[7] he did not stake a claim by utterance,[8] nor outstrip the just claimants by a spoken word, neither did he for a single instant consider any personal advantage. "He revealed unto him" then "what He revealed"—He made his intellect ready for that which He bestowed on him when He took him to Himself, and chose him for a certain matter, laying on him "what burden he has to bear",[9] and he bore it "He revealed unto him" then "what He revealed—at the highest horizon": for space was too narrow, and created things shrank, before suffering

[1] Sc the heart of man, which is the locus of God's love

[2] The knowledge that sweeps over the mystic is not of himself, but of God, and never leaves Him

[3] Q lxxxi, 26 man cannot escape from God

[4] "Folding up what He displayed" is man's non-existence from the time of the creative *kun* until his birth in time; "revealing what He concealed" is the knowledge of God, which was taken from man when he was disobedient

[5] Q. liii, 10–11 This passage is usually taken by the commentators to refer to a vision of Gabriel, it seems that Junayd interprets it as a vision of God Himself.

[6] Q. liii, 8.

[7] Sc. of other than God.

[8] By speaking before God spoke to him, as if eager to claim Him

[9] Q. xxiv, 53, the burden of Prophethood.

the revelation that was made to him to pass through them or over them, save "at the highest horizon",[1] "when there covered the lote-tree what did cover it"[2]—a glance from the majesty of His glance, which has no object of glance, falling upon the lote-tree, when there covered it what did cover it, and it withstood that which did cover it.[3]

Consider also the mountain, when "He revealed Himself" to it, "He made it dust, and Moses fell swooning, and when he recovered, he said, Glory be to Thee! I have turned unto Thee"[4]—that is, I return to ask of Thee the vision: after experiencing this station,[5] in spite of knowing how enormous his petition was, and despite the fact that, had knowledge met with reality in the time of asking, words would not have been permissible or appropriate.[6] Now in this station there is a knowledge which may not be inscribed, and which it is not appropriate to put in writing.[7]

Consider also how God relates concerning His Beloved:[8] "and he saw him yet another time, at the lote-tree of the utmost boundary".[9] The word "at" here does not imply place: it only implies the moment of revealing the knowledge of the "moment".[10] Consider then the excellence of the two moments, and the variety of the two places, and how the two stations differed, the one being on high, and the other below.[11] So excel the intellects of the gnostics who

[1] For there only God could make revelation in space, as explained later.

[2] Q. liii. 16.

[3] The heavenly tree was able to withstand God's glance, which otherwise destroys all upon which it falls.

[4] Q. vii. 139–140. This is the story of Moses, who asked God to let him see Him: the mountain turned to dust before the vision of God (not being preserved, as was the lote-tree).

[5] Speaking of it as a mystical experience.

[6] For the experience of God is ineffable.

[7] So the Ṣūfīs ever draw back from writing of their highest experiences.

[8] i.e. Muhammad.

[9] Q. liii. 13: this is usually taken to refer to the *mi'rāj*.

[10] In the mystical sense of the word.

[11] The two "revelations" described in Q. liii: the first "two bows' length off or nearer still", an earthly visitation, the second "at the lote-tree", in highest heaven.

believe. Some of them can utter intimate converse, being aware how near He is Who converses with them and draws them unto Him: whether they be on high or below, the knowledge of the fact does not veil them.[1] Others are not able to do this: with them God makes secondary causes[2] a means to understanding, so that through these they are able to understand when God addresses them, and answer Him. Do not pause at God's saying, "and no man is permitted that God may speak with him, save it be by revelation, or from behind a veil, or that He sendeth a messenger, to reveal by His leave what He wills"[3] These are matters[4] too vast for narrow knowledge to comprehend, except a man consult with those who enjoy neighbourhood,[5] or occupy himself with the knowledge of the winding ways that lead to the sciences of the elect,[6] who are solitary even from their solitudes, and are free of all their desires. For a barrier has been set between them and the objects of their lusts: swept along by the winds of understanding, they were brought down to the seas of wisdom, whence they drew the pure water of life They fear no mischief thereof, no visitation they expect, neither are they avid to seek the attainment of any end nay rather, ends are for them beginnings.[7] What in other men is hidden, in that they are manifest, and they are hidden in that in which other men are manifest.[8] They are the trustees of God's revelation, the preservers of His secret, performing His command, speaking of His truth, acting in obedience to Him. They vie with one another in good works, hastening beforehand to perform them · in the

[1] Permitting converse with God, a feature of much Ṣūfī experience, as the *Mawāqif* of Niffari exemplify

[2] Sc. phenomena, the "natural" mysticism

[3] Q xlii, 50.

[4] Literally, "places."

[5] Sc. with God.

[6] Sc. the Ṣūfīs.

[7] Since they rest not in any goal, but take each achievement as a starting-point for higher things.

[8] Their souls are as other men's bodies, for by and for them they live.

very beginning of their course they preserved excellent manners in their dealings,[1] whatever might be the due which they were required to pay to God. No wise counsel is there, which they have not put into practice, no means to winning God's favour, which they have not employed. Their souls liberally gave all their strength in paying His first due, seeking to come to Him, zealous, leaving nothing, and reserving nothing: rather, they considered that what they owed, at the time of their payment, was greater far than all that their payment had of merit. God's manifest signs[2] to them point, and the sciences[3] of God in them abound. No reproach gives them pause at any visitation, no fear hinders them at any calamity, no covetousness incites them in making any preparation.[4] They preserve God's Book which was entrusted to them, and to it bear witness, for when they perform any duty, they do not turn from seeking refuge in turning to ask God's help, to complete what they set out to do. Their counselling others does not diminish their listening to God addressing them,[5] so long as there remains in them any vestige of the life that is in Him: for they fear lest, knowing what they are required to do for God, they may suffer some vain conceit to enter into the performance of their dues.[6] Therefore they do not hesitate to run forth eagerly whenever the command comes, that act may follow command, without sharp, appreciable division, such as would not be of the nature of the command.

These are the qualities of the elect of God, His beloved friends, whose eye is ever fixed on the saying, which has

[1] They observed adab in their behaviour towards God.

[2] Sc. created things, the guides to natural religion.

[3] The intellectual guides to God's religion.

[4] Whatever they suffer or undertake, they do it for God alone, with no other motive.

[5] The variant reading would mean "others addressing them", which less appropriate to the context.

[6] They continue to listen to God, and are not puffed up by their position as counsellors of others, into imagining that what they do is by their own power.

application to them, impressing the duty of servanthood in true discipline—a discipline which is only condemned [1] in the case of those who undertake it, without performing their obligations under it, failing to practise it.

The souls of practitioners take hastily the knowledge [2] they have, and are veiled by the thought of that knowledge so that they do not know what the knowledge of that knowledge means to them or what God's favour means in revealing to them the knowledge of what that knowledge is.[3] So veil thickens upon veil, hiding the revelation of the sciences of the veils,[4] and they remain beneath their covering. Then, when they have emerged from these conditions,[5] there appear to them the sciences of the unveiling of the covering. "Thou wast in heedlessness of this, and we uncovered thy covering, and thy sight to-day is keen" [6]—such a man understands the limits [7] of things, for the Creator uncovers them, and reveals the light of creation in which He clothed them, and the beauty of will, which was manifested in His pervading power, concentrating them and separating them, giving them movement [8] and reality "It tires Him not to keep them both,[9] for He is High, Mighty No constraint is there in the faith guidance has become clear from error."[10]

[1] As in the well known Tradition, "no monkery (*rahbāniyah*) in Islam" which Junayd thus explains

[2] *Religious theory* the law, and its *ramifications in religious practice.*

[3] That is, knowing what God's purpose was in prescribing certain duties to man This passage is obscure, and perhaps the reading of I[1] is correct.

[4] This is the true purpose of Ṣūfī discipline

[5] Literally, "places"

[6] Q l, 21

[7] A play on words—*ḥadīd* and *ḥudūd*

[8] Literally, "their courses"

[9] In the context, heaven and earth

[10] Q ii, 256 The foregoing translation is of necessity somewhat tentative, and I should welcome any suggestions for emendation or clarification

Muhammad's Pilgrimage Proclamation

By RICHARD BELL

THAT sūrah IX of the Qur'ān contains a proclamation made to the people at the pilgrimage is stated in v. 3 of the sūrah itself As to how much of the sūrah was contained in the proclamation, there is, however, no agreement either in Moslem tradition or among European scholars.[1] The tradition that the proclamation was made by 'Alī at the pilgrimage of the year IX is very generally accepted. The story is given by Ibn Hishām (ed. Wuestenfeld, p. 921): "When the Barā'a (sūrah IX) was revealed to the messenger of Allah, it was suggested to him that he should send it to Abū Bakr, who had already been sent to lead the pilgrimage. But he said 'No one shall act instead of me but a man of my own household' Thereupon he summoned 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, and said to him, 'Go with this message from the beginning of the (sūrah) Barā'a, and proclaim among the people on the day of sacrifice, when they are gathered in Minā, that no unbeliever will enter Paradise, and that after this year no polytheist shall perform the pilgrimage, and no naked person shall make the circuit of the House.'" The story then proceeds to relate that 'Alī set out on the prophet's camel, overtook Abū Bakr and made the proclamation at the time and in the terms which the prophet had appointed.

Now it is suspicious that the making of the proclamation should have been entrusted to 'Alī, when the pilgrimage was being led by Abū Bakr, and the statement attributed to the prophet that no one should act instead of him but a man of his own household, makes it practically certain that the story is an Alyite invention This is confirmed by the fact that, according to another tradition, a proclamation was indeed made at the pilgrimage of the year IX, but not by

[1] Cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Korans*, i, p 222

'Alī. The tradition occurs several times in Bukhārī[1]; Abū Huraira (not indeed always a trustworthy authority) claims that he, along with others, was sent by Abū Bakr to proclaim among the people "After this year, no polytheist shall perform the pilgrimage, and no naked person shall make the circuit of the House" Elsewhere,[2] the same tradition is given but with the addition—evidently an afterthought—that 'Alī arrived with the *Barā'a* and proclaimed it Now in the story given by Ibn Hishām, the proclamation which 'Alī is commissioned to make agrees, not with any part of Sūrah IX but with that claimed to have been made by Abū Huraira, except that there is added at the beginning the item that "no unbeliever shall enter Paradise"—an important enough statement, but easily enough derived from the Qur'ān, and hardly needing, one would think, to be specially proclaimed at that time and place The 'Alī story is secondary and has been based on Abū Huraira's

The fact that the proclamation said to have been made by 'Alī did not correspond with the words of Sūrah IX, was pointed out by Grimme[3] who then, disregarding the whole story so far as the sūrah is concerned boldly dated the whole of vv 1 24 before the expedition to Mecca (year VIII) His main ground for this is that otherwise we have no reference in the Qur'ān to this important event That is a cogent argument though other passages might be found to have a bearing upon it One would at least expect the breaking of the treaty of Hudaibiya to be mentioned in the Qur'ān, and it is *a priori* tempting to take the *barā'a* of v 1 to be the denunciation of that treaty The phrase *yauma l-hajji l-'akbari* (v 3) constitutes a difficulty, which Grimme did not succeed in removing While according to the usual pointing of *'akbar* as genitive the phrase, as he says, can only be translated "on the day of the greatest pilgrimage", the

[1] *Ed. Krehl*, i, p. 409; ii, p. 298; iii, p. 163.
[2] *Bukhārī*, iii, p. 249.
[3] *Mohammed*, i, p. 128 ff.

common interpretation "the greatest day of the pilgrimage" requires only the change of the final vowel. Leaving that aside, we still have the difficulty that the expedition to Mecca was not a *ḥajj*. Grimme's explanation that "any undertaking whose object was the Holy House of Mecca was for Muḥammad a *ḥajj*" cannot be accepted as satisfactory. There can hardly be any doubt that the proclamation referred to in v. 3 was intended to be made at the pilgrimage proper. In fact, that is perhaps just what the phrase means.

If that be so, Muḥammad or his representative must have been free to attend the pilgrimage, and to make an important proclamation there, that is, he must already have had command of Mecca. But Noldeke found passages in the early part of the sūrah that are best dated before the conquest of Mecca—vv. 13-16 and 17-22; and Schwally, while rejecting Grimme's theory, retains that dating for these verses. We are thus left with the difficulty that verses of earlier date intervene upon those of later.

There is at least room for a fresh examination of the passage V 1 is evidently the heading of a document. The absence of the *bismillah* from the beginning of this sūrah is due to the perception that it already had a formal heading declaring it to be "from Allah". V. 3*a* is either the continuation of that heading, or is a second one similar to it. Between these, v 2 is certainly out of place Even if we accept the usual interpretation that four months are here allowed before the *barā'a* comes into effect, it looks as if part of the document itself had got mixed up with the heading. To allow any length of time between the announcement of a decree from Allah and its coming into effect was, however, not Muḥammad's way. Then, why should the Moslems, who are spoken of in the second person in v. 1, be told at this late stage of their experience to go about freely in the land and learn that they could not frustrate Allah? On the other hand if we adopt the usual supposition that it is the polytheists who are addressed in v. 2, we are faced with an abrupt

change of address. Now in v. 5 we find mention of the months again; they are there described as *ḥurum*, which would naturally mean "sacred". But why should the months between the promulgation of the *barā'a* and its taking effect be called sacred? Further on in the sūrah, in v. 36, we come upon months that are sacred (*ḥurum*). We notice further that there is a possible ending in the middle of that verse, and if we join together vv 36*a*, 2, and 5, we get excellent sense.

"36*a* Twelve is the number of the months with Allah, (written) in Allah's book on the day when He created the heavens and the earth, of these four are sacred; that is the right[1] religion

"2 So go about freely in the land four months and know that ye cannot frustrate Allah, and that Allah is the humiliator of the unbelievers

"5 Then when the sacred months have come to an end, slay the polytheists wherever ye find them, seize them, beset them, lie in ambush for them everywhere; if they repent and observe the Prayer, and pay the Zakāt, set them free, Allah is forgiving, compassionate"

V 6 being addressed specially to the prophet, is not continuous with v 5 but apparently belongs to some similar context

Further v 3*b* does not join well to 3*a* "The people" for whom the proclamation was intended must have been, to some considerable extent at least, Muhammad's own followers, while those addressed in the second half of the verse are evidently unbelievers It is similar in style to v 2, though it does not connect closely with it

The interpretation of these phenomena is difficult, but they seem to necessitate the assumption that vv 1, 3*a*, and 4 were written on the back of discarded scraps from other contexts, and that when the Qur'ān was edited, the whole was read consecutively Unfortunately the original context

[1] Or 'eternal' (?).

of 3*b* and 6 cannot be so easily discovered as that of 2 and 5. Now if that assumption be correct, the fact that 2 and 5 were originally continuous will imply that 1 and 4 were to begin with continuous. Between them, 3*a* (written on the back of 3*b*) was inserted later, or as we shall see reason to infer immediately, 4 was discarded when 3*a* was inserted. There are, therefore, two things to be sought in what follows, first a *barā'a*, and second an *'adhān*, intended to be delivered to the people at some pilgrimage.

With v. 7 we come to a very appropriate beginning of the *barā'a*: "How shall the polytheists have an agreement with Allah and with His messenger?" But if v. 4 formed part of the *barā'a* the rest of v 7 would be a repetition, and yet so varying as to be hardly consistent with it. Besides, if we were to adopt Grimme's date for the *barā'a* and assume—as will be confirmed in the sequel—that it was the renunciation of the treaty of Hudaibiya, it is difficult to see how the Moslems could, before the conquest of Mecca, have made agreements at the "Sacred Mosque". Further, as the passage stands, v 8 comes in very awkwardly after the injunction to maintain the agreements so made, as long as the other parties fulfilled them; but it would connect admirably with 7*a*. The *barā'a* therefore began with 7*a*, followed by 8; in the *'adhān* 7*a* was followed by 7*b*, a modification of 4 which was omitted. In v 9 we are struck by the phrases, "they have sold the signs of Allah for a small price" and "have turned (people) aside from the way of Allah", which are characteristic of early Medinan passages; also in v. 10 we have the uncommon phrase *lā yarqubūna . . 'illan wa-lā dhimmatan*, which we have already had in v. 8 and find nowhere else in the Qur'ān. The explanation probably is that vv. 9, 10 formed an early Medinan scrap on the back of which v. 8 was written; in using the scrap Muḥammad adopted some of the phraseology of the discarded piece and wove it into the new verse. V. 11, now that vv 9, 10 are thus removed, would possibly connect with v. 7*b*, but its concluding phrase

raises the suspicion that it also is of an earlier date. The continuation of *7b* as part of the *'adhān* is really found in v. 12, which we must assume was written on the back of v. 11. Vv. 13–16 are an incitement to fight against a certain people. There can be no reasonable doubt that it is the Meccans who are meant, and that Noldeke was right in placing this passage before the conquest of Mecca. Muhammad charges them with having broken their oaths and having had it in mind to expel him. They have evidently not yet been guilty of any open acts of hostility, for he goes on to remind his followers that the enemy had taken the initiative in hostilities on the previous occasion, so that they are quite entitled to be beforehand with them this time. This, therefore, was the resumption of a previous war. If not actually part of the *barā'a*, the passage must from its juxtaposition have been delivered shortly after it, and the presumption is, therefore, that the *barā'a* was the denunciation of the treaty of Hudaibiya which preceded the resumption of hostilities with Mecca. The only question which arises with regard to the passage is whether v. 16 originally belonged to it. The turn of thought is quite in Muhammad's manner, cf. II, 210, III, 136; but as addressed to his tried veterans in Medina, it seems at this stage a little out of place. On the other hand, it would be quite in place if the passage were repeated in Mecca to a crowd of recent converts. In that situation v. 13 with its direct attack on the Quraish would not be very appropriate, and may perhaps have been omitted, the continuation of v. 12 being then found in 14. Still, as it does not refer to them by name, it might be retained as referring to any who might in the future violate their oaths. In fact, it may be surmised that v. 12 itself is a veiled warning to the Meccans as to the consequences of any attempt to break their oaths. It was with them principally that "agreements had been made at the sacred mosque." If we were to suppose that the *'adhān* was proclaimed at the pilgrimage next following the submission of Mecca such a warning would be quite in

place, and the fact that his erstwhile main opponents were really in Muhammad's mind would explain the unusual phrase *'a'immat al-kufr* applied to supposed breakers of their oaths in v. 12. Tradition, as in Ibn Hishām, p. 886, says that, after the battle of Ḥunain, Muhammad made a hurried visit to Mecca in the month of Dhu-l-Qa'da, ostensibly to perform the *'umra*; it is possible that he then made arrangements for the proclamation being made Such a dating of the *'adhān* would also enhance the appropriateness of v. 16 as a reminder to the newly converted Meccans that the acceptance of Islam involved duties as well as advantages.

As regards vv 17, 18, a good deal depends on the meaning of the verb *'amara*. Does it mean simply "to perform the *'umra*" or is it here used in the sense of "to manage". In v 19, the noun *'imāra*, set alongside the giving of water to the pilgrimage, presumably means the management of the Ka'ba, but v 19 is not necessarily continuous with v. 18. The address seems to be rather different. But in the mere sense of performing the *'umra*, the description of those who are to be allowed to do so (v. 18) is somewhat formal, and it is difficult to see why the *'umra* in particular should be forbidden On the other hand, if we take the word in the sense of managing or maintaining, these two verses state what was no doubt one of the main objects of the resumed war with Mecca, viz the gaining possession of the Holy Places. Polytheists were no longer to be allowed to manage the Ka'ba, and exclude the true believers from it. Vv. 17, 18, therefore, as Nöldeke discerned, belong to before the expedition to Mecca, if not part of the *barā'a*, they are at least closely associated with it. Whether they were redelivered as part of the *'adhān* may be doubted There would be little point in making such a declaration after Mecca had submitted and the Holy Places were already in Moslem hands. The omission of the verses would also give a better connection between v. 16 and v. 19, than that between v. 16 and v. 17. Possibly, if, as above surmised, v. 16 were added for the purposes of

the *'adhān*, it was written on the back of vv. 17, 18, which thus retain their position here.

Vv. 19–22 are rather different in tone from the context. V. 19 indeed connects well enough with v 16 as addressed to new converts in Mecca who might be inclined to think that if they looked after the Holy Places and attended to the needs of pilgrims, they were doing their duty by Islam. But vv 20–2 hardly look as if they had been first composed for that purpose Their mild and persuasive tone might suggest that they belong to an earlier period, and have found their way here in the same way as other verses which we have already cut out of the passage. But if vv 17, 18 were delivered to Muhammad's followers in Medina as a statement of the object of the expedition against Mecca, and then, after all, as tradition records, Meccan families, now become Moslem, were confirmed in their traditional offices of guarding the Ka'ba, and supplying the needs of pilgrims, it would be only natural that some murmuring should arise among the Muhājerin and the Anṣār who had so long borne the brunt of the conflict The passage was perhaps first designed to allay this dissatisfaction, and later used as part of the *adhān* to impress upon new converts the merit of striving with goods and person in the cause of Allah

Vv 23 and 24 are similar in sense, and while this is not inappropriate to their present position, they do not connect very well either with the context or with each other They could in fact hardly have stood together in the same discourse, and v 23, especially, being directly addressed to the prophet by the command 'say,' is quite out of place They are probably scraps on the back of which the passage 19–22 was written

Vv. 25–7 are practically dated by the reference to the victory of Ḥunain, the special emphasis laid on which would seem to imply that it was fairly recent The tense of the verb in v 27 might also imply that the policy to be followed in

regard to those who had been overthrown was not yet quite decided. The passage follows very well upon vv. 16, 19–22 as adding weight to the appeal to be active in the *jihād*.

V. 28 appears to be the climax of the proclamation, and to some extent explains why it is interwoven with the *barā'a*. It is in a sense also a *barā'a*. Allah has done with the polytheists; they are not even to approach His House. From the latter part of the verse it is evident that it must have been delivered in Mecca, and that it is in effect addressed to the Meccans. For it was they who had reason to fear a diminution of their revenues by the non-Moslem Arabs being forbidden to come to the Ka'ba. Muḥammad's Medinan followers would not thereby be much affected. That this prohibition would be laid down soon after the Ka'ba had come into Moslem hands is very probable and accords with the assumption that the *'adhān* was intended to be proclaimed at the pilgrimage of the year VIII. This is not in conflict with the tradition as to the proclamation made at the pilgrimage of the year IX. Apart from the fact that that tradition rests upon the unsatisfactory authority of Abu Huraira—which should here not be stressed, as the tradition is not of the sort usually fathered upon that prolific authority—it had reference to the polytheists taking part in the pilgrimage That was an advance upon what is here laid down, for as most of the pilgrimage rites had no connection with the Ka'ba, the promulgation of this verse did not prevent them taking part in it.

This seems to have been the end of the proclamation. The next passage of the sūrah, vv 29–35, deals with the people of the Book, and has no apparent relevance as part of the pilgrimage proclamation. It amounts in effect to a proclamation of war against Jews, and especially Christians, which was no doubt issued in preparation for the expedition to the North which took place in the year IX.

Vv. 36, 37 are usually regarded as late, and Nöldeke inclined to associate them with the *'adhān*, though regarding

this as by no means certain. But if the reconstruction given at the beginning of this article be correct, the present verses 2 and 5 must have been discarded from here and the substitution of 36*b* and 37 made before the *barā'a* was written. The passage in its original form must have belonged to the early days of the war with Mecca, while Muḥammad was still prepared to respect the sacred months, and the substitution must have been made when he resolved to disregard them so far as fighting was concerned. The *nasī'*, the insertion of an intercalary month, being regulated in Mecca, must in the nature of things have caused difficulty Muḥammad could not carry on hostilities with the Meccans for many years without coming up against this difficulty It was not to be expected that he would accept the position that the months which were actually to be regarded as sacred depended upon whether the Meccans decreed an intercalary month or not In all probability he dealt with the matter long before the year VIII

The result of this investigation may be summed up by presenting the two documents separately

A The *Barā'a*, denunciation of the Treaty of Hudaibiya, and associated deliverances dealing with the renewal of war with Mecca

1 Renunciation by Allah and His messenger of the polytheists with whom ye have made covenants,

4 Except those polytheists with whom ye have made a covenant and who then have not failed you in anything or backed anyone up against you, their covenant fulfil up to (the end of) its period Allah loveth those who show piety

7*a* How shall the polytheists have a covenant with Allah and with His messenger? 8 How? If they get the upper hand of you they will not regard bond or agreement, they will satisfy you with their mouths, but their hearts will refuse; the most of them are rogues

13 Will ye not fight against a people who have violated their oaths and had it in mind to expel the messenger, and

who took the initiative with you the first time? Are ye afraid of them? It is more in order that ye should be afraid of Allah, if ye are believers.

14. Fight them and Allah will punish them at your hands, will humiliate them, and aid you against them, and bring healing to the breasts of a people who are believers, 15. and will take away the anger of their hearts, Allah relenteth towards whomsoever He willeth; Allah is knowing, wise.

17. It is not for the polytheists to manage Allah's places of worship, giving evidence of unbelief against themselves; the works of such are of no avail and in the Fire they shall abide.

18. They only shall manage Allah's places of worship who have believed in Allah and the Last Day, have established the Prayer, and paid the Zakāt, and have feared nothing but Allah, possibly such will be among those who are rightly guided.

B. The *'Adhān*, based on the *Barā'a*, and proclaimed at the pilgrimage of the year VIII

1 Renunciation by Allah and His messenger of the polytheists with whom ye have made covenants;

3a And a proclamation from Allah and His messenger to the people on the day of the great pilgrimage that Allah renounces the polytheists, (as does) also His messenger.

7 How shall the polytheists have a covenant with Allah and with His messenger (– except those with whom ye have made covenants at the sacred mosque, as long as they act straight with you, act straight with them, Allah loveth those who show piety,

12 But if they violate their oaths after they have made a covenant and attack your religion, fight the leaders of unbelief, no oath will hold in their case, mayhap they will refrain.

14. Fight them and Allah will punish them at your hands, will humiliate them, and aid you against them, and will bring healing to the breasts of a people who are believers,

15. and will take away the anger of their hearts; Allah relenteth towards whomsoever He willeth; Allah is knowing, wise.

16. Or did ye reckon that ye would be left (at peace) when Allah did not yet know those of you who have striven, and have not chosen any ally outside Allah and His messenger and the believers? Allah is well aware of what ye do.

19 Do ye even the giving of water to the pilgrimage and the management of the sacred mosque to (the conduct) of him who has believed in Allah and the Last Day, and has striven in the cause of Allah? They are not alike in Allah's estimation, Allah guideth not the wrong-doing people.

20 Those who have believed and emigrated and striven with goods and person in the cause of Allah are of higher rank in Allah's estimation, they are the blessed.

21 Their Lord giveth them good tidings of mercy and goodwill from Himself, and gardens for them in which is enduring delight, 22 in which they will abide for ever; verily, with Allah is mighty reward

25 Allah hath already helped you on many fields, and on the day of Hunain when ye prided yourselves on your numbers but they did not benefit you at all, and the land, wide as it was became too narrow for you, and then ye turned away in retreat

26 Then Allah sent down His assurance upon His messenger and the believers, and sent down hosts which ye did not see, and punished those who disbelieved – that is the recompence of the unbelievers

27 Then after that Allah relenteth towards whomsoever He willeth, Allah is forgiving, compassionate

28 O ye who have believed, the polytheists are simply filth, so after this present year they shall not approach the sacred mosque, if ye fear poverty, Allah will in the end enrich you from His bounty, if He willeth, Allah is knowing, wise.

The Lute Scale of Avicenna

By HENRY GEORGE FARMER

THE history of the musical scale in the Near and Middle East is full of perplexities. In my *Histoire abrégée de l'échelle de la musique arabe*, which I submitted to the Congress of Arabian Music at Cairo in 1932,[1] and in my article *Mūsīqī* contributed to the *Encyclopædia of Islām*,[2] I have endeavoured to show how this scale developed among the Arabs and Persians. In spite of the appearance of a gradual and natural evolution there are still many problems to be solved in the history of this scale, and one of them is the scale propounded by Ibn Sīnā, better known in the Occident as Avicenna.

To appreciate the problem it is necessary to have a brief outline of the history of the scale (*tabaqa*)[3] in the Islāmic East. For more precise details the reader is referred to the various works mentioned in the course of this inquiry.

The earliest known scale in use by the Arabs was one applied to a pandore called the *tunbūr mīzānī* or *tunbūr baghdādī*. Its scale is fully described by Al-Fārābī (d *ca* 950),[4] and it was still known, if not actually practised, as late as the thirteenth century since an author named Al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Kātib, in his *Kamāl adab al-ghinā'*, written in 1228, refers to it[5] This scale was based on the division of a string into forty equal parts which, theoretically, would produce the following scheme on a pandore supplied with frets (*dasātīn*, sing *dastān*)[6] —

Frets	Nut	2nd	4th	6th	8th	10th
Cents[7]	0	89	182	281	386	498

[1] *Recueil des Travaux du Congrès de Musique Arabe*, Caire, 1934, p. 647.

[2] Vol iii, 749–755

[3] This was the old name for a scale, but the moderns use the term *sullam*.

[4] Kosegarten, *Alii Ispahanensis Liber cantilenarum magnus*, 89–92, Land, "Recherches sur l'histoire de la gamme arabe" (in *Actes du Sixième Congrès Inter des Orientalistes* . ., 1883, pt ii), p 59, R d'Erlanger, *La musique arabe*, i, 218

[5] Fol. 85. This MS is in the Ṭōp Qapū Sarāy Library, Constantinople.

[6] *Dastān* was a Persian term taken over by the Arabs.

[7] *Cents* are hundredths of an equal semitone

The scale may have been a relic of ancient Babylonian-Assyrian days as I have mentioned elsewhere.[1] J P. N. Land thought that it was actually the parent of the Pythagorean scale[2] At any rate, we know that it was a pre-Islāmic scale, since Al-Fārābi speaks of its pre-Islāmic frets (*al-dasātīn al-jāhiliyya*)

Yet the story of the Arabian and Persian scale is more intimately connected with the lute (*'ūd*), the national instrument of both the Arabs and Persians Indeed, the whole trouble which both practitioners and theorists found in systematizing the scale was due to the fact that it was to the lute, a fretted instrument, that the scale had to be adapted, as we shall see presently

I have already shown elsewhere[3] that a relic of the oldest tuning (*taswiya*) of the Arabian lute existed in the modern Moroccan lute It was a single octave scale, i e the strings were tuned to *C D G a* as the following diagram of the finger-board of the lute shows

		Strings			
		Dhail	*Māya*	*Ramal*	*Husain*
Nut (*anf*)		0	204	702	906
Frets	1st finger ([illegible]) fret		408		1110
	3rd finger ([illegible]) fret		498		1200

When the Arabs adopted the Persian system of tuning the strings a fourth (498 cents) apart i e the lowest string was depressed to *A*, and the highest string was lifted to *a*, they

[1] Farmer "The Influence of Music from Arabic Sources" (in *Proceedings of the Musical Association* lii, 1926 p 121)
[2] Land, op cit p 59
[3] Farmer, *An Old Moorish Lute Tutor*, p 26, *JRAS.* (1932), p 386

were able, by means of a shift or by repeating the notes of the lower octave, to obtain the double octave *A* to *a'*, and it was this scale that was popular during the "Golden Age of Islām" so eloquently described in the *Kitāb al-aghānī*. Here it is :—

		Strings			
		Bamm	*Mathlath*	*Mathnā*	*Zīr*
	Nut (*anf*)	0	498	996	294
Frets	1st finger (*sabbāba*) fret	204	702	1200	498
	2nd finger (*wusṭā*) fret	294	792	90	588
	3rd finger (*binṣir*) fret	408	906	204	702
	4th finger (*khinṣir*) fret	498	996	294	792

This is the scale of Isḥāq al-Mauṣilī (d 850), as reported by his pupil Yaḥyā b 'Alī b Yaḥyā b Abī Manṣūr (d 912).[1]

Meantime the writings of the Greeks had begun to influence the Arabic theorists and the famous Al-Kindī (d *ca* 874) was one of the first to try his hand at adapting Greek theories to the Arabian lute Although Ziryāb had already added a fifth string to the lute in Moorish Spain sometime between A D. 822 and 852,[2] Al-Kindī was the first to suggest its adoption in the East,[3] his idea being obviously to reach the double octave (*al-jamā'at al-tāmma*), the σύστημα τέλειον of the Greeks, without recourse to the shift or the repetition of the notes of the lower octave.

He also seems to have been the first to introduce a semitonal fret, called the anterior (*mujannab*), between the nut and the first finger fret The latter innovation presented difficulties

[1] Brit Mus MS, *Or* 2361, fol 236 v
[2] Al-Maqqarī, *Analectes*, ii, 86–7.
[3] Cf. *Kitāb al-aghānī*, v, 53

due primarily to the tuning of the lute by fourths. An anterior fret at 90 cents, the Pythagorean λεῖμμα (= Arab. *baqiyya*), gave the lower octave of the three second finger notes on the *mathnā*, *zīr*, and *ḥadd* [1] strings at 90, 588, and 1086 cents respectively, but the two remaining anterior notes on the *zīr* and *ḥadd* strings at 384 and 882 cents were too low. To obviate this Al-Kindī added another anterior fret at 114 cents, the Pythagorean ἀποτομή (= Arab. *infiṣāl*), which gave the requisite correspondences at 408 and 906 cents. The result was that the anterior (1) fret was used only in the lower octave, whilst the anterior (2) fret was used only in the upper octave, as specifically mentioned by Al-Kindī.[2]

Here is the fretting of the Arabian lute according to Al-Kindī [3]:—

		Strings				
		Bamm	*Mathlath*	*Mathnā*	*Zīr*	*Ḥadd*
	Nut (*anf*)	0	408	996	294	792
Frets	Anterior (*mujannab*) (1)	90	588	1086	[384]	[882]
	Anterior (*mujannab*) (2)	[114]	[612]	[1110]	408	906
	1st finger (*sabbāba*)	204	702	1200	498	996
	2nd finger (*wusṭā*)	294	792	90	588	1086
	3rd finger (*binṣir*)	408	906	204	702	1200
	4th finger (*khinṣir*)	498	996	294	792	90

[1] Al-Kindī calls this fifth string the *zīr thānī* but *ḥadd* was the name given it by all later writers.

[2] When I wrote my *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence* (1930), p. 313, I had not fully appreciated this point, but cf. my article *Mūsīqī* in the *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, iii, p. 753.

[3] Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 2361, fol. 236 v. Lachmann and El Hefny, *Ja'qūb Ibn Isḥāq al-Kindī: Risāla fī khubr ta'līf al-alḥān*, p. 5. The notes in square brackets were not used.

The practitioners had also contributed to the scale. There were two other second finger frets, known as the Persian and Zalzalian, which had become recognized. The former was at 303 cents and the latter at 355 cents. Thus they are reported by Al-Fārābī The Persian second finger fret was older and its position on the finger-board of the lute was arrived at by a method common to all practitioners. It was placed *half-way* between the first and third finger fret.[1] The Zalzalian second finger fret was introduced by a lutenist of Baghdād named Zalzal (d 791) who placed it *half-way* between the Persian second finger fret and the third finger fret. It was a neutral third, an interval which appears to have been used much earlier than Zalzal and still persists in Arabic-speaking lands

Here are the frets of the lute used in the time of Al-Fārābī[2] —

		Strings				
		Bamm	*Mathlath*	*Mathnā*	*Zīr*	*Hadd*
	Nut	0	498	996	294	792
Frets	Anterior	90	588	1086	384	882
	Persian anterior	145	643	1141	439	937
	Zalzalian anterior	168	666	1164	462	960
	1st finger	204	702	1200	498	996
	Old 2nd finger[3]	294	792	90	588	1086
	Persian 2nd finger	303	801	99	597	1095
	Zalzalian 2nd finger	355	853	151	649	1147
	3rd finger	408	906	204	702	1200
	4th finger	498	996	294	792	90

[1] Cf D'Erlanger, op cit, i, 170

[2] Al-Fārābī says that ten notes were to be found on each string, and it is these that are given here He mentions two others at 114 and 318 cents.

[3] This was the Pythagorean third, sometimes called by Arabic and Persian

The first, third, and fourth finger frets were used by all practitioners. It was only in the second finger frets that there was any divergence These frets were not all used by any one performer In Syria, the land in which Al-Fārābī was writing, it is highly probable that the Pythagorean frets were favoured, whereas in 'Irāq and Arabia the Zalzalian frets were used, and in Persia those which carried the Persian name

The next theorists to deal with the question were the Ikhwān al Ṣafā' (ca 961) and Muhammad ibn Ahmad al Khwarizmi (ca 976 7), but they do not raise any fresh points It is of importance to note that the latter only knew of one anterior fret which he calls the *zaid* instead of the *mujannab* but he mentions three second finger frets Here is what he says[1] -

> And there is sometimes fixed above the 1st finger fret another fret which is named the surplus (*zaid*) fret. Next to the 1st finger fret is the 2nd finger fret which is sometimes placed in different places The first of these is named the Old 2nd finger fret, and the second is named the Persian 2nd finger fret and the third is named the Zalzalian 2nd finger fret As for the Old 2nd finger fret it is tied near to the quarter of what is between the 1st finger fret and the 3rd finger fret The Persian 2nd finger fret [is tied] approximately upon the half of what is between them The Zalzalian 2nd finger fret [is tied] approximately upon three-quarters of what is between them '

From this account it would appear that in Persia (the book was written for one of the Sāmanids) the fretting of the second finger notes was practically identical with that described by Al Farabi Yet in the following century, according to Ibn Sīnā (d 1037) and his disciple Ibn Zaila (d 1048), there

writers the Old second finger fret, but Al Fārābī tells us that the majority of the practitioners termed it the Anterior of the second finger (*mujannab al wusṭā*)

[1] *Mafātīḥ al ulūm* (Van Vloten ed), pp 238-9

had been a change. For the former we have to depend on the chapter on music in his *Kitāb al-shifā'* and the *Kitāb al-najāt*, and for the latter on a very lengthy treatise entitled the *Kitāb al-kāfī fi'l-mūsīqī* Neither of these theorists mentions the Persian 2nd finger fret at 303 cents nor the Persian anterior fret at 145 cents, and instead of the Zalzalian 2nd finger fret and the Zalzalian anterior fret at 355 cents and 168 cents (*vide* Al-Fārābī) they mention them being placed at 343 cents and 139 cents respectively.

Here is the text of that part of the *Kitāb al-shifā'* of Ibn Sīnā which deals with the fretting of the lute It is based on three manuscripts, viz . Pococke 109 and Pococke 250 in the Bodleian Library and No 1811 in the India Office Library.[1]

A = Bodleian MS (Pococke 109)
B = Bodleian MS (Pococke 250)
C = India Office MS (1811)

الآلات، على اقسام فمنها ذوات اوتار ودساتين ينقر
عليها كالبربط . . . والمشهور المتداول المقدم[2] عند الجمهور
هو البربط وان كان شي[4] اشرف منه فهو غير متمارف
بين الصناع جداً فيجب ان نتكلم على احواله ونسب
دساتينه ويكون لغيرنا ان يجتهد فينقل الكلام منه[3] الى
سائر الآلات اذا عرف الاصول فنقول انّ العود قد قسم
طول ما بين مشطه وانف ملاويه على الربع من جهة

[1] I have also used the Royal Asiatic Society MS of the *Shifā'* (Arabic, No 58), as well as the two copies of the *Najāt* in the Bodleian (Marsh 161 and Marsh 521), the Persian *Dānish Nāma* (Brit Mus (Add 16659)) and Ibn Zaila's *Kitāb al-kāfī* (Brit Mus , *Or* 2361), for comparison

[2] Omitted from B

[3] فيه in B.

الملاوي وشدّ عليه[1] الدستان الاسفل وهو الدستان المنسوب[2] الى الخنصر فيكون بين مطلقه وبين خنصره الذى بالاربعة ثم قسم طوله واخذ تسع الطول الى الانف وشدّ عليه دستان السبابة فيكون بين مطلقه وبين سبابته[3] الطنيني ثم قسم ما بين سبابته[4] الى المشط على طيني آخر وشدّ عليه دستان البنصر[5] فحصل[6] من مطلقه الى سبابته طنيني ومن[7] سبابته الى بنصره طنيني آخر وحصل بين بنصره وخنصره البقيّة وذلك جنس طيني وايضاً قسم مابين الخنصر والمشط بثمنية اقسام وزيد[8] واحد منها على الخنصر وشدّ عليه دستان الوسطى القديم الفارسي وكان[9] ما بين هذا الدستان والبنصر[10] فضلة الطنيني وبقي بينه وبين السبابة[11] الطنيني ثم جاء المتاخّرون وشدّوا للوسطى[12] دستاناً آخر في قريب من الوسط بين السبابة والخنصر

[1] منها in B
[2] مشور [?] in B
[3] ساه الوسطى in C
[4] ساتيه in A and ساه in B
[5] الـ[?] in B الخنصر [?] in A and C
[6] فحصل in C
[7] من مطلقه الى سبابته طنيني ومن omitted from B
[8] In B ٩
[9] وكان in C
[10] الخنصر in A and C
[11] الوسطى in B
[12] وبينه added in B

فنهم من ينزله قليلا ومنهم من يرفعه قليلا فيخرج من ذلك اجناس مختلفة لكنهم ليسوا يميزون في زماننا التفاوت فيه والاقرب من ذلك ان تكون[1] السبابة من ذلك الوسطى على نسبه الزائد جزءاً من اثنا عشر[2] والوسطى[3] من الخنصر على نسبه الزائد جزءاً من احد[4] عشر[5] تقريباً لا[6] بالحقيقة لانه يخرج حينئذ على نسبة ١٢٨ الى ١١٧ فيكون على تاليف بعض الاجناس المذكورة ثم انهم شدّوا فوق السبابة دستاناً آخر على الطنيني من هذا الدستان المشدود للوسطى يكون[7] كالمجنّب له ليوخذ[8] اسجاحه من الوتر الثالث له[9] ثم انهم شدّوا فوق ذلك دستاناً يظنه اكثرهم انه كالمجنّب للوسطى[10] القديمة وليس كذلك بل هو من هذا[11] الوسطى الحديثة المعروفة بالزلزلية على نسبة مثل وسبع فهذه هى[12] دساتين العود

[1] يكون in B and C
[2] اثنى عشر in A and B
[3] الوسطا in A.
[4] احدى عشر in A.
[5] والوسطى من الخنصر على نسبه الزائد جزءاً من احد عشر omitted from B.
[6] لا omitted from B
[7] تكون in B
[8] له added in B.
[9] له omitted in A and B.
[10] الوسطى in B.
[11] Omitted from B.
[12] هى omitted from A.

TRANSLATION

"Instruments are in classes Among them are those with strings (*awtār*) and frets (*dasātīn*) upon which one plays such as the lute (*barbat*) . And the best known, the most preferred in current usage is the lute. If there is any instrument more noble than this it is quite unknown to the practitioners [of music] It is necessary therefore that we should speak about its construction (*lit* states) and the ratios of its frets We leave it to others to deal with the remaining instruments if they know the principles [of their construction and the ratios of their frets]

"So we say Verily the lute (*'ūd*)[1] is divided between the bridge tail piece (*mushṭ*) and the nut (*anf*) upon a quarter of the whole [length], and there is tied upon it [the place of the division] the lowest fret called the 4th finger [*khinsir*) fret So there will be between its open string (*muṭlaq*) and its 4th finger fret the interval of the 4th [3 4 = 498 cents]. We then take a ninth of the length from the nut and there is tied upon it the 1st finger (*sabbāba*) fret, and there will be between its open string and its first finger fret the interval of the tone [8 9 204 cents] We then divide what is between its first finger fret and the bridge-tail-piece upon another tone [8 9 204 cents] and there is tied upon it the 3rd finger (*binsir*) fret [at 64 81 = 408 cents],[2] with the result that from its open string to its 1st finger fret is a tone and from its 1st finger fret to its 3rd finger fret is another tone and between its 3rd finger fret and its 4th finger fret is the minor semitone (*baqiyya* [243 256 90 cents]) And this [collection of notes] is the diatonic genre (*jins tanīnī*) We then further divide what is between the 4th finger fret and the bridge-tail-piece into eight parts, and one of these parts is laid off from the 4th finger fret

[1] Here Avicenna uses the generic and Arabic term *'ūd* for the lute rather than the specific and Persian word *barbat*

[2] MSS A and C have 4th finger (*khinsir*) fret

[towards the nut end] and there is tied upon it the Old Persian 2nd finger fret. And what is between this fret and the 3rd finger fret [1] is the major semitone (*faḍlat al-ṭanīnī*) [2049 2187 = 114 cents], and between it and the 1st finger fret a tone.

"Later the moderns came and tied another 2nd finger fret [the Zalzalian] about midway between the 1st finger fret and the 4th finger fret Some make it a little lower and others a little higher, and different genres (*ajnās*) result from that, but nowadays they do not distinguish this difference And that which is most generally accepted is that the 1st finger fret should be from the [Zalzalian] 2nd finger fret upon the ratio of 12 13 [= 139 cents] and the [Zalzalian] 2nd finger fret should be from the 4th finger fret upon the ratio of 11 12 [= 151 cents] nearly, not actually, because the ratio is 117 128 [= 155 cents] It will therefore be upon the structure (*ta'līf*) of some of the genres (*ajnās*) mentioned [2]

"Next they tied above the 1st finger fret, [towards the nut end], another fret, at the distance of a tone [8 9 = 204 cents] from this [new] tied 2nd finger fret [32 . 39 = 343 cents] It will be an anterior (*mujannab*) fret [12 13 = 139 cents], being the lower octave (*isjāḥ*) [3] of the [new 2nd finger fret on the] *mathnā* string Then they tied above this a[nother] fret which most people consider to be an anterior (*mujannab*) fret [at 243 256 = 90 cents] of the Old [Persian] 2nd finger fret [27 32 = 294 cents]. Yet it is not so, but is upon the ratio of 7 8 [= 231 cents] from this new 2nd finger fret [32 39 = 343 cents] known as the Zalzalian fret, [and therefore the ratio of this anterior fret is 256 273 = 112 cents] So these are the frets of the lute"

[1] All the MSS have 4th finger (*khinsir*) fret

[2] Cf the ὁμαλόν of Ptolemy

[3] According to the *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm* (p 240) the word *isjāḥ* is incorrect, the proper word being *sajāḥ*, the latter term being also used by Al-Fārābī

Here is Ibn Sīnā's fretting of the lute set out in a table :—

		Strings				
		Bamm	*Mathlath*	*Mathnā*	*Zīr*	*Ḥadd*
	Nut	0	498	996	294	792
Frets	[Old Persian anterior] [1]	[90]	[588]	[1086]	[384]	[882]
Frets	[Diatonic] anterior	112	610	1108	406	904
Frets	Zalzalian anterior	139	637	1135	433	931
Frets	1st finger	204	702	1200	498	996
Frets	Old Persian 2nd finger	294	792	90	588	1086
Frets	Zalzalian 2nd finger	343	841	139	637	1135
Frets	3rd finger	408	906	204	702	1200
Frets	4th finger	498	996	294	792	90

It is worthy of note that Ibn Sīnā calls the Pythagorean third (294 cents) the Old Persian 2nd finger fret. His system of fretting does not embrace the Zalzalian third (343 cents) in the second octave, whilst his exclusion of the Old Persian anterior fret (90 cents) deprives him of the lower octave responses of the Old Persian 2nd finger fret notes. He does not appear to have known of Al-Kindī's solution of the problem by the use of two anterior frets at 90 and 114 cents. Of course, there was an easy way out of the difficulty by adopting a different system of tuning (*taswiya*). The normal method of tuning was by fourths, i.e. each string was tuned at 498 cents from its lowest neighbour. It fitted in with the cosmological system of the "four-fold" things which held sway in science and philosophy in the Islāmic East. If the *bamm* and *mathlath* strings and the *mathnā* and *zīr* strings were tuned in fifths, i.e. at 702 cents, the frets of the lower and upper octave would agree. Both

[1] This fret is excluded by Ibn Sīnā.

Al-Kindī and Al-Fārābī had suggested other methods of tuning,[1] but Ibn Sīnā gives an alternative system of tuning which regularized the admission of the Zalzalian notes in the second octave, which were excluded under the system of tuning by fourths. By tuning the *zīr* string a major third (408 cents) from the *mathnā* string, the frets produced the following :—

		Strings				
		Bamm	*Mathlath*	*Mathnā*	*Zīr*	*Ḥadd*
	Nut	0	498	996	204	702
Frets	[Old Persian anterior][2]	[90]	[588]	[1086]	[294]	[792]
	[Diatonic] anterior	112	610	1108	316	814
	Zalzalian anterior	139	637	1135	343	841
	1st finger	204	702	1200	408	906
	Old Persian 2nd finger	294	792	90	498	996
	Zalzalian 2nd finger	343	841	139	547	1045
	3rd finger	408	906	204	612	1110
	4th finger	498	996	294	702	1200

This was certainly an improvement on Al-Fārābī's scale and tuning, because it embraced the elusive Zalzalian notes in the second octave It was not until the time of Ṣafī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min (d 1294), however, that an absolutely perfect scale was evolved

[1] Whilst the normal tuning was A-D-G-c, Al-Kindī suggested G-D-G-c and Al-Fārābī B♭-D-G-c

[2] Excluded by Ibn Sīnā

318.

The Self: an overlooked Buddhist Simile

By C A F Rhys Davids

I AM not referring to the simile (and its fate) of the Jeta-wood and the faggots [1] That at least I have not overlooked, nor have others. Charles Eliot once wrote to us, that it seemed to imply the existence of a self that was other and more than body and mind (as the wood was *there*, and other, and more than the faggots). I remarked, Was it not a curious way of teaching the existence of a something (about which there might be a doubt), merely by implication ? I was then blind to two things the tremendous emphasis on the immanence of Deity as 'Self' current in the lifetime of the 'Buddha' (rendering any assertion of It unnecessary); the decline in that emphasis by the time the Suttas came to be finally worded and canonized To very few was awareness of this earlier and later constantly present 'Was ?' It is still true of most

With regard to the former point, Jesus *did not need* to assert the existence of Deity, nor even the aspect of That as Father, save only so far as to make It real for the Many And when he said, according to the Fourth Gospel "The father judgeth no man" [2] . . he did not hasten to add even if he does not judge, he is not therefore non-existent In his day there was no need for him to add that. And so, with this parallel in mind, I wrote in my *Sakya* "In the Jeta-wood parable, as in the Second Utterance, the central point in both is left unsaid. I mean that, in reminding hearers that the faggots borne away to be firewood were as body and mind, it was not necessary (then) to say that the wood was still there, as the 'man' was still there, becoming, even as the wood was growing. Nevertheless, it may be that we have here

[1] *Saṃyutta*, iii, 333 (the reference in my *Sakya* is misprinted)
[2] *John* v, 22

some later editing."[1] Yet an eminent scholar once expressed to me the opinion, that there was nothing here which (in face of the growing anti-self position in Buddhism) could be called an omission, deliberate or otherwise. And St. Luke's words rose in memory 'But their eyes were holden that they should not know him.'

The simile to which I now refer is ascribed to the 'Buddha' in the 35th or Lesser Saccaka-Sutta of the Majjhima-Nikāya. It illustrates the emphatic warning given to the first handful of fellow workers, which is the pith, the original part, of the Second Utterance, called in later times the Anattalakkhaṇa-Sutta, the 'Not having marks-of-self' talk, a warning from which Hinayana Buddhism has drawn such a deplorably wrong conclusion. This conclusion is, that since neither body nor mind is (i.e. has the mark of) self, *therefore there is no self*. This only became plausible, when (with the cleavage from the current Brahmanic teaching become wide, and with the ever-growing preoccupation in proto-Sānkhyan analysis of mind) the man or self was coming to be held as only 'to be got at' through body and mind, nay, as some held, was just these two and these only. I have suggested my own simile here, namely, that this is as if one were to come aboard asking for the captain and, rejecting boatswain and purser as being 'not he', were to go away saying 'there is no captain!' Had I better remembered what I had read, I should not have overlooked the following similes, which appeal more to India of the sixth century B.C. than any marine figure.

This identification of self with body and mind is put forward as the opinion of one of the growing Jaina school among the Licchavi republican rājas of Vesāli. As to that, it is not the opinion we should expect from either a Jain, or from Vesāli. Jainism has no such psychological anomaly, and the Vajjians of Vesāli were the stoutest defenders of the Bhagavā as having taught the reality of the 'man', as

[1] *Sakya, or Buddhist Origins*, p. 325.

no mere complex, at the Patna Council. It is the following, the 'Greater' Saccaka-Sutta which is more fitly located at Vesālī, showing the Founder of Buddhism as severely experimenting in that *tapas* of bodily austerities, which Jainism prescribed as the cure for karma past, present and future. It is not this Sutta that has been 'overlooked'.

Turning to the Commentary, we find a long, interesting account of the founding of the Jaina school at Vesālī by a man and woman and their four daughters, although nothing is said about what their 'theses' taught. This account introduces the Lesser Saccaka, and serves also for the Greater. And the historically interesting question arises as to the significance, in the Majjhima, of the thirteen pairs of Suttas, in which either the Lesser or the Greater precedes the other.

Save that Saccaka appears in both, burdened with inordinate self-esteem, there is nothing to connect the treatment in the two. The Lesser here is so curious a mixture of worthy sayings and unworthy trimmings, so suspiciously like editorial patchwork in its chief statement, so bespattered with appeals to a popular audience, that its legitimate presence in the Canonical text as containing any *ipse dixit* of the Founders, seems to be on a shaky basis It reminds us of the odd intrusion of the ribald Kevaddha Suttanta in the dignified Khandha-section of the Dīgha-Nikāya. I am inclined to see, in the 'trimmings' of popular appeal, matter that has got, either by mistake, or by a very slender majority of votes, into the Sutta from the Commentary's chat

We have after all a somewhat similar occurrence as patent in the Cūḷa-Kamma-vibhanga-Sutta of this Majjhima. In the Sanskrit recension from Nepal, edited by the late Sylvain Lévi, we find an episode—of a foolish popular kind—put into the text which, in the Pāli Canon is *only in the Commentary*. I referred to this in my review of the work two years ago [1] Indeed this feature of a Lesser and a Greater paired Sutta

[1] *JRAS* 1935, p. 358

deserves further inquiry. Why should any two be so named? It is not the relative length for, of the thirteen pairs, several Lessers are longer than the Greaters Nor the relatively serious treatment; the Pāli Cūḷakammavibhanga is a simple, sober and dignified reply to an inquiry about a man's responsibility hereafter for deeds done here The Greater is much more wordy and discursive, the laboured enumerations of a pedant, rather than of a great sage

But let us consider in a résumé the Lesser Saccaka.

The Jain Saccaka 'swanks' about his dialectical powers, he meets Assaji, one of the first five to join Gotama; asks what is Gotama's teaching about? Assaji answers, and Gotama endorses later, that "the five khandhas are transient and not the self" Saccaka, confident in his skill and his Vesāli backers, seeks a debate to smash this view, in the Greatwood near by, where the touring Gotama is staying. His response to the view just stated is, that the essence or substance of each khandha (*rupatta*, *vedanatta*, etc [1]) is the basis (*patiṭṭhā*) whereby a man works merit or demerit, even as the earth is the basis of all growth, all activity. Gotama: "See here, are you herewith contending, that "I" am body, "I" am feeling, perception, and all mind?" Saccaka "Yes, I am Gotama Well then, do you admit that a king has judicial power over any subject deserving punishment?" [2] Saccaka Yes and republics too They have both the power and the right' (Then comes a leap over the point in the argument Gotama goes on past it to say) "You say, you are your body your mind Now have you, *as* body, *as* mind, the power to make either do what you will?" Saccaka is silenced (The king has admitted he is *merely a subject*) Thrice is the question put, and is unanswered.

[1] The Comm reads rūpa: bodily self etc, and so on This curious compound is I believe unknown, while *rūpatta* ... *viññānatta* occur in the Khandha discussion (Siha, Samyutta, iii, 86 f Lord Chalmers follows the Comm. I confess I cannot make sense of this reading

[2] We do not find in Pāli literature any judge except the king, nor, I believe, any word for one

(Then comes a gallery-appeal.) "Answer me, or your head will be split into seven." Over Saccaka appears a Yakkha, thunderbolt in hand. Saccaka trembles and recants: "No, sir, when I say, I and body, I and mind, are one and the same, I as such have no power over them." (Abruptly a stock formula is brought in Then —) "If both be liable to ill, can either be called self?" If both be ill and you be both, can you judge of and dispose of ill? "Why, you are seeking timber in banana-pith!" The crushed Saccaka is rallied by Licchavi jeering. "O come, come" he protests, "I'm not talking with *you*" Humbly he asks for guidance. He is taught about each khandha, in terms *which befit only the first, the body.* This subject being abruptly left, the Sutta ends majestically on a note of release, enlightenment and nirvana. Abjectly he takes leave, to prepare for hospitality to the Order on the morrow.

Compared with many Majjhima Suttas, this one is unquestionably made picturesque, dramatic, attractive. But it is at the cost of being, as to teaching, no more than a thing of scraps, with a solitary gem in the midst. Saccaka's metaphysical feeler is (rightly) ignored. But the incisive simile of the royal judge is left unapplied with the clearness that was needed—an application that, we may feel sure, was originally given, in so far as we have just here—which I do doubt—a true memory. The talk is instead swung over to the question of the self as being divine And the striking saying, that what is ill cannot judge of, or get rid of itself is drowned in a damning simile and jeers

Doctrinally, a good deal too much has been attempted in little, with the result, that the hearers, while doubtless entertained, have lost the point in the teaching, and the editors have gone far to slur it over If only the simile had been used (and clearly applied) in the Second "sermon"—as perhaps it really was—what a history of error might have been averted!

Let me try to give the simile more clearly put and applied.

"You admit, that the head of a State, being *ex officio* judge, and as such superior to his subjects, has power to dispose of their persons. But if the head were to become merely a subject, he would no longer have this power. Even so, if you, the self, say, I am just body, just mind, that is, a tool, a subject of the self, you have therein and thereby no longer any of that power over your body and mind, which in life (to a limited degree) you know you have. *Ergo*, you are either claiming what you have not, or *you* are in a way, not just body and mind, but *more than these*. (You are not therefore non-existent, but *you are taking a wrong view of yourself*)."

So do I venture to interpret this all too elliptically edited reasoning. The protest against body or mind being considered as either being the self, or as having him, or as in him, or as containing him are often repeated in the Suttas, and came to be labelled as the "view of the man's group".[1] But nowhere have I found, save here, the *caveat*, which in the Second Utterance is more tersely stated, repeated and enforced—but not duly applied. And I lay it down with the suspicion, that the editors, themselves drawing near to the belief, that after all the self was no more than body and mind, wanted to get quickly past the simile. It was a tradition too lively to be quashed, too awkward to be fully stated.

[1] *Sakkāyadiṭṭhi*. Mr Woodward renders *sakkāya* "person-pack", *Kindred Sayings* iii 134.

Assyrian Prescriptions for Diseases of the Feet

By R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON

THE following are translations from the cuneiform texts of the seventh century B.C. (from Ashurbanipal's library at Nineveh) which deal with diseases of the feet and legs. The tablets are published in my *Assyrian Medical Texts*, and the translations are given here with various duplicates from elsewhere. Some have already been put before scholars by Ebeling (*Archiv f. Gesch. d. Medizin*, xiii, xiv, and *Keilschrifttexte Medizinischen Inhalts*), but since his publication of them several "joins" have been made, so that, with the text hitherto untranslated and with the new knowledge subsequently acquired, a fresh edition will not be out of place. The connection of these medical texts dealing with diseases of the feet with those given in the series *SA.GAL.LA* (*CT.* xxiii, 1 ff.) will be obvious.

No. 191.[1] *AM.* 68, 1 (*Rm* ii, 147; K. 2494; K 3279). (From their appearance K. 3279, K. 6555 (*AM.* 70, 7) K. 9105 (*AM.* 70, 5), and K 9164 (*AM.* 69, 7) are all pieces of the same tablet, but have been translated separately under Nos. 192–4. *Rm.* ii, 147, was translated by *E.* xiv, 41, with text in *KMI.* 7)

Obverse

2. . . . tops (juice) of apple, tops (juice) of medlar, tops (juice) of . . , tops (juice) of *šargubbu*,[2] tops (juice) of *supalu*

[1] Abbreviations as in *JRAS.* 1929, 801, to which add *BBR*, Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln*, *D*, A Deimel, *Sumerisches Lexicon*, *DACG*, my *Dictionary of Assyrian Chemistry and Geology*, *DKAWW*, *Denkschr d. Akad d. Wissensch in Wien*, *Kü.*, Küchler, *Beitr z Kenntnis d. Ass-Bab. Medizin*, *LZ*, E Ebeling, *Liebeszauber im alten Orient* (*MDAG* 1), *MDAG*, *Mitteil. d. Altor Gesellschaft*, *MVAG*, *Mitteil d Vorderas Gesellschaft*, *P.*, P. W. Squire, *Companion to the British Pharmacopœia*, 18th ed., *R.*, H. C Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Ins. of W. Asia*, *RA.*, *Revue d'Assyriologie*; *ZA*, *Zeits. f. Assyriologie*.

[2] *GIŠ.BU*, *AH.* 139. It would appear to be a tree, but one not in common use.

(manna),[1] tops (juice) of . . ., tops (juice) of willow, tops (juice) of liquorice, tops (juice) of fen[nel], . . ., tops (juice) of *Solanum, tops (juice) of laurel, tops (juice) of . . ., tops (juice) of bitter almond,[2] tops (juice) of nettle, tops (juice) of *GIŠ.ŠAR*, , tops (juice) of cypress, tops (juice) of colocynth, [these] aromatics . in milk, beer, and water of barley thou shalt bind on, these drugs . thereon . . . in flour thou shalt knead (?), put thereon, boil, (and) continually [apply].

---

10 If ditto, *Artemisia*, *balsam, **Sagapenum*, cedar, cypress, **Acorus calamus*, **Ammi* (?), . , *suadu* in rose-water and beer thou shalt boil, bathe [him] therewith . . .

---

11 (*Dup of AM* 65, 1, 5) If a man's feet are bent and cannot straighten themselves [3] . tamarisk, daisy, **Acorus calamus*, [the small (?)] date-palm, *opopanax, (?), tops (juice) of laurel (var adds tops (juice) of fig), tops (juice) of medlar, tops (juice) of apricots, , tops (juice) of *lemon, tops (juice) of nettle, tops (juice) of , tops (juice) of almond[4] tops (juice) of bitter almond, tops (juice) of . tops (juice) of the tree *aš-pu-um*, tops (juice) of pomegranate, tops (juice) of all orchard trees thou shalt take, tops (juice) of cyp[ress], tops (juice) of caper, tops (juice) of thorn colocynth ,

(*AM* 68, 2, *K* 2494, *here*) —

1 for his recovery tops (juice) of *Vitex*, fir-turpentine, pine turpentine, [helle]bore (?), manna,[5] thou shalt

[1] *ŠE RI A* Since [illegible] is prescribed in l 4, liquorice cannot be intended for this word

[2] [illegible], see n 4

[3] [*Ka* [illegible] [illegible] *ta* [illegible] [*ra* [illegible]] Cf *it* (?) *la-na ak na na-šu*, *AM* 70, 3, 3. The dup gives [illegible] *la ra as*

[4] [illegible] Heb [illegible], in contrast to the next, [illegible] *ir-di*, Syr. [illegible], bitter almond According to a tablet copied by Herr Pick which, through Professor Langdon, by the courtesy of Professor Ehelolf I am permitted to quote, [illegible] is equal to [illegible] "small pistachio" and [illegible] "sweet almond"

[5] See my forthcoming article in *AJSL*, 1937, s v. *kudratu*

pound, sift, knead in beer; again dry, pound, [strain] . . . on a skin of "the back" thou shalt spread, bind on him; thou shalt bray *styrax, pound with honey, oil, and beer . . . the drug (?) thou shalt not pour away on the ground[1]; all these aromatics in beer . . . honey and refined oil therein thou shalt pound, pour into his anus, and he shall recover.

---

6. . . . urine, oil, and *kurunnu*-beer thou shalt heat over the fire, . . . thou shalt put, *tu-up-ri*[2] thou shalt add thereto . . . put it on him, and he shall recover.

---

9. . . . Seed of Vitex, *TU LAL*-plant, roses . . . in a bath thou shalt filter,[3] cow's (?) . . .[4]; this shalt thou do, and he shall recover.

---

12 If . . . has [*mun*]-*ga* (?) (paralysis) . . . pine-turpentine . . .

. . . .

Reverse (*AM.* 68, 1)

1. . . . *kanšam*-plant,[5] these drugs together thou shalt [bray (?)] . , in *sabû*-beer (and) water of the husks (?)[6] of barley . . ., which has not seen the sun, all tops (juices) to . . . thou shalt roast in an oven, take out, and continuously bathe [him therewith], and he shall recover.

5.[7] If the flesh of the muscle of a man's legs has been

[1] . *Šam-ma ana KI* (= *irṣitu*) *la tu-na-tak*, but not certain.

[2] The text on the tablet is as I have copied it

[3] Cf *AM* 52, 8, 5

[4] *ḪI LIT*

[5] *išuKAN ḪU SI* Cf *AM.* 89, 1, 6 (one of thirty-two to be drunk), and possibly *Liebeszauber*, 53, to be drunk with others in a virility charm (*išuKAN* [*ḪU SI*])

[6] See *RA.* 1929, 51, n. 1 Presumably it does not mean "*sabû*-beer of the water of husks of barley"?

[7] Similar to *AM.* 70, 3, 7.

strained (bruised)[1] so that he cannot walk, for his recovery flour of kernel of [barley], gazelle-dung . . . in rose-water thou shalt knead (?), on a skin "of the back"[2] thou shalt spread, bind on him, and he shall recover.

---

8. If the muscle of a man's legs has been strained (bruised) so that he cannot walk, to ease the muscle of his legs, *saḫlê*,[3] tops (juice) of liquorice as a mash thou shalt mash, bind [on him and the] shall be assuaged, and his legs lightened"[4]

---

12. [If the muscle of a man]'s legs has been strained (bruised) so that he cannot walk, . ., tops (juice) of liquorice, tops (juice) of **Anacyclus Pyrethrum*, gazelle-dung thou shalt pound, mash in beer-yeast in rose-water in a small copper pan, spread on a cloth, bind on.

---

16 If a man's legs have been strained (bruised) so that he cannot walk [to] assuage [his legs], flour of kernel of barley, tops (juice) of liquo[rice], in old beer as a mash thou shalt ma[sh], , anoint him, bind on him, and his legs will be assu[aged].

---

20 To assuage [him], flour of roast corn, dung [of gazelle] in equal parts in beer thou shalt mash [and apply].

---

22. If a man's legs , daisy, tops (juice) of

[1] *Šá-gu ma* (cf *ša ag gu ma*, l 8, *šáq-gu ma*, l 12, and *šá ga-ma*, l 16) *It ta-an-al gu gu*, of hands and feet, *AM* 106, 2, 12 Cf Scheil, *RA* 1917, 87, *MI D ru* ("his heel") *šagig*, where Scheil compares *šiggatu*, making the meaning "bruise". Holma compared the Arab *šajajun* "scalp-wound, broken head", from *šajja* "broke" The Assyrian treatment here for the affection indicated by *šagdgu*, as well as that for *šiggatu* (see *RA*. 1930, 122 ff.), suggests a strain, bruise, or blain See *E* xiii, 131, n 2.

[2] *AM* 70, 3, 9, simply "skin"

[3] I am doubtful about the translation *Lolium* for *saḫlê*

[4] *Ipšuhi* applied to ears hard of hearing, *JRAS* 1931, 9 (*AM* 35, 2 + 34, 5 + 36, 1).

medlar, . . . tops (juice) of . . ., . . ., tops (juice) of . . ., . . ., tops (juice) of . . ., . . ., tops (juice) of . . .

No. 192. *AM*. 70, 7 (K. 6555 + 6656, published by *E*. xiv, 46, with text *KMI*. 5, probably part of K. 3279, one of the tablets composing the preceding text, No. 191): dup. of K. 8918 (*AM*. 69, 2, as pointed out by *E*. xiv, 46) and part dup. of *KAR*. 191 (as pointed out by *E*. xiv, 46, with text *KMI*. 6).

Obverse, Col. I

2. . . . his shins . . .

---

3. (Restored from *KAR*. 191, 16.) If a man's feet, his shins, his weight, "prick"[1] him, (root of)[2] liquorice (?), *Vitex*, fennel, mustard, opium, seed of daisy,[2] sumach, seed of *Ricinus*, seed of laurel, saffron (*v gloss*, mustard), *Artemisia*, *balsam, **Sagapenum*,[3] thou shalt dry, pound, [mix] in milk (and) beer, spread [on] a cloth, bind on; after these bandages . . . [lu]pins (?) in beer he shall drink, with oil he shall be anointed.

---

9. (Dup of *KAR*. 191, 1, and *AM*. 69, 2, 2.) If a man's legs are so affected that he cannot come nor stand, and his hands and feet[4] tremble,[5] that man [has occupied (?)] the position[6] of a *rabisu*-demon. To heal his [hands and] feet,

[1] *Usaḫḫalašu*. For *DUGUD* as the weight of the body on the feet of No 194, 8

[2] Omitted on *KAR*

[3] *KAR*. ends rather differently after **Sagapenum* · "these drugs thou shalt pound, strain, mash in beer in a small copper pan, strew (*tilliḫ*, *RA* 1934, 21) wheaten flour thereon, spread on a skin, warm it, bind on him, and he shall recover. [In] the performance of this (. *šipir annî*) he shall drink mustard, **Calendula*, *tarḫu*-plant in beer, with oil he shall be anointed"

[4] "And his hands and feet" omitted on *AM*. 70, 7

[5] [*I-ra*]-'*-ba*, *i-ra-'-ub*.

[6] *KI GUB*, varying with *man-za-az* (*KAR*. 191 and *AM*. 69, 2).

thou shalt set [1] an *agubbû*-vessel (of water), let it stand under the stars; tamarisk, daisy,[2] the small palm, **Conium maculatum*, cedar oil, sweet oil, honey, *ḫimetu*-ghee, thou shalt put therein, and surround it with "scattered meal"[3]; in the

[1] *Taḫabbu*. The full phrase is *karpatuA GUB BA ta-ḫab-bu ina UL tad-ûs* (or *-bat*), varying with *karpatuA GUB BA tukân (an)*. *Taḫabbu* has a final *-u* to indicate a relative clause, the subject of the main clause being indefinite "thou shalt set a bowl, which thou shalt cover over, under the stars," the idea of covering being (as is paralleled in the note on *zisurrû* below) to keep the evil influence of the *rabiṣu* away from the drugs. For this indefinite use of the simple final *u* without *ša*, cf (1) *Gilg Ep.* (text, p 73), *šuttu aṭṭula* "a dream (which) I saw", (2) ib, *akalam iškunu* "bread (which) she set", (3) ib, *awat taḫaddû* "a word (by which) thou shalt rejoice", and other passages quoted, ib, to which may be added (4) my *Prisms of Esarh*, ii, 29, *mâta ana mâtAššurki iḫṭû uma'rušunu iâši* "it was I whom they made to control (any) land (which) sinned against Assyria", (5) ib., iv, 81, *kima kanê meḫû ušappu* like reeds (which) the storm(s) bend(s)", (6) cf No 202, i, 18 ff *murṣu ina zumri-ia ibaššû(u)* It will be noticed in the present example that the variant with *tukân(an)* has no *ina UL tabâta* following, and therefore no relative clause is indicated

[2] *KAR* adds (or gives as variant) "tragacanth"

[3] *Zisurrû*. This is used here as a survival of magic, owing to the belief that a *rabiṣu* ("lurker") demon is the initial cause of the disease. The ointment with which the patient's legs are to be rubbed is to be left to steep "under the stars" in the cool of the night, the mixture containing various oils, honey, and ghee, as a menstruum for the tannin of the tamarisk, the daisy (whether it be bellis, anthemis millefoil, or elecampane, *AH* 70), and the hemlock (if I am right in my identification in *AH*), all of which might well be used externally, for the "young palm" used medicinally, cf G Watt, *Commercial Prod of India*, 884, where the date palm is said to yield a gum used medicinally in the Panjab, and the fresh spathes a strong, but agreeable, perfume by distillation Sir David Prain was so kind as to obtain the following for me from the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew, and I am indebted to him and to his informant, Mr H C Sampson, C I E —

"Popenoe in his book *Date Growing in the Old and New Worlds* has a chapter on the Arab uses of the date and the following are appropriate quotations -

"'This is related by Abd al Razzaq al-Jazairi, [*The Relation of Enigmas* (seventeenth or eighteenth centuries A D), tr by Dr Lucien Leclerc, Paris, 1874], who adds comfortingly that 'the sap of palm leaves is a sure remedy for nervousness, kidney trouble, and putrid wounds, it calms the effervescence of the blood and is a tonic for the stomach.

"'"The spathe of the palm (usually the male) is sometimes cut before it has opened and ground up to make bread, while the male blossoms, when fully formed, but before the spathe has opened, are a delicacy in all parts of the Orient, either raw or as a salad with lemon juice. They are supposed to have an aphrodisiacal quality"'"

morning, in the sunlight, thou shalt rub his legs, and he shall recover.[1]

---

13 (Dup. of *AM*. 69, 2, 7). If ditto, liquorice, *lemon, willow, *Vitex*, oleander (?),[2] rosemary,[3] **Arnoglosson*, fennel, seed of caper,[3] mustard, *Solanum*, *Ricinus*, linseed, *elg[ul]la*-plant, . . . thou shalt dry, pound, sift, in river-water in an oven thou shalt heat, continuously thou shalt bathe him (therewith), and [he shall recover].

---

7 (Dup. of *AM*. 69, 2, 10) . . . **Ferula communis*, *Acorus Calamus*, fir-turpentine, seed of the plant *su-un-* . . ., *suadu*,

To continue with the Assyrian procedure The vessel in which these drugs are steeped is to be surrounded with *zisurrû* (*KU.SUR RA-(a) ta-pir*), a magic circle of meal (see *Semitic Magic*, lvii ff and 123)

A simple parallel (in this case with *ḳimu*, *ZID*, " flour ") is found in a ritual for pulling up the *ḪUL TI GIL LA*, the *Citrullus Colocynthis*, Schr for magical purposes against a headache " The wild gourd which springeth up by itself in the desert, when the sun entereth his dwelling, cover thy head with a cloth, and cover the wild gourd, and surround (it) with flour (*ḳi-ma*, *ZID*), in the morning before sunrise root it out from its place, and take its root " (see my *Devils*, ii, 67, ll 32) This, protected for the night by the cloth and the magic circle against the headache (demon) which " roameth over the desert " (l 1), is to be bound on the sick man's head and neck with the hair of a virgin kid " that the headache which is in the body of the man may be removed " by being absorbed in the sphere of the gourd which is peculiarly a product of the desert. From what may be inferred from this magical text, " headache " (a very probable affection due to the desert sun) lives in the desert, where it roams by day, but returns at night to its " house ", the spherical, head-shaped, poisonous gourd

Zisurrû is also used in the case of a patient suffering from *asakku*. An " atonement "-ritual is performed for him with the heart (or stomach) of a kid, which is supposed to absorb the evil influence and is then thrown into the street Then, in order to prevent the return of the evil spirit, the patient is surrounded (*esir*) with a magic circle of *zisurrû*-meal (ib, 35). Other references will be found in ib, 121, 28, *BBR* No 54, 9. The latter ritual (like Haupt, *Akk Sum Keils Texte*, No 11, xx) includes gypsum in the magic circle, which suggests that the potency of its protection is due to the whiteness of the gypsum and flour, as against the evil symbolized by black, e.g of bitumen (see *DACG*. xxxix, and 42)

[1] " And he shall recover " omitted on *AM*. 70, 7, 12

[2] Most of these drugs have the addition of " tops (juice) " in *AM* 70, 7

[3] For these two identifications (*ᵘmá-ereš-má-ra*, *ᵘpirḫi*) see my forthcoming article in *AJSL*. 1937

together thou shalt pound, sift, in milk, date-treacle (?)[1] . . . while still steaming [thou shalt apply].

Col. II

3 If a man's feet . . . the plant *kamkadu*, . . . gypsum of the River,[2] sulphur, . . . vinegar[3] of beer in an oven thou shalt roast . . .

7 If a man's feet hold poison . . . his feet being out of control,[4] tops (juice) of tamarisk . . . thou shalt pound together, in water of barley in an oven thou shalt roast[5] . . . up to seven times his . . . , thou shalt . . .[6] (?), [and he shall recover ?]

11 If a man's feet have . . . , he [being unable] to walk . . . thou shalt pound . . . male mandrake . . .

No 193 *AM* 70 5 (*K* 9105, *probably part of the above*)

4 If the muscle of a man's heel . . . , red oxide of iron,[7] pounded chalk (?)[8] . . . The Charm *ka-ra-ra-tu*[9] . . . [thou shalt recite], his right side the sun, his left . . .

8 (*Dup* *KAR* 191, *obv* 7, *translated* *E* xiv, 45) If a man's feet are "bound"[10] upon him, thou shalt bray *LAL*[11]-plant,

---

[1] *Dišpu* [illegible]

[2] [illegible] I II, the peculiar gypsum of the Euphrates (*DACG* 43)

[3] [illegible] *šikari* For *tabatu* as "vinegar" see *PRSM* 1924, 21 "Vinegar is used . . . as a cooling lotion in bruises and sprains", *P* 9 It is unlikely that this is *ḫi ga a ti* (for *ḫi ka*) as in *ḫi ka sa šikari*, *CT.* xxiii, 46, 29, [illegible] *šikari* *KAR* 159, 9

[4] [illegible] cf *AM* 70, 3, 3, No 201

[5] I omitted the sign for *BE* regrettably in my copy

[6] [illegible]

[7] [illegible] see *DACG* 124

[8] [illegible] see *DACG* 180

[9] See I 2, *KAR* 185, ii 9, *AM* 69, 9, 7 (No 195), and *AM* 58, 7, 4 (No 2[illegible])

[10] [illegible], here of feet The i, 1 is in *AM* 106, 2, 23 "If a man is stricken in the throat, and the upper part of his eyes hurts him, blood (so add to the text) being brought into his mouth, his hands and feet (legs) [illegible] i, 3 is also in *CT* xxxvii, 39, 12 "If (a man)'s *libbu* like his fingers [illegible]" *KAR* 80, 4, [illegible] For ii, 1, cf *ka-ti-ša* [illegible], *Sharpe* vii, 24, the ideogram being *LÁL*, ii *R* 27, c-d, 43, *ŠU*.

Ricinus, . . . into water thou shalt put, (in the night)[1] under the stars thou shalt let it stand; (therewith)[2] with water of emmer-corn[3] [his feet] thou shalt rub, anoint with oil; black sulphur, yellow sulphur, . . . thou shalt add, bind on his feet, and the charm thus thou shalt recite: The Charm[4]: "Below may it be loosed, [and] above may it be loosed, and above and below may it be loosed." Recital of the Charm. Charm. "*E-nuru(m)*; may it be destroyed, ditto may it be assuaged[5]; (above) may it be destroyed. Recital of the Charm."[6] These charms,[7] three each over his feet thou shalt recite, and he shall recover[8]

---

16. [If a man's feet] are "bound" upon him, up (and) down (?) he cannot (?) . . ., [in] an oven thou shalt roast, take out, r[ub] his feet (therewith) . .

No. 194 *AM* 69, 7 (*K* 9164, *perhaps part of K* 3279. *Translated by E.* xiv, 44)

---

3. . Pine-turpentine, fir-turpentine, sumach, these four drugs thou shalt bray, put in mixed beer[9], thou shalt warm (them), roast in an oven, take out, rub his feet; thou shalt bray these drugs, put them in oil, warm (them), anoint his feet, and he shall recover

---

8 If a man's feet have inflammation, so that he cannot

GÌR LAL E = *kaṭâtu u šepâtu uz-zu-la-tu*. The meaning given in *MA* is "bound", connected with Heb *âṣal* and Arab *waṣala* *E* translates *gelähmt*. (For *ittenınnıl* see *RA* 1929, 54)

[11] On *LAL* as a red dye (?), see *DACG* 30

[1] Additional in *KAR*

[2] Additional in *AM*

[3] Hrozný, *Getreide*, 55

[4] *KAR* adds *E-nuru*.

[5] Variant in *KAR* "may it be destroyed"

[6] *AM* omits.

[7] *KAR* "these two charms," omitting "three"

[8] *AM* has additionally "with a bronze . over his feet "

[9] I am indebted to Mr C. J Gadd for improving my reading to *RAT* (?)-*ma* (?) *ḫi-iḳ šikari* *E.* reads *ta* (?)-*zak* (?) *ana ḫi-iḳ šikari*

bear his weight[1] walking, for his recovery thou shalt bray tops (juice) of liquorice, tops (juice) of caper (?) (or *Vitex* (?)), *sahlê*, sumach . . .

No 195 *AM*. 69, 9 (S. 1333)

2 If a man's left (and) his loins pain [him] . . The toes of his feet (and) his muscles pain [him] .

---

4. [If] of his heel walking (?) , the sinew of the he[el] (*MUD*) of a gazelle which , three cuttings[2] of laurel [thou shalt make][3] thou shalt put, anoint him with oil; thus [shalt thou say]

---

7 Charm (*see No* 193, *AM* 70, 5, 2, *and note to l* 6).

No 196. *AM* 69, 1 (K 9156)

---

6 If ditto, the plant oleander (?), **Galbanum* (?), . the small palm these twenty-two drugs

---

10 If a man's flesh and are troubled

---

12 For his recovery fir-turpentine in oil thou shalt anoint him .

---

14 If ditto, *Cannabis*

---

15 If ditto, skin of a *kimti* (?)

---

16 If ditto, sucker (shoot) of poppy

---

17 If ditto, fir turpentine, pine-turpentine, **Galbanum*,

[1] Cf No 193, 3 ff If the translation of *DI GUD-šu na-ša-a a-tál-lu-ka la i-le-'-e* "he cannot bear his weight walking", it is an unusually complicated sentence

[2] *Hurp.*, cf CT xxiii, 11, 30 (E xiii, 141) "*ina ḫirsi ša tenerti eššenši(nu) ubal-sunu ukaṣ tukap(b)p(b)ap(b)* thread on red wool, tie seven knots". E Ebeling (?).

[3] [*Ta-šar r]a-aš*, cf. *AM* 70, 3, 5 (No 201)

. . . tops (juice) of *Celtis australis*, tops (juice) of *lammu*[1] together thou shalt pound, strain, in wine (?) . . .

---

19. If ditto, glue, bone . . .

---

20. If ditto, seed of liquorice, seed of *Vitex* . . . thou shalt put in river-water, his stomach . .

---

22. If a man's hands and feet are . . .[2]

No. 197. *AM*. 69, 4 (*Rm*. 538, *translated by E*. xiv, 451).

---

6. If ditto, in water of *Vitex* (?), ., **Ammi*, *Salicornia*-alkali, thou shalt bray

---

8. If ditto, his hands and his feet are swollen[3]

. . . .

No. 198. *AM*. 69, 5 (K. 14770)

1. If a man's feet are full of cuts (fissures),[4] [thou shalt rub on] the blood of the kidney of an ox in cedar (?)[5]-oil.

---

2 [6] male mandrake while it is yet green .

. . . . .

No. 199. *AM*. 69, 8 (K. 6056)

Obverse

---

8. If ditto, dung of a male sheep . .

---

[1] *AH* 185, closely allied to the *Celtis*, or the fir

[2] *An-ḫa tab-ba* . , or perhaps similar to *UD DA TAB BA* (= "the heat of the day")

[3] *E* "entzündet". It may be either *iṣṣaraḫu* or *innapaḫu* , see *PRSM*. 1924, 4.

[4] *Kiṣṣatu*.

[5] *NI.GIŠ* *eri-in* (?) (i.e. *in*). The signs are as I have written them.

[6] *GIG BI + IS*. It is uncertain whether BI + IS belongs to ^(išu)*NAM.TAR.***GIRA* or not.

9. If ditto, a sucker (shoot) of the dwarf oak (?) (*GIŠ.GIL*) . . . on a cloth thou shalt spread.

(The remainder is dup of AM 56, r. 5 ff., which text now follows)·

No 200 *AM*. 56, 1 (K 8248)

Obverse

1 (*Similar to AM* 21, 2, *No* 63, *PRSM* 1926, 55, *and AM* 22, 2, *No* 64, *ib* 56.) his breast and his shoulders hurt [him], hurt him, his scrotum either right or left . . he exhibits blood, that man is sick of "congestion of sick anus" [*For his recovery*] pine-turpentine, *suadu*, **Acorus Calamus*, **Ferula communis*, box (?), , *šupuḫru*-cedar,[1] *Vitex*, *mint, mustard, , *Asa fœtida*, **Ammi*, dates, husks (?) of barley,[2] *bi-ni-it-ku* (?), grapes, The compound[3] in an oven thou shalt roast, pour it into (his) anus

---

8 (*Somewhat similar to Speleers, Recueil*, 318, *r* 39) [If a man] is sick of anus-trouble, and his anus pricks him, his stomach is bound,[4] his *utassal*[5] in *kurunnu*-beer thou shalt boil, let cool, pour into his anus

---

10 [If a man] is sick of anus-trouble, and his anus pricks him, pine turpentine, fir-turpentine, *opopanax, the husks (?) of barley, in oil and beer into his anus [thou shalt pour]

(12 *ff*, *RA* 1929, 73)

[1] See *RA* 1930 127

[2] For the sign cf the *Legend of the Worm*, *CT* xvii, 50, 25, with its Assyrian variant *AM* 25, 1, 8 The bran of barley (*parrê dha-s'ârê*) is prescribed in Syriac (*SM* i, 400, 1 8) in both a potion and a poultice, just as we find this in a poultice in Assyrian (*AM* 32, 5, 10, *KAR*. 182, 34)

[3] *Taḫšîtu*, *RA*. 1929, 52.

[4] See No. 193, 8 *ff*

[5] Speleers, *ú ta-sal*.

Reverse

2\. . . . pine-turpentine, . . . **Ammi*, saffron, eight (?) drugs in beer and . . thou shalt boil . . . steaming hot, oil and honey thereon thou shalt put, pour into his anus . . ., milk and date-treacle (?), pour into his anus, and he shall recover.

---

5 (*Dup*. *AM*. 69, 8, 11) To soften (?)[1] stubborn "middles", the husks (?) of barley, linseed, *suadu* . ., **Ferula communis*, **Acorus Calamus*, myrrh, alum[2] in oil and beer thou shalt boil, pour into his anus.

---

7 (*Dup AM* 69, 8, 13, *and similar to AM* 94, 2, 9). If ditto,[3] myrrh, roses, *Asa fœtida*, fir-turpentine, *Salicornia*-alkali, chamomile, [**Amm*]*i*, saffron in beer and milk thou shalt bray, *puḫru*[4] thou shalt dry, add oil thereon, [pour it into his anus], thereafter thou shalt pour sweet milk into his anus

---

10 (*Dup AM*. 69, 8, 15) To soften (?) the muscle of the "middle", linseed, *suadu*, **Acorus Calamus*, (?), roses, wheaten bread cooked in ashes in oil and beer thou shalt boil, [pour into his anus], and he shall recover

---

13 (*Dup AM*. 69, 8, 17) If ditto, fir-turpentine, pine-turpentine, *Ferula communis*, *suadu*, dates . . these [drugs] in beer thou shalt boil, pour into his anus

[1] *Šumma a-na ḳablâti aš ṭa-a-te* (v *ti*) *lu-ub-bu-ka* (cf l. 10, *Ana SA ḳablâti lu-ub bu-ka* (v *ki*) Although *labâku* has been hitherto taken to mean "to mix" (cf *KG*, *s v*, and *PRSM* 1926, 31), it is possible that the Arabic *labaka* "soften", rather than *labaka* "mix" is the proper cognate, in spite of the *k* and *ḳ* The word is used in *ḪARpl-šú ilabbiku* (*AM* 55, 1, 3, cf 86, 3, 8), so that "mix" here is again out of the question It will depend on the exact meaning of *ḪARpl*, which include part of the internal organs. If "soften" is its meaning when used in relation to parts of the body, it may well be applied to the drugs with which it occurs, instead of "mix".

[2] *Šikkati*, Zimmern, *Shurpu*, 60, *DACG*. 176.

[3] *AM* 69, 8, omits.

[4] See *JRAS* 1931, 20

No. 201. ***AM.*** **70, 3** (*K* 10255 *part translated by* ***E.*** **xiv, 43,** *with text, KMI.* 8)

Col I

1. bitumen, gypsum of the river, yellow sulphur,[1] . . [together thou shalt bo]il,[2] fumigate his feet, [and he shall recover]

3 [If a man's legs (?)] give way under him,[3] his two (?) thighs (?)[4] being out of control,[5] that man is suffering from *arimittu* (?)[6] For his recovery thou shalt cut up[7] together (pieces) of tamarisk, daisy, *Cannabis*, mustard . , put them in *hiku* of beer roast in an oven, bathe his [legs ?] therewith and he shall recover

7 (*Similar to AM* 68, 1, *r* 5, *No.* 191)

Col II (omitted by *E* in translation, except one *l*, xiii, 131)

4 If the soles of a man's [feet] give way under him[3] **Conium maculatum*, the small palm, . , lupins, **Calendula*, **Chrysanthemum segetum*

8 If the soles of a man's feet

9 If a man's feet

10 If a man's feet [hold] blood , therein thou shalt put

[1] See *DAC* i, 38 ff

[2] [*Tabu*] *šal* ?

[3] *H* (?) *ta* *sa-al* *sa na šu* and *il ta na-an na*

[4] *Ša pu la šu* dual (?) Holma, *Körp*, 161

[5] *BAL BAL-šu* cf No 192, note to col ii, 7.

[6] *E* reads *as ri im* , but after re examination I think that *a* is more probable than *as*, although there is certainly a doubt

[7] *Tabarras*, cf *AM* 13, 1, *r* 1 (*PRSM* 1926, 41); *AM* 69, 9, 5 (No. 195).

No. 202. *AM.* 73, 1 (K. 67 + 2592, translated by *E.* xiv, 26, with text in *KMI.* 1) + *AM.* 32, 2 (K. 1714) + *AM.* 15, 3 (K. 8809, text in *KMI.* 9) + *AM.* 100, 3 (K. 9565) + *AM.* 18, 5 (79-7-8, 163, text in *KMI.* 11). Duplicate of *KAR.* 192 (pointed out and translated by *E.* xiv, 26)

(The following evidently refers to a man whose leg or foot has been affected by his chance treading in a libation, or some unclean liquid thrown away, and so, by breach of a tabu, he has fallen sick. A text relating to a similar accident is in my *Devils*, ii, 136 (*CT.* xvii, 41))

Col. I

1. (*Here is AM.* 32, 2) . . . [in] a pure place [where ?] a libation [1] or a shrine (?) [2] of a god (where) he has trodden.

---

3. . [before] the sun [3] upon the bitumen let him stand . . . thy *kispu*-offering [4] he has touched, his sin . . ., the *kispu*-offering he shall bring.[5]

---

6. . . . *Solanum, *Cannabis* . . . [in] *himetu*-ghee thou shalt anoint, bind on.

---

8. . . . his . . . and tamarisk . . . thou shalt present (?), a pure place . . .

---

11. (*Here is joined AM.* 100, 3) . . . *Cannabis*, . . ., daisy, [these ?] three (?) [drugs ?] on a cloth (?) [thou shalt spread ?].

---

13. [If a man] is sick of a swelling,[6] and . . . [he has trodden

[1] *Rimku*, something poured away

[2] *SUK DINGIR*, cf *SUK KU* = *parakku*, *D* 522, 28

[3] Cf *AM.* 13, 4, 4, and 90, 1, iii, 18, for this restoration (*AJSL* 1930, 24).

[4] *KI SI(G) GA*, *kasap kispi* (*D* 461, 108, *b*), the offering for the dead.

[5] *Ikassip*

[6] *Kabarta* Hunger, *MVAG.* 1909, 3, 131, "Wade, Unterschenkel"; *E.* xiii, 131, "etwas wie Anschwellung" as a possibility, Reiner Müller (*Arch. f. Gesch. d. Med.*, xviii, 1926, 189), Mycetoma pedis. I think that with *E.*'s suggestion it may be referred to the root *k-b-r* "to be big". In a

in a] pure [place ?] . . . [into an *agubbû*-vessel ?] (which) thou shalt cover over [1] thou shalt pour water. [When] thou coverest [it, thou shalt recite the charm " O E]a, king of the Deep, this man [doeth ho]mage before thee . ." [An *agubbû*-vessel] (which) thou shalt cover thou shalt [set] before the Goat-star, [thou shalt put therein cham]omile (?), [pine-turpentine ?], fir-turpentine, hellebore, turmeric . Thou shalt mash [them] in a small copper pan [and apply ?].

---

18 [If a man is] sick of a swelling because he has trodden in a libation . (?), thou shalt [put] well-water [into a vessel ?] which thou shalt cover, into this water thou shalt put . . -plant, (and) set it under the stars, in the morning as the sun rises thou shalt take (it) down (from the roof), before the Sun-god thou shalt place an altar, a censer of pine-turpentine thou shalt put, the as of a seer thou shalt draw, and one *lahan*-vessel with water, one *lahan*-vessel with beer thou shalt fill, and in front of the altar set (them), thus shalt thou make him recite [2] " [In some li]bation, known or unknown, he has trodden [3], now before thee is the means of healing set [4], (any) sickness (which) is in my body may the Wise, the Libation-Priest, the Incantation-Priest of the gods, Marduk, remove " Three times shall he say it and (then) pour out the water and the beer

---

23 If ditto, *kamkadu*-plant, sumach, tamarisk, daisy, *ludruša*-plant, **Conium maculatum*, a river-cricket, thou shalt dry, pound, mix in fine-ground flour, mash in a small

metaphorical use it occurs in Scheil, *RA* 1930, 147 *kabartim ša la šumšu* " exaltation d un homme de rien " in an omen-text Besides the numerous instances in the present text, cf *AM* 77, 1 + *AM* 28, 7 (*AJSL* 1930, 2): " [If a man] is struck a blow on the face and its surrounding (flesh) poisons him, the result (being) a [swe]lling (?) ([*ka-b*]*ar-ti*) " Cf 1 (52) (*AM* 73, 1, 15 *KAR* 192, 1, 8), " his feet are swollen " (*kabbaru*)

[1] *Tahabbu* See note to No 192, 1 9 ff

[2] Text re-examined *tušadbabšu*

[3] Cf my *Devils*, ii, 137

[4] *šá-kin e-ši-rum*.

copper pan with *ḫimetu*-ghee and beer, spread it on a cloth, bind on.

---

25. If a man is sick of a swelling because he has trodden in a ruined [1] shrine, he shall go in the sunlight to where the ruined shrine is situated, and he shall put a censer of pine-turpentine where that shrine (was); he shall accumulate (together) the juice of the (fruit of the) orchard, put seven large loaves (and) seven small loaves over against the juice of the orchard in the sun, he shall fill one *laḫan*-vessel with water, one *laḫan*-vessel with beer, and set (them) opposite the juice of the orchard. (As) he makes the preparation thou shalt make him say thus " [I have trodden] in a known or unknown shrine, the dwelling of the great gods; on that day where evil . . " (*Here is AM.* 15, 3) before the sun he shall recover (?)

---

30. If ditto, *Ricinus*, the plant *bušanu*, pine-turpentine, fir-turpentine, cypress of the cemetery, mucilage (?) of sesame, thou shalt dry, pound, [mix] with fine-ground flour, mash in a small copper pan with *ḫimetu*-ghee and beer, spread (?) on a cloth (?) [2], the sick place with *ḫimetu*-ghee thou shalt anoint, [bind (the poultice) on him and he shall recover]

---

32 seed of rue (?), thistle-seed, date-stone, carob-"stone", poppy-"stone", (the hard opium), . dried[3] *ḫu* (?)-*ši-in-ta*, therein thou shalt pour, bind on, and not take off for three days

---

[1] *BÁR SI GA*, also Zimmern, *BBR*, No 48, 3, where the directions are for the ministrant to go up to the city, and on the third day [ascend] the the roof of a *BÁR SI GA* In our present text it is obvious from ll 16, 18 (26, 28) that *SI GA* is merely a descriptive adjective *SI* = *šaḳummu* "silent", and since the *BÁR SI GA* may be situated in a city, have a roof, and be the dwelling of the great gods, it is probably a "silent" shrine, a disused temple.

[2] *Ina KU* (?) *te* (for *te-šir-ri*), cf ll (55) ff note

[3] For *bašilta* in this sense cf. *CT*. xvii, 50, 11, where it is applied to figs, obviously dried and not boiled.

(34.) [1][If ditto, because] he has trodden in some pure [wate]r (?), "before the god to *an*, ditto," [2] on the bank of the river thou [3] shalt collect "greens"; [one *lahan*]-vessel with water, one *lahan*-vessel with beer thou shalt fill, and put them facing the "greens", thou shalt place four loaves of bread in (the bend of) his right knee, [four loaves of bread in (the bend of) his left knee, twelve] loaves of bread in the crook of his right elbow,[4] twelve loaves of bread in the crook of his left elbow, making him crouch like cattle [5]; [thou shalt make him say "O] O Ea, summon me to my judgment, that I may enter into your righteous [6] judgment." . . [As] he says (this), he shall bow himself, pour away the water and the beer, hold the censer in his left hand, seven times (*here is AM* 73, 1) to [ ] he shall dip (it), and as he dips (it) he shall say "May Ea give release".

---

[1] If "pure water" be right, the man's leg shows that he must have trodden in it, and thus offended Ea the god of water During the purificatory ritual he is to crouch like an ox by the side of a river, the "greens" (I.e. *GIŠ SAR*) completing the simile as fodder, and I can only suggest that to the Assyrian mind cattle standing knee deep in running water apparently do not offend the god Ea, and for that reason, by a form of sympathetic magic, the man under the tabu assumes the pose of an ox

[2] I venture to suggest this as the explanation of a difficult passage, instructing the physician to repeat part of the prescription in ll 25 ff Otherwise it must be translated "unto Ea the god ditto", somewhat unintelligibly There is no room judging by the join of K 67, *AM* 73, 1, for the restoration of many characters at the beginning of each of the lines of this prescription and yet from l 11, "he shall take the censer in his left hand" it is clear that some reference must have been made to this censer (as briefly indicated) in the preceding lines On the other hand, certain obvious alterations must be made in the quotation from l. 25 if it is to fit and I suggest that it should run "In the sun, where the *pure water* was situated he shall go, and where that *pure water* (was) he shall put a censer of pine-turpentine" (i.e from *ina pân* [d]*Šamaš* to *ŠÁ-an*). *Kunu*, however in l 10 is in the plural, and there may be another god missing at the beginning of the line. Against this is Ea only in the final line of the prescription

[3] "Thou here

[4] *Kima ammat* [illegible]

[5] Lit "like the god Sumukan"

[6] *Ina dina kinu* [illegible]

(40.) If ditto, the plant . . .,[1] **Anacyclus Pyrethrum*, **Arnoglosson*, **ZA.BA.LAM*,[2] daisy, tops (juice) of liquorice, pine-turpentine, fir-turpentine, cypress of the cemetery, *Artemisia*, *balsam, **Sagapenum*, mucilage (?) of sesame, thou shalt dry, pound, mix with fine-ground flour, [in] a small copper pan with oil and beer thou shalt mash, spread on a cloth, bind on.

(43.) [If a man] is sick of a painful swelling, and the colour[3] of his flesh has become white (and) black, that sickness is a tabu. *kamkadu*-plant, sumach, *Cratægus Azarolus*, **Anacyclus Pyrethrum*, *mint (?), thou shalt pound, in *kurunnu*-beer in a small copper pan thou shalt mash spread on a cloth, let cool, bind on.

(45.) [If ditto], half a *ka* of pine-turpentine, half a *ḳa* of fir-turpentine, half a *ḳa* of *saḫlê*, half a *ka* of barley-flour, half a *ḳa* of *Lathyrus*-flour, half a *ka* of fenugreek-flour, [half a *ḳa*] of liquorice-seed, half a *ka* of mucilage (?) of sesame, [ten] *kisal* of gum of **Galbanum*, ten *kisal* of dates, thou shalt bray, in beer in a small copper pan thou shalt mash; while it is hot thou shalt spread (it) on a cloth, bind it on the front (?) of his feet and on his neck-muscle, and not take off for three days.

(48.) (*Here is KAR.* 192, 1, *in this prescription slightly different.*) [If] a man is sick of a painful swelling, and the colour of his flesh has become white (and) red (?), his sickness exuding[4]; tops (juice) of oleander (?), tops (juice) of medlar, tops (juice) of fig, tops (juice) of apple, tops (juice) of tamarisk, tops (juice) of **Conium maculatum*, tops (juice) of the small

[1] Either *ú**šiš*-[*ba-nam*] "*Vitex*", *ú**LÚ*-[*a-nu*], or *ú**murru* "myrrh".

[2] *ú**ZA BA.LAM*, if *iṣu**ZA.BA.LAM*, it will be *Juniperus excelsa*, but if *ú**supalu*, it will be manna. See my article *s v.* *ú**supalu* in *AJSL.*, 1937.

[3] *Ši-mat*, from *šindu*; see *E* xiv, 27, l. (8).

[4] *Ir-ta-ḫi*

palm, [tops (juice)] of nettles [1] into water thou shalt put, roast in an oven, bathe [2] his feet (therewith)

(50.) If ditto, *Artemisia*, *balsam, **Sagapenum*, *kamkadu*-plant, *Salicornia*-alkali, *Cannabis* together thou shalt pound, in barley-dust, barley-flour thou shalt mix, in beer in a small copper pan with milk thou shalt mash, on a cloth thou shalt spread, bind on

---

(52.) If a man is sick of a painful swelling, and his heels are swollen, the muscles of his legs swelled, and he cannot walk, for his recovery gypsum (= sulphate of lime), *saḫlê*, *Salicornia* alkali, dung [3] thou shalt bray, in milk in a small copper pan thou shalt mash, while it is hot thou shalt spread it on a cloth, bind on, and not take off for three days.

(55.) If a man is sick of a painful swelling, and the muscle of his heel is full of "wind", to drive (it) out thou shalt bray pine turpentine, fir-turpentine, gypsum, roses, mustard, roast corn, in fine ground flour thou shalt mix,[4] in beer in a small copper pan thou shalt mash, on a cloth thou shalt spread,[5] bind on, and the "wind" shall go forth

---

(57.) If a man is sick of a painful swelling, and his feet are full of blood, the rind of pomegranate (and) gazelle-dung thou

[1] From *KAR* 192, 2

[2] *Tar-ḫaṣ-ma* but *KAR tar ḫal* (?)-*ma* (note also col ii, 8)

[3] *Putra* (see *RA* 1930, 132) *K* xiv, 27 (11) "Kot", without explanation In ii *R* 38, g h, 31 (quoted *MA* 856) it is preceded by *kabut imeri*, which from *MA* 901 appears to represent 'ŠE ANŠU, i e "dung of an ass" The quotations in *MA* 901 rather go to show that animals were left in the charge of persons especially for the gathering of their dung, doubtless for fuel or manure If *putra* is "dung", it may be the same as the Syr *pertā* "dung" Cf *AM* 51, 4 5, and 98 3, 14 the latter passage including *putra* between "dung of gazelle" and "dung of doves"

[4] Note the variant in *KAR* "in water thou shalt bray , mix."

[5] Te, as in ll 30 ff

shalt bray, with rose-water in a small copper pan thou shalt mash, bind on.

(59.) If a man is sick of a painful swelling, tops (juice) of poppy (and) fat of poppy thou shalt bray, in fine-ground flour thou shalt mix, in beer in a small copper pan thou shalt mash, bind on.

(61.) *Artemisia*, *balsam, sumach,[1] **Arnoglosson*, **Anacyclus Pyrethrum* thou shalt bray, in fat thou shalt mix, bind on and for one day not take off, although (?) his flesh be recovered, keep it bound on.

(63.) If ditto,[2] thou shalt bray fir-turpentine and pine-turpentine, in pigs' fat (and) barley-flour thou shalt mix, in beer in a small copper pan thou shalt mash, bind on.[3] (*Here is AM.* 18, 5.)[4]

If ditto, thou shalt dry *Cannabis*, pound, mix in fine-ground flour, in rose-water in a small copper pan thou shalt mash, bind on, (and do) not take off for one day.

If ditto, *Hyoscyamus* thou shalt dry, pound, mix in barley-dust, mash as a mash, bind on.

If ditto, a falcon (*v* a *SAG.DÚ*-fish)[5] thou shalt dry, pound, in rose-water mash, bind on.

(66.) If a man is sick of a painful swelling, and the colour of his flesh is diffused (disturbed), *kamkadu*-plant, "raven's-foot"-plant, *TU LAL*-plant thou shalt dry, pound, mash as a mash, bind on.

(68.) If a man is sick of a painful swelling, and the muscle

[1] *Ka-man-du*, or perhaps read *ŠIM suadu*

[2] *AM*. evidently repeated the formula as in l (59)

[3] The text in *AM* does not add the horizontal division-lines herein

[4] As *E* xiv, 28, points out, *KAM ZID DA* varies with *ra-bi-ki* in these two texts, two lines lower

[5] See also *KAR*. 192, ii, 43 (l. 43 of col. ii of this tablet).

of his foot is strained (bruised),[1] tops (juice) of green liquorice,[2] *Artemisia*, *balsam, **Sagapenum* thou shalt bray, in [fine-ground] flour thou shalt mix, in rose-water thou shalt mash, bind on, and not take off for one day.

(70.) If a man is sick of a painful [3] swelling, so that he cannot walk, **Arnoglosson* (and) tops (juice) of tamarisk thou shalt dry, pound, in barley-flour thou shalt mix, mash in rose-water, bind on

[1] See No. 101 r. 5, note.

[2] Placed at end of recipe in *KAR*.

[3] Not in *KAR*.

(To be continued.)

Formulation of Pratityasamutpàda

BY B. C. LAW

THE *Ariyapariyesana-Sutta* in the *Majjhima-Nikāya* specifically mentions these two as the main points of Buddhism: (1) *Paticcasamuppāda* and (2) *Nibbāna*. The first point is the basic idea of Buddhism as a system of thought, and the second, the goal of Buddhism as a religion. The former is introduced as *idappaccayatā*, "causal relations." The latter is introduced as *sabbasaṅkhāra-samatho sabbūpadhi-paṭinissaggo taṇhākkhayo virāgo nirodho*, "the stilling of all plastic forces or the renunciation of all worldly ties, the extirpation of craving, passionlessness, peace."[1] The Sutta does not, however, offer any formula to interconnect the two.[2]

The formula of *Paṭiccasamuppāda* is met with in other texts, both in literature and in inscriptions, in some, to account only for *dukkha-samudaya*, in some, for *dukkha-nirodha*, and in some, for both In some, are found the bare formula (*desanā*), and the formula with an exegesis (*vibhaṅga*). If it is presented in a form only to account for *dukkha-samudaya*, the formulation is called *anuloma* (in the genetic order)[3]; if it is presented in a form only to account for *dukkha-nirodha*, the formulation is called *paṭiloma* (in the order of cessation)[4]; and if it is presented in a form to account for both, the formulation is called *anuloma-paṭiloma* (in both the order of genesis and of cessation)[5] 'Positive' and 'negative' are certainly not correct English interpretations of *anuloma* and *paṭiloma*.[6]

[1] Chalmer's *Further Dialogues of the Buddha*, i, p. 118

[2] *Majjhima*, i, pp 167–8

[3] *Udāna*, i, 1

[4] *Udāna*, i, 2.

[5] *Udāna*, i, 3, *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, i, 1

[6] Dr N P. Chakravarti speaks freely of "the positive and the negative arrangements of the propositions of the Theory of Causes" (*E.I*, xxi, part v, p. 195).

This is not again always the meaning of the two terms *anuloma* and *paṭiloma* as applied to the formula of *Paṭicca-samuppāda*. There may be *anuloma* and *paṭiloma* presentation in what is termed either *anuloma-paṭiccasamuppāda* or *paṭiloma* in the text of the *Udāna*. As to the *anuloma-paṭiccasamuppāda* alone, there may be four different modes of presentation of the formula to suit the occasion and the needs of the hearer or person to whom the *desanā* is addressed. (1) *anuloma* (in the usual order, from beginning to end, the causal links being introduced in the form of a chain of thought from *avijjā* to *upāyāsā*)[1]. (2) *paṭiloma* (in the inverse or reverse order, from end to beginning, step by step)[2]; (3) *majjhānuloma* (in the usual order, from middle to end, step by step); and (4) *majjha paṭiloma* (in the reverse order, from middle to beginning, step by step)[3]. The third series opens with *vedanā* and ends in *upāyāsā*,[4] while the fourth one opens with *āhāra* and ends in *avijjā*[5].

The basic formula of *Paṭiccasamuppāda* as met with in some of the texts of the Pāli Canon, explaining *idappaccayatā* (causal relations), is as follows —

(1) In *anuloma-desanā*—

Imasmiṃ sati idam hoti, imass'uppādā idam uppajjati.[6]

That having been, this comes to be, from the rise of that, this arises.

(2) In *paṭiloma-desanā*—

Imasmiṃ asati idam na hoti, imassa nirodhā idam nirujjhati.[7]

"That having not been, this does not come to be, from the cessation of that this ceases to be."

[1] *Majjhima* i, p. 261
[2] Ibid., pp. 261 ff.
[3] *Visuddhimagga*, ii, pp. 523–4; *Sammohavinodanī*, pp. 131–2
[4] *Majjhima*, i, pp. 266 ff.; *Saṃyutta* iii, p. 14
[5] *Saṃyutta*, ii, pp. 11 ff.
[6] *Udāna*, i, 1; *Majjhima*, i, pp. 262–3
[7] Ibid., i, 2.

(3) In *anuloma-paṭiloma-desanā*—

One has just a co-ordination of the above two formulas.[1]

The basic formula is presented in the *Udāna*, in each of the three above modes, together with the corresponding illustrative appendage, introduced with the usual phrase *yadidam*. But there are texts in which the formula alone is offered without the appendage.[2] Similarly there are texts in which the appendage itself, *avijjā-paccayā saṅkhārā*, etc., appears as the formal expression of the Buddhist doctrine of *Paṭiccasamuppāda*.[3]

One may notice an important point of difference between the *Mahātaṇhāsankhaya-Sutta* in the *Majjhima-Nikāya*, on one hand, and the three *Bodhi-suttas* in the *Udāna*, on the other. In the former, both the *Nidāna* formulas, one accounting for *dukkha-samudaya* and the other for *dukkha-nirodha*, are appended only to one basic formula in its *anuloma* mode,[4] while in the latter, a correspondence is maintained between *anuloma* and *anuloma*, and between *paṭiloma* and *paṭiloma*. The want of such correspondence in the *Majjhima* text may be either due to some lacuna or due to the fact that in an earlier formulation just the *anuloma* mode was adopted. Buddhaghosa has nothing to say in his commentary on this point.[5]

It is conceivable that in some instances the doctrine was formulated mainly with a view to accounting for the *samudaya*, *pabhava*, or *ācaya* aspect of *dukkha*, leaving the *nirodha* aspect out of account. The existence of such instances in the growing corpus of the texts of the Pāli Canon gave rise to an interpretation maintaining that *Paticcasamuppāda* was as much a reality (*asankhata*, unconditioned) as *nibbāna*—a philosophical view which has been mooted for criticism

[1] *Udāna*, i, 3

[2] *Majjhima*, ii, p 32

[3] *Saṃyutta*, ii, pp 1–2; *Vinaya*, *Mahāvagga*, i, 1

[4] *Majjhima*, i, pp. 262–3

[5] *Papañcasūdanī*, ii, p 308

in the *Kathāvatthu*.[1] The text cited by the Paravādin[2] is, of course, no other than that which is embodied in the *Saṁyutta-Nikāya*[3] as a *Paccaya-Sutta*, and which Buddhaghosa quotes under the title of *Paṭiccasamuppāda-paṭiccasamuppanna-dhamma-desanā-Sutta*.[4]

Turning to the inscriptions, one must note that the Kurram Casket inscription (to be dated *circa* A.D. 100) presents a text of the *Sarvāstivāda* sect in which the *Nidāna* formula explains only the *samudaya* aspect of *dukkha*, while both the *samudaya* and *nirodha* aspects are brought out in the text of the *Pratītyasamutpāda-Sūtra* on the Gopalpur bricks and the Kasia copper-plate (*circa* A.D. 450–475)[5] Now, in the two brick inscriptions from Nālandā, edited by Dr N. P. Chakravarti,[6] one has an interesting Sanskrit text containing both the *ādi* (*desanā*) as well as the *Vibhanga* of *Pratītyasamutpāda* The work made out from the two inscriptions agrees with the *Pratītyasamutpāda-vyākhyā* by Vasubandhu (*circa* fourth or fifth century A.D.), the fragments of which have been published by Dr Tucci.[7] It is also found to be the same text as one translated by Yuan Chwang in A.D. 661

Neither Dr Chakravarti nor Dr P C Bagchi,[8] whose note on the *Pratītyasamutpāda-Sūtra* has been appended to the Nalandā text, has succeeded in tracing a Pāli counterpart of the work in the extant Canon

[1] P T S edition, p 319
[2] *Kathāvatthu* p 321
[3] ii, pp 2[illegible] foll
[4] *Visuddhimagga* ii, p 518
[5] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol xxi, part v, p 195
[6] Ibid pp 193 foll
[7] *JRAS* 1930 pp 613 foll
[8] Dr Bagchi has rather gone out of his way to assume that "the formation of the Pali *Nikāyas* had not then (i e up till the fourth or fifth century A D) been completed, as the Saṁyutta text of *Desanā* and *Vibhanga* not only embodies all the elements of the texts (Kurram, Kasia, Nālandā, etc) just analysed (viz *Pratītya*, *Nirodha*, and *Vibhanga*) but its *Vibhanga* is much more developed than in the Sanskrit text".

The Nālandā text is really a *Pratītyasamutpāda-Vibhaṅga-Sūtra*, which is substantially the same as the *Suttanta-bhājaniya* portion of the *Paccayākāra* [1] or *Paṭiccasamutpāda Vibhaṅga* [2] in the *Vibhaṅga*, the second book of the *Abhidhamma-Piṭaka*. The *Suttanta-bhājaniya* section of the said *Vibhaṅga* presupposes a *Paṭiccasamutpādavibhaṅgasutta*, which is not traced in the books of the Sutta-Piṭaka as it has come down to us. The *Vibhanga-Suttas* answering to the *Suttanta-bhājaniyas* in the *Abhidhamma* text, e.g. *Dhātu*, *Āyatana*, *Sacca*, and *Satipaṭṭhāna*, are to be found in the *Majjhima-Nikāya*, particularly in the *Vagga* called *Vibhaṅgavagga*. As a rule, the *Suttanta-bhājaniyas* in the *Abhidhamma* text do away with the introduction and other unnecessary details in the suttas concerned, and chisel them so as to suit the purpose of an *Abhidhamma* treatise Precisely such is the case with the *Suttanta-bhājaniya* of the *Paṭiccasamuppāda-vibhanga*. There are slight differences, here and there, between the Nālandā text and the Pāli The definition of *avidyā*, for instance, combines two definitions in the *Abhidhamma* text, viz. that of *moha* [3] and that of *avijjā*.[4] Thus the discovery of such a Pāli counterpart as this sets at rest the question of chronological bearing of the Nālandā text on the Pāli Nikāyas and the Canon as a whole But the existence of texts presenting only the *anuloma-desanā* of the law of causal genesis, with or without the *vibhaṅga*, was not without its effects. It led some of the Buddhist schools to treat *Paṭicca-samuppāda* as *asankhata* or "unconditioned", notably the Mahīśāsakas and Pūrvaśailas.[5] As Buddhaghosa informs us, it led some among the Buddhist teachers to interpret *Paṭicca-samuppāda* as a theory of *uppāda* (genesis, evolution) other than that which was contemplated by the Sāmkhya doctrine

[1] The P.T.S. edition has this title

[2] Buddhaghosa definitely adopts this title, see *Sammohavinodanī*, p. 130.

[3] *Vibhaṅga*, p. 362.

[4] Ibid., p. 135.

[5] *Kathāvatthu*, vi, 2—see commentary and *Points of Controversy*, p. 186.

of *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti*.[1] The Pāli scholiast has advanced four arguments in refuting this, the first two of which are really important.

(1) That there is no such sutta to lend support to this view.

(2) That the view goes against the purport of the authoritative texts, e.g. those stating that when the Buddha had revolved the law of causal genesis in his mind for the first time, he did it in both *anuloma* and *patiloma* modes, embracing the *samudaya* and *nirodha* aspect of *Dukkha*, and those (the *Kaccāna-sutta*, for instance) presenting the law in the very same two modes with a view to meeting the two extreme positions of *atthi* and *n'atthi*, *sassata* and *uccheda*.[2]

[1] *Visuddhimagga*, ii, pp. 518-19: *Keci pana paṭiccasamuppādaṃ ca titthiya-parikappita pakati purisādi kāraṇa nirapekkho uppādo paṭiccasamuppādo 'ti evaṃ uppādamattaṃ Paṭiccasamuppādo 'ti vadanti. Taṃ na yujjati. Kasmā?* (1) *Suttābhāvato* (2) *suttavirodhato* (3) *gambhīranayasambhavato*, (4) *saddabhedato ca*.

[2] Ibid., p. 519.

Punch-marked Silver Coins

Their Standard of Weight, Age, and Minting

BY E. H. C WALSH

1. Standard of Weight

IN this *Journal* for January, 1937, Mr. A. F. Hemmy, from an exhaustive examination of the weights of silver punch-marked coins, "570 in the British Museum, 196 in Calcutta, and a single hoard of 108 coins (of which 103 are included) found near Patna, and now in the museum of that place, in all, 869 coins," shows that (excluding a small number of the coins, 4 per cent only, which Mr. Hemmy considers have a different standard), the standard of weight of these coins is 52 grains, which multiplied by 4 is 208, and that the standard is therefore one-fourth of the revised principal unit of the Indus (Mohenjo-Daro) system of weights, viz. 13 625 gm. = 210·2 gr

The publication of Mr Hemmy's exhaustive examination is to be welcomed, as it makes generally known what must be already known to those who have systematically examined punch-marked silver coins, that their standard is in the neighbourhood of 52 grains.

Mr. Hemmy points out that the standard of 52 grains is approximately a quarter of the revised principal unit of weight of the Indus system, and that the punch-marked coins are therefore of the Indus standard. This conclusion is also supported by the fact that many of the symbols on the Mohenjo-Daro seals also occur on the punch-marked coins.

The present writer examined the "single hoard of 108 coins found near Patna and now in the museum of that place", which are included in Mr. Hemmy's results, and wrote in 1919, referring to the theoretical standard weights of 58·56 grains based on the standard of 32 *ratis* as laid down by Manu: "The theoretical weight of 58·56 grains is, however, rarely

attained in the known specimens. The weight of those of the present coins that are complete and less worn vary from 53·4 to 52 grains; and the weights of the coins [viz. the silver punch-marked coins] in the India Museum Catalogue follow practically the same variation as in the present coins." [1]

Those coins are of the older, large-thin type.

Similarly, in the case of another hoard of fifty-eight coins found at Gorho Ghat in the Bhagalpur District of Bihar, fifty one coins weigh under 50 grains; nine between 50 and 51 grains, and only two weigh between 52 and 53 grains.[2] These coins are of the later, smaller, and thicker type.

The writer has since examined two hoards of silver punch-marked coins which were found at Taxila (1) A hoard of 1,171 silver coins found in the Bhir Mound at Taxila in 1924 Of these thirty-three were the long-bar "single type" coins of which one weighs 169 5 grains, three weigh 172·3 grains, two weigh 173 grains, and the rest vary from 174 9 to 177 5 grains, two coins weigh over 178 grains and one coin 179 4 grains These coins correspond to coins Nos 1–9 on pages 1 and 2 of the British Museum Catalogue

Mr Allan notes[3] that "these weights are just those of the 'Persic Staters of the Achaemenid governors in Lycia, Cyprus, etc, and this is further evidence for dating these coins not earlier than the fourth century If the coins are actually the issues of Achaemenid governors they would belong to the first half of the century If struck after the extreme N W had passed from Persia they must be of the second half and probably later than, say, 330 B C, when Darius III still had Indians in his army" In the case of these Taxila coins they would be of the first half of the century.

[1] An Examination of a Find of Punch marked Coins in Patna City, with Reference to the Subject of Punch marked Coins generally," by E H C Walsh, *JBORS*, 1919, pp 1–72, p 24

[2] An Examination of Fifty-eight Silver Punch-marked Coins Found at Gorho Ghat by E H C Walsh, *JBORS*, 1919, pp 463–494.

[3] *British Museum Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, by J. Allan, p. clxi.

Seventy-nine coins are of a minute type, unknown up to that time, which weigh from 2·3 to 2·76 grains, with one coin of 2·83 grains. There are four coins of this type in the British Museum, Class 9, which were obtained subsequently.[1]

The remaining 1,059 coins are the large-thin type of punch-marked coins In the hoard there were three Greek gold coins fresh from the mint, two of Alexander the Great and one of Philip Aridaens, besides a well-worn siglos of the Persian Empire[2] All these coins conform to the 53 gr. standard Only forty-four coins reach the weight of 54 grains. These coins are all of the earlier, large-thin type.

(2) The other hoard, found at Taxila in 1912, contained 167 punch-marked coins and also contained a gold coin of Diodolus[3] These coins are of the later, smaller-thicker type. Excluding five coins, which are of another area, the weights of which are 47 0 grains, 48·0 grains, 50 grains, 50·5 grains, and 52·3 grains respectively, the remaining 162 coins are all local coins of Taxila, as is shown by their bearing varieties of the "Taxila Mark" on the reverse These latter coins are heavier than is usual.

Taking the mean grain, namely 50·51 to 51·50 grains being counted as 51 grains, their weights are as given below .—

Weight	45	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59
Specimens	1	4	1	3	15	27	34	18	25	18	6	5	3	2

Representing these weights by co-ordinates, we get the diagram for the local Taxila coins (Fig 2, p 296)

The difficulty has always been to reconcile the weight of the *karṣāpana*, *dharana*, or *purāna* at 32 *ratis*, as given in the *Manu-smṛti* (viii, 132 ff) and *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* (i, 361 ff.), with the actual weights of these coins. This is due to the fact that Cunningham determined "the full weight" of the *rati* as 1·83 grains, which makes the weight of the *purāna* 58·56 grains

[1] Ibid., pp 286–7, pl. xlvi, 18, 19.

[2] *Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1924–5, p. 48.

[3] Ibid., 1912–13, p. 42.

Cunningham, however, admits that no coins attain this theoretical weight. He writes "During my career I have examined more than 2,000 of these silver pieces. The twenty best specimens in my collection averaged just 55 grains, the heaviest only reaching 56·5 grains. But by far the greater number of these punch-marked coins are so very much worn that the averages obtained by Sir Walter Elliot, 47·10; by Mr Thomas, 47·69, and by myself, 47·82, from upwards of 800 coins, show how very long they must have been in circulation "[1]

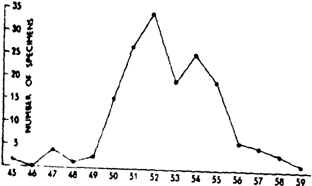


FIG 2 Weight

The writer has also examined the weights of over 2,000 of these coins The difference in the weight is not only due to wear but that the above theoretical weight is fixed too high Owing to the Indian practice of continuous hoarding, many coins in the hoards have been hoarded when new and have had little or no circulation and are practically in mint-condition Such coins seldom exceed 54 grains, and do not approach to the theoretical standard

The *rati* seed (the seed of the *guñjā*, or *Abrus precatorius*, the wild liquorice) grows in a pod and, therefore, varies in size, the seeds nearer the extremities of the pod being smaller than

[1] *Coins of Ancient India*, by Sir Alexander Cunningham, p 44.

those in the centre. The weight of the *rati* therefore depends on the particular seed selected as a weight. The writer obtained a number of these seeds from the pods, which after several years drying, gave the following results. After excluding all small seeds, 400 average seeds weighed 673 grains, giving an average weight of 1·68 grains. Picking out the fifty largest seeds, they weighed 93 grains, giving an average weight of 1·86 grains, which corresponds with Cunningham's "full weight". The writer also obtained thirty-two seeds from various Indian goldsmiths in different places, which were actually in use by them at the time as weights These thirty-two seeds weighed 58·6 grains, giving an average weight of 1 86 grains, which also agrees with Cunningham's "full weight" It is, therefore, clear that at the present time only the largest seeds are used as weights, and Cunningham's "full weight" is correct, and, on present practice, the theoretical and actual weight of these coins cannot be reconciled

The standard weight of the *rati* has also been considered more recently by Mr. S. H Hodivala in connection with the metrology of the coins of the Mughal emperors,[1] and by Mr. H. Nelson Wright and Mr H. R Neville in connection with that of the early Sultans of Delhi[2] Mr Hodivala (pp 107–114), after considering the evidence of contemporary and subsequent writers in reference to the weight of the *Ṭank* and the *Tolā*, concludes that, in Mughal coinage, the weight of the goldsmith's *rati* was 1 92 grains Fryer, who was in India in the service of the East India Company, between A.D. 1672 and 1681, states that the *tolā* was equal to 96 goldsmith's *ratis*, which makes the *rati* 1·93 grains Sir Thomas Roe (A D 1616) gives the weight of the *tolā* as 192 grains, which would make the weight of the goldsmith's *rati* 2 grains.

[1] *Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics*, by S H Hodivala, Occasional Memoirs of the Numismatic Society of India, No II, 1923.

[2] "Some Observations on the Metrology of the Early Sultans of Delhi," by H. Nelson Wright and H. R Neville, *JASB*, vol. xx, 1924, Numismatic Supplement xxxviii, and *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*, by H. Nelson Wright, 1936, pp. 391–402.

Mr. Nelson Wright and Mr. Neville come to the conclusion [1] that, as regards the coinage of the early Sultans of Delhi, the weight of the *rati* was 1.8 grains

From this it will be seen that the standard weight of the *rati* has varied at different times As Mr Hodivala notes. "The tola was founded on the rati, and the rati on rice-grains. No two ratis or rice-grains are, at any time or in any place, exactly alike in weight, and they were, besides, subject to capricious alterations by governmental decree" [2]

As regards the difference between the actual weight of the *puranas* and the weight laid down for them in the *Manu-smrti*, it is possible that, if those coins were actually following the ancient Indus standard, it was attempted to link them up with the system of weights of the period of the *Manu-Smrti* by assigning to them the nearest approximate weight in that system

Mr Hemmy found that the number of coins weighing 45, 44, 43, 42, 41, and 40 grains respectively decrease in a less relative proportion than those from 51 to 45 grains From this fact Mr Hemmy concludes (p 11) that "There is therefore a subsidiary standard of weight slightly below 45 The number of coins pertaining to the two standards will be proportional to the areas of the respective curves The coins of the Indus standard are in large majority, the others form only about 4 per cent of the total, and, as 45 is one-third of 135, that 'It may therefore be concluded that the standard of 45 gr is derived from a Daric of 135 gr and is further confirmation that such was present in Babylonia' This conclusion of the existence of a separate standard of 45 grains needs further examination and it will be seen that it cannot be accepted on the evidence

A coin cannot only be considered as a piece of metal of a certain weight the coin itself must be considered. In Mr. Allan's *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India in*

[1] *Num Chron.*, cit., p 37
[2] Op. cit., p. 233

the British Museum it will be seen that there are thirty-five punch-marked silver coins of the weights 45 to 40 grains. They occur in twenty of the twenty-three different classes and groups of these coins. They are of the same shape and size as the other coins of their class and group and bear identically the same group of marks as on the other coins of the 52 gr. standard in those groups, showing them to be from the same mint. In some cases, too, they have the same group of marks on the reverse as certain of those other coins, showing that they were in circulation together with them at the same place and at the same time They are identical with the other coins in size and appearance, as will be seen from the Plates. They only differ from the other coins in being of less weight, a fact which could only have been ascertained by weighing the coin in each case.

The provenance of the coins is only known in three cases, viz Bodhgaya (p 27, coin 24), Ayodhya (p 49, coin 40), and Hinganghat, in Berar (p. 56, coin 5). Of the other coins, seven are from Cunningham's collection and thirteen from Theobalds Both these collectors obtained many of their coins from money-changers and others, throughout Northern India The coins are, therefore, of many localities. It cannot be supposed that mints throughout India were issuing concurrently two separate standards of coins, identical in size and appearance, and differing only slightly in weight, which would have to be ascertained by weighment in each case, the one to an Indus standard, and the other to a Persian standard founded on the Daric

There is, however, one small coin, of a distinct kind, which weighs 44 grains and may well be of a different Persian standard This is shown as Class 8, p 286, and plate xlvi, 17. There are not sufficient marks on it to attribute its locality.

Mr. Hemmy also concludes that the same Daric standard of about 44 grains exists in the case of the single-type silver coins He says (p 12). "The number of specimens is insufficient for the application of the statistical method to the problem but

fortunately the evidence is unmistakable. There is a group of twenty-four from North-West India and nine from South-West India (Konkan Find). The distribution is as follows :—

Weight	45	44	43	42	41	40	39	38 gr.
No of specimens								
N.W I	0	10	4	2	2	1	2	3
Konkan	1	3	2	0	0	0	1	0

In both cases a standard of about 44 gr is clearly present."

It does not appear to what coins Mr Hemmy is referring. In Mr Allan's *British Museum Catalogue* there is one single-type coin of 43 5 grains and one of 38 5 grains (p. 2, Nos. 10, 11) The weights of the "North India" coins (pp 4–7) vary from 22 to 27 3 grains The weights of the nine coins of "Konkan Find Type" (p 9) vary from 14 4 to 14 8 grains and one coin of 12 9 grains

A separate standard of about 42 grains did, however, exist in certain known localities But in that locality it was the only standard A hoard of 1,014 punch-marked silver coins were found in 1912 at Paila in the Kheri District in the United Provinces These coins were subsequently examined by the writer, and were forwarded by him to the Lucknow Museum in 1928, where they now are They are of the old large thin type They differ from other punch-marked coins in not bearing the usual six armed symbol, composed of three arrow heads alternately with three other objects, which occurs on practically all other punch-marked coins, but in its place a symbol  They also do not bear the mark of the sun, but in its place a taurine in a shield These two marks are on all the coins They also only bear four marks, not five, as on other punch marked coins

There is one coin of this class in the British Museum Catalogue, Coin No 7 on page 59 The first Mark as shown on this coin, resembling a snake, is incorrect It is as shown by Mr. Allan on page lxix

The writer has not at present to hand the weights of all

these coins, but the weights which he has of 436 of the coins are as follows :—

Weight . . .	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44
No. of specimens	2	3	3	7	55	89	120	120	31	6

Showing the above result by co-ordinates, the weights as abscissæ, and the number of specimens as ordinates, we get the following diagram (Fig. 3).



Fig 3 Weight in Grains

Which shows an actual standard of 42 grains.

Mr Durga Prasad [1] describes thirteen other coins of the Paila class, which are in the Lucknow Museum Like the Paila coins, they are of the old large-thin type, and their weights vary from 40 to 43 8 grains, their average being 42 grains Their provenance is not known, but is within the United Provinces He also obtained twenty similar coins from Lucknow, and twenty-five at Mathura, which, together with the Paila coins, make a total of 1,072 coins of this class. Although twenty-five coins were obtained at Mathura, which is in the country of the Saurasenis, their provenance is not known, and the fact that 1,014 of these coins were found at Paila in the District of Kheri, which is north of Lucknow, on the borders of Nepal, and others were obtained at Lucknow,

[1] "Classification and Significance of the Symbols on the Silver Punch-marked Coins of Ancient India," by Durga Prasad, *JASB*, vol xxx, 1934, Numismatic Supplement, xlv, pp. 5–59 and 32 Plates, p 9, and Pl. I–III.

points to these being the coins of the ancient kingdom of Kosala (corresponding to the modern Oudh), which was ultimately conquered and incorporated in the Mauryan Empire. This was far outside the area of early Persian influence, and there appears to be no reason to attribute their weight to a Persian standard.

Mr Durga Prasad considers them to be of an old Indian standard of 24 *ratis* He writes (pp 10–11): "Colebrooke in his article on *Indian Weights and Measures*, published in the *Transactions* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1801, page 95, has said that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa an early author mentions that from the ancient astronomical books it is found that a Dharana was of 24 Raktikas, and he has given a table of weight as follows

2 Yavas (barleys) = 1 Guñjā 3 Guñjās = 1 Balla. 8 Balla = 1 Dharana As 2 barleys are equal to 1 Guñjā or Raktikas 1 Dharana contains 24 Raktikās or Rattis It is clear from this that either at some period or locality silver coins of 24 Raktikas standard weight were current It may be that at some period before Manu the Dharaṇas were of 24 Raktikās, though in his time they were of 32 Rattis The term Purāṇa used by Manu may refer to these lighter coins of earlier period. Sir A Cunningham in his *Coins of Ancient India* on page 17 writes 'The Kārshāpana was also called Dharana probably meaning a handful of 16 copper Paṇas, from Dhri 'to hold' ' But a more common name was Purāṇa, or 'the old' which could only have been imposed upon it after the Greek occupation of the Punjab, which is about the middle of the second century B.C. but on page 20 he said 'In the Hindu books they are called Purāna, or Old, a title which vouches for their antiquity They are also noticed by Manu and Panini, both *anterior* to Alexander The above two different statements of Cunningham are contradictory; if he places Manu before Alexander in the last quarter of the fourth century B.C. his explanation of the name Purāṇa as used by Manu, after the Greek occupation of the Punjab,

in comparison of their coinage, falls short. The author thinks that the word Purāṇa was used by Manu as he knew the earlier coins of his time which were of a different fabrication and type—thin and broad, or of a lighter standard weight, just as we do nowadays call the later Moghal coins as *Purānā Rupiā*."

As, however, these coins of the lighter 24 *ratti* standard have not been found generally distributed, but only in a particular area, and as the coins of the *nominal* 32 *ratti* standard, viz. of 53 grains, would appear to be a survival of the early Indus standard of weights, there is no reason to suppose that all punch-marked coins were at an earlier date of 24 *ratti* standard, but rather that this was a separate standard of a particular area, viz the ancient kingdom of Kosālā

Mr Durga Prasad also describes [1] ten smaller coins of an average weight of 25 grains These are half-*dharaṇas* of the usual 32 *rati* standard Some of them are of the thin type, but most are of the later small-thick type. They are, therefore of later date than the Paila coins. They were obtained at Lucknow If they are coins of that area they would appear to be subsequent to the conquest and absorption of the kingdom of Kosālā into the Mauryan Empire, after which the standard of the coinage would be the usual 32 *rati* standard of that empire

THE EARLIEST DATE OF THE PUNCH-MARKED COINS

As regards the earliest date of the punch-marked silver coins, Mr Hemmy says (p 3) "The consensus of opinion now does not put them so early, but assigns them probably to the Mauryan Empire, which lasted from 323 till 185 B C., or at the earliest to the time of Nanda (*c.* 372 B C), King of Magadha, who anteceded that empire." The writer is not aware of such a consensus, but that these coins were considerably anterior to the time of Nanda is conclusively shown by the Find of the 1059 coins, of the old large-thin type, found at Taxila in 1924, already referred to. Amongst the hoard were two gold

[1] Op cit., p. 13, and plate viii.

coins of Alexander the Great and one of Philip Aridæus, "fresh from the mint" Philip Aridaeus died in 317 B.C. The date of the deposit of the hoard was therefore about that date, which also agrees with the date, independently fixed, of the strata in which the vessel containing the hoard was found. Contained in the hoard are sixty-one very old coins which had been called in when they were so old that the marks on them had been completely worn out, leaving only traces, they had then been restruck on the older reverse with a fresh series of marks over the worn-out reverse Marks and re-issued; and the original obverse had been overstamped by the subsequent reverse marks. The second issue also bears signs of long wear The length of time from the original issue of these coins until the date of their deposit in the hoard appears to be some hundreds of years Putting the time at 200 years, though it may well be longer, they carry the date of these coins back to 517 B.C. There are also several other very old and worn coins in the hoard Also many new coins in mint condition.

Mr Hemmy concludes (p 26) that "The uniformity of distribution of weight in punch-marked coins, both silver and copper, shows that those conforming to the Indus standard must have come from a single mint Their widespread provenance indicates the Mauryan Empire, and the uniformity of weight indicates capable and strict administration This points to Asoka

This conclusion cannot be accepted As already shown, the punch marked silver coins go back to at least 517 B.C It is generally accepted that certain authorities, such as *Ganas*, *Janapadas*, and *Nigamās* were authorized to mint and issue coins for their respective jurisdictions and areas The number of such mints throughout India must have been very great. There is not space to refer here to the evidence and to the numerous authorities on which this generally accepted conclusion is based.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

NOTES ON MODERN PERSIAN MORPHOLOGY

Since the appearance of Paul Horn's "Neupersische Schriftsprache" in the *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, i, *b* (Strasbourg, 1898), relatively few studies have been made of Modern Persian morphology, so that little more can be recorded on this theme than R. Gauthiot's "De la réduction de la flexion nominale en iranien" and "Du pluriel persan en -*hā*" (*MSLP*, xx [1916], 61–70, 71–6), E Benveniste's "Les Diminutifs en -*ō*" (*Dr. Modi Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1930, pp 556–8), and C Bartholomae's "Zum Casus obliquus singularis" in his *Zur Kenntnis der mitteliranischen Mundarten*, v (Heidelberg, 1923), 18–43, and his discussion of the "conditional -*ē*, -*ī*" (ibid, i [1916], 47–51).

There are, however, five morphological phenomena which may briefly be discussed, since as yet they seem to lack clarification—one concerning the noun, and the others the verb

(1) In the noun, the particle *mar* is frequently used before the dative or accusative, and may even serve to emphasize the subject—the latter apparently only early in Modern Persian and in conjunction with the pronouns *ān*, *ēn*, *ō*. The origin of the word, not found in Old or Middle Iranian, and seemingly confined to Standard Modern Persian, though occurring in an early Syriac-New Persian translation of the Psalms (H H Schaeder, in *Ungarische Jahrbucher*, xv [1936], 570, note 2), is ambiguous It is at least phonologically explicable, however, as a derivative of an Indo-European base **merě*-, **morě*-, or **smerě*-, **smorě*-. From **merě*-, **morě*- are derived Greek μέρος (neuter) "portion", μόρος (masculine) "lot, destiny", μοῖρα "portion, fate", μείρομαι "receive as my portion", Latin *mereo* "deserve", from **smerě*-, **smorě*-, Sanskrit *smar*-, Avesta *mar*- (also *hišmar*-) "remember", Modern Persian *šumurdan* "count", Greek

μάρτυς, *μάρτυρος* "witness", *μέριμνα* "solicitude", Latin *memor* "mindful", Gothic *maúrnan* "*μεριμνᾶν*" (English *mourn*), Serbo-Croatian *mâr* "anxiety" (Walde-Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*, Berlin, 1927 1932, ii, 689–690, E Berneker, *Slavisches etymologisches Worterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1908 sqq., ii, 22; F Solmsen, *Beiträge zur griechischen Wortforschung*, i, Strasbourg, 1909, pp 39 41, connects **me/orē*- and **sme/orē*-, a procedure not without semantic difficulty). From the not too abundant evidence, one may suggest that the Modern Persian *mar* has developed from the base **me/orē*- rather than from **sme/orē*-, that its primary meaning was "portion, bit", that it was used first with the dative, and was later extended to the accusative, and that finally, coming to be felt as a mere intensive particle, it was employed even with the nominative of demonstrative pronouns as an "empty" word. In any event, the connection of *mar* with Sanskrit *mātra*- "element, quantity, measure", proposed by F Ruckert (*ZDMG*, viii [1854] 262) is quite improbable (cf Horn, *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie*, Strasbourg, 1893, no 971) Such a sentence as *mar ān kuštah-rā huftah pindāštand* "they considered that slain man sleeping" (accusative) may conceivably have meant, in origin, "(tanquam) partem illius hominis occisi causa, (eum) dormientem putabant", and, similarly, *mar ō-rā ba-farzand bar muždah dād* "she gave him (dative) good news regarding the child" "(tanquam) partem illius causa, de infante nuncium bonum dedit", and *mar ēn dast va-gulrang dar zēr man* "this right hand and rosy (steed, nominatives) beneath me" "(tanquam) pars, haec dextra et (equus) roseus sub me"

(2) The particle *bi(h)* perfectivizing the aspect of a verb (e.g *pursam* "I am asking" *bi-pursam* "I shall (or may) ask"; *pursīdam* "I was asking" *bi-pursīdam* "I asked" = French *je demandais* *je demandai*), is still connected by H. S. Nyberg (*Hilfsbuch des Pahlavi*, ii, Uppsala, 1931,

pp. 34–5; cf. J. Darmesteter, *Études iraniennes*, i, Paris, 1883, pp. 213–14) with an hypothetical Old Persian **bahi* "outside" (cf. Sanskrit *ba-hís* "outside", Old Church Slavic *bez*, Lithuanian *bè* "without"), apparently because of its Pahlavi masque بر Aramaic בְּרָא "outside". As Salemann (*Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, i, *a*, Strasbourg, 1901, p. 311) had already noted, it seems, for semantic reasons, to be cognate, rather, with the Avesta intensive particle *bōiṯ* < **bā-it* (cf. Avesta *čōiṯ* = Sanskrit *cét*, *nōiṯ* = *nét*, *frōiṯ* = *prét*, and C. Salemann, *Manichäische Studien*, i, Petrograd, 1908, p. 58). This Avesta *bā*, Old Persian **bā*, is clearly derived from the Indo-European particle **bhē̆/ō̆* seen in Armenian *ba(y)*, Old Church Slavic *bo*, Lithuanian *bà*, Lettish *ba*, Gothic *-ba(i)* (for the grade **bhŏ*), and with Greek *φή*, Lithuanian *bé*, Old Prussian *bhe* (for the grade **bhē̆*); cf. also Lithuanian *be-vargstù* "I am continually wretched", Old Lettish *láidi-ba* "let it continue to be". This view is essentially the one which I advanced in *JAOS*, xxxiii (1913), 293–4, and I still venture to think it the most plausible (cf also Walde-Pokorny, ii, 136, E. Kieckers, *Handbuch der vergleichenden gotischen Grammatik*, Munich, 1928, p 284; J Endzelin, *Lettische Grammatik*, Heidelberg, 1923, pp 541–2; R. Trautmann, *Baltisch-slavisches Worterbuch*, Gottingen, 1923, p 22, Berneker, i, 36, 65, K. Brugmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*², ii, iii, Strasbourg, 1916, pp. 997–8).

(3) The verbal prefix (*ha*)*mē*-, (*ha*)*mī*-, which gives the verb durative aspect ([*ha*]*mī-pursam* "I am asking", [*ha*]*mī-pursīdam* "I was asking"), was derived by F. Muller (*WZKM*, v [1891], 64–5) from **hamā-it*, and by Darmesteter (i, 71, 215; cf H Jensen, *Neupersische Grammatik*, Heidelberg, 1931, p 137) from Avesta *hamaθa*. It is, however, convincingly connected by Bartholomae (*Zum sasanidischen Recht*, iii, Heidelberg, 1920, p. 27), because of Turfān Pahlavi *hamēv*, with the group of Latin *aevom*, Greek *αἰ(ϝ)ών*, Gothic *aiws* "time" (for the group cf. Walde-Pokorny, i, 6–7; and for

the phonology, the Modern Persian indefinite particle *-ī*, e.g. *mardum-ī* "a man" < Old Persian *aiva-*, Avesta *aēva-*, Greek *οἶ(ϝ)ος* "one") A still more exact correspondence would seem to exist in Greek *αἰεί*, Cyprian *αἰϝεί* (locative); less probably in Gothic *aiw*, Anglo-Saxon *á*, *ó*, English *ay*, German *je* (accusative), so that *(ha)mē-*, *(ha)mī-* would appear to imply an original **hama-aivaiy*

(4) The post-verbal particle *-ā*, found only in the second and third persons singular, apparently without modifying the meaning of the verb, was considered by Horn (*GirPh* i, *b*, 152) to be a vocative particle It seems rather, however, to be cognate with the Indo-European intensive particle **ē*/*ō* found in Sanskrit *ā*, Greek *ἤ*, *ἐπει-ή*, *ὀτι-ή*, *τί-η*, Lakonian and Tarentine *εγων-η*, Latin *ē-castor*, Old High German *thh ā*, *nein ā*, *jah-ā* (cf Brugmann, pp 983–4; Walde-Pokorny, i, 99, H Hirt, *Indogermanische Grammatik*, iii, Heidelberg 1927, p 11, B Delbruck, *Altindische Syntax*, Halle, 1888, pp 478 9, Brugmann-Thumb, *Griechische Grammatik*[4], Munich, 1913, p 618, E Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, Paris, 1916, p 313, Walde-Hoffman, *Lateinisches etymologisches Worterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1930 sqq, pp 389 390, J Schatz, *Althochdeutsche Grammatik*, Gottingen 1927, p 267), and possibly even in Gothic *þat-a*, *þan a* (but cf Kieckers, p 140, Hirt, *Handbuch des Urgermanischen*, ii, Heidelberg, 1932, p 81) For the post-position cf -u in Gothic *binda u*, Avromānī preterite *-wā* ~ Persian *-wā* "re" (Benedictsen Christensen, *Les Dialects d'Awromān et de Pāwä*, Copenhagen, 1921, p 31), and possibly -r in the Armenian second singular imperfect *berer*, third singular *berēr*, second singular prohibitive *mi berer*, if this be cognate with Greek *ῥα*, Lithuanian *ir* (A Meillet, *Esquisse d'une grammaire comparée de l'arménien classique*, Vienna, 1903, pp 89, 95, cf A W M Odé, *Die uitgangen met R van het deponens en het passivum in de indoeuropeesche talen*, Haarlem, 1924, pp 28 31; Boisacq, pp 72, 831, Walde-Pokorny, i, 77; Brugmann, p. 986)

(5) **The formative -ī of the Modern Persian "participium necessitatis", e.g. *burdanī* "ferendus", derived by Jensen (p. 148) from Middle Persian *-īk* < Old Persian **-yaka-* "relating to" (cf. Modern Persian *ābī* "watery": *āb* "water"), seems, rather, to represent an Indo-European **-iio-*, as in **bhr̥toniio-*; cf. the (rare) Sanskrit type *karaṇīya-* "faciendus" (W D Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*[2], Boston, U.S.A., 1889, § 962; L Renou, *Grammaire sanscrite*, Paris, 1930, pp. 204–5; B Lindner, *Altindische Nominalbildung*, Jena, 1878, p 128; Brugmann, II, i, Strasbourg, 1906, p. 195).**

Louis H. Gray.

Columbia University,
New York City

311.

BOGDO

* The pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang, when forced by the imperious invitation of the Kao-ch'ang king to depart from Turfan in the direction of the king's city, did so with reluctance, because, according to the translation of Stanislas Julien (*Vie de Hiouen-Thsang*, p 32), "he had intended to visit the *stūpa* of the Khan (of the Turks)". Beal's improved rendering (*Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*, p. 24) reads "The Master of the Law had purposed in his mind to take (*the road leading*) past the Mausoleum (*Feou-tu*, Stūpa) of the Khan", and this interpretation is endorsed by Chavannes (*Documents sur les Tou-kiue Occidentaux*, pp 109, 175, 193, 305), who shows that Khagan-stūpa ('K'o-han-feou-t'ou', 可汗浮圖) was a town a little south-west from Guchen, in fact the town known later as Pei-t'ing and Beshbaliq he explains the great change in the route of Hiuen-Tsang, who had proposed to continue his westward journey from Turfan by the old line north of the Tien-shan. He would have begun by following an established route over the mountains direct to Pei-t'ing. From the *Chiu T'ang-shu* Chavannes cites (p. 305) a reference (year A.D. 791) to "the valley of the *stūpa*, which belonged to the Uigurs",

and he says that the situation assigned to the valley identifies it with the Khagan-stūpa of the Turks Prior to Chavannes Dr. Bushell had, in a passage (*JRAS.*, 1880, pp. 505, 533, n. 60) to which Chavannes refers, transliterated the Chinese phrase according to his system as "Huho Fut'ou ch'uan", the Uigur Fut'ou river(-valley), and he had pointed out that in the valley was a city "T'ing-chou, afterwards changed to Pei-t'ing" T'ing-chou is properly, as Chavannes renders it, "l'arrondissement de T'ing"

So far, indeed, we do not seem to have real evidence of a city named *Khagan stūpa*, since the phrases may mean "city of the Khagan stūpa valley" But, waiving that, we may point out that the expression *Khagan-stūpa* is absurd. The word *feou t'ou*, *fou t'u*, means not a tomb, but a Buddhist *stūpa* or *torana*, and no Khagan would have been commemorated by such If we should understand "a stūpa of (= built by order of) the Khagan", who will believe that by A D 629 any Turk Khagan had built a Buddhist *stūpa*? Chavannes original understanding (op cit, p 12) of Khagan-buddha, since *feou t'ou* does occur as a transcription of *Buddha*, serves, despite its subsequent retractation, to indicate the most natural interpretation of the two syllables following *Khagan* as a proper name A further observation is that the term *Khagan* was no essential part of the designation, since in "Huho Fut'ou ch'uan" it is absent What we are sure of is a "Feou t'ou", "Fut'ou" river-valley.

Further, however, we know that according to the "Former Han" Annals (c A D 100)¹, trans Wylie in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol xi, p 106, and De Groot, *Die Hunnen der vorchristlichen Zeit*, vol ii, pp 166-7) that the capital of the old kingdom of "Posterior Chu-shih" (Ku-shi), by name Yu lai, lay in the "Foo-t'ou", Bu-tŏ (務塗) valley; and the same information, with the same Chinese characters, recurs in the "Later Han" Annals (c A D 450)², cited by Chavannes (*T'oung-pao*, 1905, p 558), with the transcription *Wu-t'ou*. De Groot also mentions a *Bu-tŏ* river.

¹ [illegible]

There seems to be no reason for doubting that the capital of "Posterior Chü-shih" occupied the same site, with the same river and valley, when it was called Yu-lai, as when it bore the name Pei-t'ing Naturally it was on the direct route from Turfan, the capital of "Anterior Chu-shih", the character of which route, with river and valley, may be seen in Sir Aurel Stein's account (*Innermost Asia*, pp. 560–5) of his journey over the Pa-no-p'a pass. In these circumstances it is difficult not to admit that the *Feou-t'ou*, *Fut'ou* of T'ang times is simply a new way of rendering an old local name represented by the *Foo-t'oo*, *Bu-tŏ*, *Wu-t'ou* of the Han annalists. How was that name pronounced? The answer seems to be *Bug*(or *Wug*)-*do*. The syllable 圖 *t'u*, Japanese *to*, for which Karlgren (No 719) posits an archaic pronunciation, ˛*d'uo*, will not be questioned, because we have the sign in the transscription of [*Śud*]*dho*[*dana*], as well as in [*nıgha*]*ntu* (i.e. *ndu*), [*Bud*]*dha*[*rakṣa*], and [*Śata*]*dru* (Julien, *Méthode*, and Rosenberg, *Introduction to the Study of Buddhism*, p. 95). The earlier sign (塗) also—not traced in transliterations—is credited by Karlgren (No 1133) with the same archaic value, ˛*d'uo*, modern *t u*, Japanese *to*, *zu* (Rosenberg, p 100) The sign 務 (modern *wu*, Japanese *mu*, the *Foo*, and *Bu* of Wylie and De Groot) was, according to Karlgren (No. 1286), archaic *mıu* with evidence of an original final *-g* The form with *m*, which the Japanese presents in a number of similar words, creates no difficulty in regard to a Han value *bu* or *wu*; but it seems further that the form with a final *g*, *bug* or *wug*, must also be admitted Transliterations of the character seen not to be available; but preservation of final *-g* after *o* and *u* (as well as *e* and *ı*) is abundantly attested even for T'ang times in Central Asia by transcriptions in Tibetan characters (*JRAS*, 1926, pp. 516 sqq, 1927, pp 294 sqq), and also in Brāhmī (*ZDMG.*, 1937, pp 32–47), and must be regarded as having been normal, we have also borrowed words such as Tibetan *bug-sug* "lucerne", from Chinese **buk-suk*, modern *mu-su* (Laufer, *T'oung-pao*, 1916, pp. 500–1).

For the character 脢, Chinese *wu*, Japanese *mu* (Rosenberg, p. 64) a value *bu* is evidenced in the transcription of *Bu*[*ddha*], [*ad*]*bhu*[*ta*], [*Viśva*]*bhu*, *bhau*[*ma-deva*].

Since thus the indications point to a pronunciation *bugdo*, *wug-do*, in Han times and even later, it cannot be an accident that the route from Turfan to Pei-t'ing passed through the Bogdo mountains, the Bogdo-ulā of Mongol and modern times. That the title *Bogdo* (*Bogda*, in Tibetan also *Poq-ta*) was far anterior to the Mongol period, we have already (*JRAS*, 1931, pp. 831–2) inferred from its use, which we ascribed to Juan-juan (or Hephthalite or Turk ?) influence, in titles of certain Khotan kings of the early seventh century A.D. Its signification, 'holy,' or the like, will have been religious in some grade. Though it existed in Han times, it may yet have been of Turkish origin, since linguistically the Hiung-nu, who by the end of the 'Former Han' period constituted a large part of the population of 'Posterior Chu-shih', were Turkish. But the name may be rather of local Turkestan origin, since there is no small likelihood that it reappears in the *Vuģto*, *Vukto* (also *Vugato*), not infrequent as proper name of persons (officials) in the Shan shan kingdom during the third–fourth century A.D. (see *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, edited by the Abbé Boyer, É. Senart, and E. J. Rapson, index). Intercourse between Shan-shan and the Hiung-nu is well attested, from the second century B.C. by the Han histories; it can be traced also in the borrowing of the official designation *tsçay-keu* (Wylie, op. cit., vol. v, p. 24), *tsu-ku* (De Groot, op. cit., p. 54), which must be upon the model of the *tsçay-keus*, *tsu-kus*, and great ditto, of the dominant Hiung-nu kingdom (Wylie, vol. iii, pp. 410, 420, 451; De Groot, vol. i, p. 56).

It now remains to say a word concerning the title *Khagan* prefixed in later centuries to the name *Bogdo*. That the addition belongs to the Turk (or Juan-juan) period the term itself proves, and no doubt it implies a mythology. But it seems possible that it was first applied to the great mountain itself, as personified, since the other great massif of the Tien-shan is similarly *Khan Tengri* or *Tengri-Khan*. The Tibetans,

for a perhaps interesting reason, make their great mountains feminine, *Jo-mo*, "Queen" or "Lady".

It is probably more than curious to note that the name, *Pei-t'ing*, of the capital of "Posterior Chü-shih" in post-Turk times is itself similar to *Bogdo*. The Central Asian pronunciation represented by the Chinese signs 北 庭 was certainly *Bug-te* (or *de* or *t'e* or *tī*, etc) For, not to mention Brāhmī *pu* for *pei*, we actually have in Tibetan transcription *pug*, *ḥpug*, and *ḥphug*, as equivalents of the sign. The Central Asian disregard of the *-ng* in *t'ing* is part of a large matter (see Professor Pelliot in *J. As*, x, xix (1912), pp 588 sqq.), in the case of this word *t'ing* the Japanese, which so often agrees with the Central Asian, has *tei* (Rosenberg, p 100). Thus the name of the town was *Bug-te* (or °*de*, etc), and *Pei-t'ing* was for Central Asia as non-existent as *Kao-ch'ang* (*Kau-cocā*), and *Hiuen-tsang* (*Huin-tso*; see Fraulein A. von Gabain in *S P.A.W.*, 1935, p 153) It would be strange, if *Bug-de*(*te*), the town of the *Bug-do* valley, were etymologically independent Was it, with its meaning "north court", merely an instance of the frequent Chinese "Hobson-Jobson"izing of native names ?

It was in connection with the Epic of "Bogda Gesser Khan" that the title *Bogdo* was adduced in *JRAS.*, 1931, loc cit., on which occasion, considering also the dynastic name *Gesser* = *Ge-sar* = *Kəysar* (pp 835–6), we sought to connect the story with the Guchen-Turfan region The epic itself, apart from the old title *Bogdo*, has, at least in the Mongol version translated by I. J Schmidt, a Turkish savour, as may be felt on comparison with the Orkhon inscriptions If that impression is justified and if *Ge-sar* and his history, or the germs of it, were transported to Tibet from the Guchen-Turfan region, the occasion must have been the same as we have suggested (*Tibetan Texts*, p 296, n 2) for the importation of the divinity *Dpe-har* from the same region, namely the capture of Pei-t'ing in A.D. 790.

F. W. THOMAS.

AN ARABIC USAGE

The point I wish to make is rather elementary, but I feel justified in bringing it forward because I have noticed that translators sometimes go astray.

The usage in question has to do with such a phrase as "the night of Wednesday." On several occasions I have noticed that this is liable to be translated as "Wednesday night", which is certainly wrong. The correct translation should be "Tuesday night." This is due to the fact that the day is counted from sunset, and therefore the night which is connected with a particular day is the one which precedes it.

To illustrate the point, an instance may be quoted where the meaning cannot be doubted. The following occurs in the travels of Ibn Jubair.[1] He tells how he stayed in Harrān on a Monday and Tuesday and left on the night of Wednesday (i.e. Tuesday night). In the morning he arrived at Tall 'Abda, where he stayed till sunset. He then travelled all night and arrived at the Euphrates in the early morning. Having crossed to a fortress called Najm, he stayed there during Thursday. This passage makes it clear that "the night of Wednesday" must be Tuesday night, not Wednesday night, for if that were so, his arrival at Najm would have been on Friday, not Thursday.

On another occasion[2] he tells of his arrival in Qinnasrīn on a Thursday, and how, after a short stay, he moved on to a village called Tall Tājir, where he spent "the night of Friday" (i.e. that same night, Thursday night).

It is important that this usage should be understood. In dealing with historical works, a failure to understand it will lead to events being dated a day after their occurrence; and in dealing with works on devotional or magical practices, the wrong night will be given for certain rites.

In connection with this subject a remark might be added

[1] *Selections from Arabic Geographical Literature* (Semitic Study Series), p. 40 f.

[2] Ibid., p. 48.

on the use of *al-laila*, which is sometimes to be translated as "last night" instead of "to-night". Al-Bukhārī gives a tradition [1] which tells how a man went out to give alms, and gave them to an immoral woman. In the morning the people said: "He gave alms *al-laila* (last night) to an immoral woman." [2]

331. JAMES ROBSON.

ARABIC NUMERALS

As we all know, in Arabic numbering the units come before the tens, with which they are united by the conjunction و. In my long reading of early classical literature I do not remember having come across any exception to this rule, nor does any grammarian whom I have consulted make mention of such an exception This is especially true of prose writers. A poet, forced by the requirements of his metre, has occasionally reversed the order, but the numerous poetical licences required by an Arab poet have never been considered as pertaining to the genius of the language. On the contrary, many such licences clearly contravene this genius.

In the headings of a Kūfi Qur'ān in my collection of Islamic Arabic manuscripts, numbered Mingana Arab Isl. 1563, the above principle is contradicted, as the units are there placed after the tens. So on fol. 15*b*, *Sūrah* 16 is headed [3]· النحل ماية وخمسون وثمن اية; while on fol 28*b*, *Sūrah* 28 has the heading · القصص ثمنون وثمن اية; and on fol. 39*b*, *Sūrah* 68 is headed: ن والقلم خمسون واثنتان. This Kūfi Qur'ān, like most of the other Kūfi Qur'āns, unfortunately bears no date, and is incomplete, but on palæographical grounds it may

[1] *Zakāt*, 14

[2] Cf a similar Hebrew usage in 1 Sam. xv, 16.

[3] The diacritical points are mine, as they are naturally missing in the MS.

be ascribed to the end of the eighth century, or to about A.D. 770–820. It contains all the characteristics of an early vellum manuscript of the Qur'ān emanating from that period.

Is it possible to suppose that the method of writing the Arabic numbers was not very strict in early times? Is not the difficulty better explained by supposing that the copyist of the manuscript was a newly converted Persian or Syrian Christian who, influenced by his mother-tongue, inadvertently placed the numerals in the reverse order to that required by the Arabic language? At that early period Arabic had not yet gained a strong hold in Persian-speaking Iranshahr, and in the Syriac speaking parts of Syria

134 A. MINGANA.

A COMPENDIOUS URDU DICTIONARY

Students of Urdu may be glad to have their attention drawn to a new Urdu dictionary which is the largest yet published in the language. Some years ago the *Nūr ul Lugāt* appeared, which at the time was the most comprehensive dictionary in Urdu. It was compiled by Nūr ul Hasan Nayyir. Now we have this great work by 'Abd ul Majid which is nearly half as large again. To indicate its size and scope he calls it *Jāmi' ul Lugāt*.

It reflects great credit on the erudition and devotion of its compiler. We cannot help wondering how he secured time to collect the material and see it through the press, especially as he complains that while a big English dictionary is the product of the labours of a hundred co-operators, an Urdu dictionary has to be produced by one man. This one extends to four volumes of quarto size ($12\frac{1}{4}$ by $9\frac{1}{2}$), in all 2,700 pages; each page has three columns of 33 lines.

One would think it should not be impossible to secure the co-operation of several scholars for the production of a

dictionary in India. The *Hindī Shabd Sāgar*, which is comparable in size to the *Jāmi' ul Lugāt* (4,000 pp. of 42 lines each), was compiled by a chief editor with five sub-editors.

Three reasons may be adduced for the great size of this dictionary. Firstly an effort has been made to include the Arabic and Persian words loved by certain maulvis, and the Sanskrit words dear to certain pandits. Secondly a large number of proverbial and idiomatic expressions have been given a place. Thirdly the work has been made something of an encyclopaedia by the inclusion of notices of Urdu poets and other men deemed important, accounts of countries, cities and mountains, and even details of the ancient religions of Persia and India.

The compiler's success in his first edition makes one hope that a second will soon be called for. If he is already working on it, or even on a supplement to this one, perhaps he will consider one or two suggestions. He has laid us under a debt of gratitude by his proverbs and idioms; he would add to this gratitude if he gave some necessary grammatical information: if, for example, along with every compound verb he gave the construction, i.e. showed how the verb is used. Let us take the verbs *ta'rīf karnā*, "to praise", *talāsh karnā* "to search"; *tākīd karnā* "to urge". Three types of construction are possible, as we can see from the following: *uskī ta'rīf kī*; *usko talāsh kiyā*, *usko tākīd kī*. Usually only one is correct for any given verb, and the others are wrong. Not a single Urdu dictionary tells us which construction to use. If, therefore, a student finds the verb *tākīd karnā*, he asks himself "Am I to say *unko tākīd kiyā*, *unkī tākīd kī*, or *unko tākīd kī*?" and no answer is given.

The same holds of peculiar or difficult plurals, e.g. what is the plural of *barra* "lamb" (when fem.), *khāla* "aunt"; *mazbah* "altar", *vālida* "mother", *khalīfa* and *rājā*? Again, what is the oblique plural of *gāe* "cow", *gāõ* "village", *pāõ* "foot", *mahal* "palace", *mahalla* "section of a town", and of the other nouns just mentioned?

If Khāja 'Abd ul Majīd were in his next edition to give us

details of this kind he would at a bound place his dictionary ahead of every other Urdu dictionary in existence, and could fairly claim that it was unique.

In the meantime we beg him to accept our thanks for a splendid piece of work He may well feel proud of the result of his years of labour

345 T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Near East

THE WILDERNESS OF ZIN. By C. LEONARD WOOLLEY and T. E. LAWRENCE. Palestine Exploration Fund, 1915. $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 161, pls. xl, figs. 58. London · J. Cape, 1936. 18s.

This record of six weeks' work in the desert region south of Beersheba and the Dead Sea appeared as the annual of the Palestine Exploration Fund for 1914 to 1915, the two young archæologists, T E Lawrence and C L Woolley, having made their investigations during January and February, 1914. It is now reprinted because, as Sir Frederick Kenyon says in his introduction, it seems to deserve a wider publicity, "in view of the subsequent careers of its two authors, and of the literary merit which adds charm to the description of a country of no little Biblical and historical interest."

It has already formed a valuable contribution to the knowledge of this area, and been of great assistance in further work there, as well as correcting certain views put forward by earlier travellers To the wider public it is now hoped to reach, much of the archæological detail may lack interest. Mr Leonard Woolley had not yet become the past master he now is in the art of presenting archæological data in a form which fascinates the general reader. But the whole is lightened by the vividness of the descriptions and by the incisive historical comments on the strategy of a previous age —comments which give a glimpse of the Lawrence who was shortly to become famous in the forwarding of a very different enterprise He was to profit later not only by the exploration of some of the country in which his war-time operations took place (for he crossed to Ma'an during this expedition), but also by the understanding of desert warfare which he was acquiring. He criticizes the Byzantine defences,

scattered fortresses which were "peculiarly inadequate against nomad raiders", excellent no doubt as a line of defence on the maps in Constantinople, but "only a bureaucratic pedant could have imposed on a desert so incongruous a system, which seems rather to complete a system than to meet a local need"

The main function of this barren stretch of country has always been as a highway between Syria and Egypt. The different routes are discussed, the central road used by Abraham is explored, and the vexed question of Kadesh Barnea is examined The authors disagree with Professor Huntington's view that a considerable change in climate has taken place in this region The Byzantine civilization which flourished and disappeared was on an artificial basis and does not necessarily involve accepting a theory of a period of easier climatic conditions

There are a large number of excellent photographs of the country described, as well as plans of sites, etc, and maps Notes on inscriptions are contributed by Mr M N Tod, Dr A Cowley, and Professor Margoliouth

A 638 C WADDY.

Far East

SIAMESE WHITE By MAURICE COLLIS Three appendices and index $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp 302, 13 ills and maps. London Faber and Faber, 1936 15s

Mr Collis's book deals with the astonishing adventures of an Englishman named Samuel White who sailed for Madras in 1675 in the services of the East India Company, and the principal scenes are laid at Mergui, a port on the West Coast of the Malay Peninsula (Lat 12 5° N, Long 98 75° E) now in Burmese territory but in the seventeenth century an important centre of trade in the kingdom of Siam

The story told by Mr. Collis, who as an Indian Civil Servant was resident for some years in Mergui, is chiefly based on two original sources, namely "the Davenport Papers" recently

discovered in the India Office Library and "Records of the Relations between Siam and Foreign Countries in the Seventeenth Century" copied from papers also preserved at the India Office and published in five volumes by the National Library at Bangkok between the years 1915 and 1921.

Soon after White's arrival in Madras, where he was employed as a pilot, he received an invitation to go and stay with his brother George, who had been for years living at Madras as a free merchant (or "interloper") but who, at the time of Samuel's arrival, was paying a visit to Ayudhya, the capital of Siam Samuel White accepted his brother's invitation, little knowing that thereby he was to change the whole course of his career in the East.

It would occupy too much space even to outline Samuel White's subsequent adventures, but the upshot of his visit was that he was permitted by the East India Company to accept the post of Port Officer at Mergui offered him by the Siamese Government, who were anxious to counteract the influence of the Mahommedan merchants, at that time all powerful in matters of trade in Siam Once he had installed himself, Samuel White showed himself in his true colours, betraying both his old masters and his new. He at once began to cheat the King of Siam, whose personal agent he was, in the sale of certain products, of which the King maintained a monopoly; and it was not long before he had raised a fleet of ships which preyed on both the Company's and certain Indian princes' vessels trading in the Bay of Bengal. In short he became nothing less than a pirate chief, until finally orders were sent from England to recall all the English subjects serving the King of Siam and, particularly, to send a ship of war to Mergui to seize White and bring him back to Madras, there to answer charges of treason and piracy. Davenport's account of how White hoodwinked the captain of *H M.S. Curtana* and finally escaped to England with his ill-gotten gains early in 1688 must be left for the reader to discover.

Mr. Collis tells his tale in admirable fashion, and his account of the Court of Siam, of the embassies to and from France, and of White's dealings with Constantine Phaulkon, the Greek adventurer, who had made himself the most powerful Minister in Siam, make fascinating reading for all who are interested in Eastern history

This is not the place to trace the attempt of Phaulkon and Louis XIV to turn Siam into a colonial possession of France, but I agree entirely with Mr Collis in his contention that the mandarinate at Ayudhya realized in time the danger to their country, and that the Revolution of Siam in 1688 was no mere Palace intrigue, but had an important bearing on the subsequent history of the East

One point may be noticed A traveller to-day from Madras to the capital of Siam would scarcely go by ship via the Straits of Malacca (p 19) unless he had plenty of time on his hands He would probably disembark at Penang and take the bi weekly International Express, reaching Bangkok within twenty four hours and thereby saving at least five days travelling and a tiresome change at Singapore

A 643 R LE MAY.

L'ÉVOLUTION DU STŪPA EN ASIE By GISBERT COMBAZ. Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques publiés par l'Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises 10 × 6½ Vol I, pp 143, figs 71, 1933 Vol II pp 52, figs 14, 1935 Louvain Marcel Islas

In the above treatise the Belgian scholar Gisbert Combaz, presents a very clear and sober account of the historical development of that most typical monument the *stūpa*—first in India proper, next in Ceylon, Java, Further India, and the Far East Derived apparently from a simple tumulus, it fulfils a fourfold purpose funerary, reliquary, commemorative, and votive According to sacred tradition the first Buddhist *stūpas* were erected immediately after the Great Nirvāṇa, but of the eight original *śarīra-stūpas* none

has been recovered. There seems, indeed, no reason to doubt that the primary purpose of the Buddhist *stūpa* was to preserve the sacred relics of the Master and of his chief disciples. Objects supposed to have been used by the Buddha, such as his alms-bowl, robe, and staff, were equally worshipped, but from the account of Fa-hien (transl. Legge, pp. 35 and 38–9) it would seem that they were not buried in a *stūpa*.

The author discusses the various architectural members of which the *stūpa* consists, the solid dome being the most essential He dwells at some length on the superstructure (*harmikā*), the early development of which is difficult to trace, as this part of the monument has disappeared in nearly all the ancient structural *stūpas* of India In this connection we may call attention to the massive stone railing of Mauryan date which was found under the central temple of Sārnāth but which in all probability once stood on the top of the adjoining *stūpa* which has been ascribed to Aśoka. If this supposition is correct, such a square railing must have been the origin of the mysterious *harmikā*

The author (p 209) refers to the practice of enclosing the relic-monument within a temple Rock-cut examples are universally known, but structural *cetiyagharas* have come to light not only at Sanchi and Taxila, but also at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, Rāmatīrtham, and Śankaram (both in the Vizagapatam district), in Southern India, and as far north as Kashmīr (Harwan) In fact, such "apsidal" temples must have been in use all over India during the early centuries of the Christian era Two complete specimens still exist at Ter and Chezarla (Guntur district)

The railings (*vedikā*) and gateways (*torana*), those important adjuncts of the early *stūpas*, receive adequate treatment, and mention is made of the detached monolithic pillars often found at the side of those monuments. What is the origin of the term *lāṭ* by which these columns are designated by the author in imitation of earlier writers? It is pointed out that the surface of the *stūpa* used to be covered with a thick layer

of *chunā*, which must once have been decorated with painted ornaments. Some decorative motifs employed in the case of the Mahāthūpa of Anurādhapura are mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃsa*.

In dealing with the gigantic *dagobas* preserved in the ancient capital of Ceylon just mentioned and in the later medieval capital Polonnaruwa, the author rightly emphasizes the early type maintained by these imposing structures. In some cases, however, modern restorations carried out in a bad taste and without expert knowledge have had a disastrous effect in effacing the characteristic features of these monuments. It is well known that some of the Ceylonese *stūpas* are surrounded by rows of pillars which, according to the author, once carried Buddhist emblems in metal. Notwithstanding the difference of height, it seems more likely that they served the purpose of supporting a wooden roof or superstructure of some kind. It is a curious feature which the *stūpas* of Ceylon share with those of the Kistna valley that the cylindrical portion on which the dome rests is provided with four rectangular projections. The meaning of these extensions, called *vāhalkada* in Sinhalese, still remains to be explained, as well as the significance of the five pillars (*āyakakhambha*) which they support in the case of the *stūpas* of the Kistna valley.

It would carry us too far to follow the author in tracing the manifold transitions which the ancient relic-monument has undergone during its migrations in Further India and the Far East. It goes without saying that the Barabudur, the great monument of Java in which the *stūpa* attains its supreme development, is discussed at great length. We note in this connection that the Chandi Mendut is essentially a temple, enshrining three statues of colossal size. The *stūpa* of Muara Takus on the Kampar Kanan River in the island of Sumatra would have deserved more than a passing notice.

A 485 J. PH. VOGEL.

THE COULING-CHALFANT COLLECTION OF INSCRIBED ORACLE BONE. Drawn by FRANK H. CHALFANT. Edited by ROSWELL S. BRITTON. $11\frac{3}{8} \times 9\frac{7}{8}$, pp. iii × 132. Shanghai: The Commercial Press, Ltd. Preface dated 4th November, 1935.

This modest blue volume, so flexible to handle, so stiff, so very stiff, to grasp, will prove beyond the most generalized of general readers. But to a small group of students, mainly Chinese or Japanese, it should at once be valuable and become in the end invaluable. Such students can hardly withhold gratitude, first to the late Mr Frank Chalfant, whose untiring industry and scrupulous draughtmanship are displayed in these 132 pages of sketch-plates And then to Mr Roswell S. Britton, to whose initiative and energy is due the breaking of an over-long repose of more than twenty years, and the publication in its present form of a selection of these beautifully drawn plates

Thus have been made accessible to the limited but now increasing body of specialist students the collections in this genre, in the Royal Scottish Museum (760 pieces), in the Carnegie Museum, Pittsburg (438 pieces), in the British Museum (485 pieces), and in the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago (4 pieces), in all 1,687 inscribed specimens. A new and notable material for study of archaic Chinese writing.

A 599 L. C. HOPKINS.

Middle East

EXCAVATIONS AT KISH: Oxford Field Museum Expedition, vol. IV (1925–1920). By C L WATELIN, with epigraphical notes by S. LANGDON. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 10\frac{3}{4}$, pp. vii + 72, pls. 45. Paris · Geuthner, 1934. 120 frs.

The lamented archæologist gives an account of the strata (Stone Age to Neo-Babylonian) of his deep excavation north-west of the larger ziggurat at Hursagkalamma or eastern Kish.

The lower levels are of great interest. The earliest trace of human occupation is marked by microlithic implements found with ash beds here for the first time microlithic industry has been found *in situ* Immediately above lies a layer characterized by Jemdet Nasr ware Then, after an almost sterile layer, the remains of the first buildings that survive, with interesting drains or water-troughs. In this stratum is evidence of a series of inundations, and Watelin was inclined to equate the first (not the last and greatest, which has hitherto attracted more attention) with the deluge of tradition.

Mr Penniman contributes a clear account of the human remains from the graves contemporary with the above buildings The types represented are found to be Eurafrican and Armenoid The absence of the Mediterranean type is thought to be accidental

A 629 E BURROWS

—

CATALOGUE OF THE MINGANA COLLECTION OF MANUSCRIPTS Vol i, Syriac and Garshūni Manuscripts, vol ii, Christian Arabic and Additional Syriac Manuscripts By A MINGANA 12½ × 10, pp vi + 628 and vi + 208 respectively Cambridge Heffer, 1933 and 1936

This great catalogue represents a harvest gathered in the years 1925 1933, on various journeys to Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Egypt made possible by the generosity of Mr Edward Cadbury No scholar in Europe to day is in a position comparable to that of Dr Mingana for tracing and acquiring manuscripts in those countries, where the peoples and their vernaculars are familiar to him from youth up The knowledge, tact, and labour involved in collecting such a quantity of material 606 manuscripts in the first volume, with a supplement of 14, and 120 in the second—must have been immense, and author, printer (the Aberdeen Press), and

publisher are to be congratulated upon the appearance of such a monumental work. All branches of Syriac literature are represented and all its principal authors. But not only are most of the early writers to be found here, but an unusual number of more modern works were brought home, illustrating the recent history of the Syrian churches to an extent surely not covered by any other collection. We may here note that a further interesting addition to his treasures was announced by Dr. Mingana in *The Times*, November 6th, 1936.

One general criticism will be made at once by any user of the Catalogue the first and principal volume is devoid of all arrangement of the material It is true that mixed manuscripts, such as many of these are, make classification difficult, but that obstacle has confronted scholars before now and has been, to some degree at any rate, overcome. A full index of names is our sole guide through nearly 600 pages in vol i, in the Arabic volume a division according to subjects is adopted Besides the indexes, lists are given, in vol i of 127 precisely dated manuscripts and of 400 more, to which the author s wide experience emboldens him to assign approximate dates About one-third of the total are ascribed to the eighteenth century; beyond these are several written—often, of course, copied—in the nineteenth. In vol. ii a parallel list contains eighty numbers, about half of them assigned to the eighteenth century.

Vol i also contains a large proportion of Karshūni texts, emanating both from East and West Syrian communities; here and there among them works obviously of Egyptian origin Only on certain of these and on the Egyptian element in vol ii can I venture any observations, with the main body of the work, the Syriac texts, I am not competent to deal One would have been glad to know which of these MSS were acquired in Egypt, which elsewhere

Vol. i, No. 5A. One of several copies of the story of the Flight into Egypt and sojourn at Ḳoskām. Both the Syriac

and Arabic versions were first published by M. Guidi in 1917 and 1921 (*Rendic. Accad Linc.*)

No. 14. John, "the Prophet of the Thebaid." This voluminous, but still unknown author cannot, if he wrote in Greek, be identified with John of Lycopolis, although he appears to be so entitled now and then; for the latter clearly knew no Greek (v *Lausiac History*, Butler, ii, 102). Is it not more probable that he wrote in Coptic, indeed not improbable that the Coptic fragments attributed to an unidentified "John" (Rylands *Coptic Catal*, No. 65) may eventually be traced in one or other of his works?

No 21F and 177B This is the *Garden of Delight*, or *Garden of Monks*, a collection of Egyptian monastic tales, some of them not unworthy of the "Thousand and One Nights". It was described in *Studies*. *F Ll Griffith*, 137 The monastery named in § G is the well-known هاطلون *Ἐνατον*, outside Alexandria The narrator's name here is Victor (so too in No 352L and elsewhere)

No 21N, the Life of Macarius by Sarapion, whereof the Coptic original (or rather, the Bohairic adaptation of the Sa'idic original) was published by Amélineau

No 32B one of many copies of the principal work of the monophysite controversialist, Peter of Malīg

No 95 Of the History of the Council by Severus of Ashmunain there are six copies here, often joined with the last named

No 127G, the magical Prayer of the Virgin in Parthia, for the Coptic original of which see *PSBA*, xix, 210, and Kropp *Zaubertexte*, ii, 127

" " H, K the homily of Cyriac of Behnesā on the Virgin at the Tomb, perhaps composed originally in Arabic.

No 138M the story of Hilaria, Zeno's daughter Found in seven copies in this collection Several MSS of the highly popular Coptic original are extant, complete in P. Morgan, No. xli.

No. 80E. It would be interesting to learn more of these "Sayings of the Philosophers", said to be translated from the Coptic. Perhaps from the collection of anecdotes partly published by Till (*Mémoires de la Mission Française*, lxvii, 165).

No. 225Q. This is the dying prophecy of Pesenthius of Keft, published by A. Périer (*Rev Or. Chr.*, xix).

No. 232B. The similar prophecy of Samuel of Kạlamōn, published by J. Ziadeh (*loc cit.*, xx). It is strange to find these pieces current outside Egypt.

No. 240B, the Babylonian Captivity (cf vol. ii, No. 20), translated, many years ago, from an Arabic MS (now Brit. Mus Or 3599) by Amélineau (*Contes*, ii). The Coptic text, of which the Arabic is (as Dr Mingana has surmised) a translation, may be read complete in P Morgan MS no. xxxi, while remnants of a Fayyūmic version are preserved on papyrus in Brit Mus, Dept of Eg and Ass Antiq., no. 10578.

No 446ee is the Encomium of Severus of Nestarāwah, published in 1877 by Bargès

No 453A, the Book of Spiritual Medicine, was compiled by Michael, bishop of Malīg (v G Graf, *Catalogue*, no. 390, Wright, *Ethiopic Catal*, cxxxvii)

No. 481A, composed (or compiled by) a Copt, in Dr. Mingana's opinion Among the patristic excerpts are several from Alexandrian patriarchs, also one from the mysterious "Pope of Rome", مطولوحن, recurring in no. 344 as مطوليجوس and in vol. ii, no 41 (14) as مطوليس. Mai long ago (*SVNC.* iv, no 121) proposed *Vitalianus*. Has the mystery been solved?

No. 532, the story of Marina "the Eunuch", presumably originated in Egypt; at any rate the Coptic version locates it there. That of Mark of Tarmaḳ (Marcus Atheniensis) is placed in the desert west of Egypt.

Vol. ii, No. 10. This Arabic version of Athanasius's Exposi-

tion of the Psalms is doubtless made from the Coptic: cf. Brit. Mus. *Coptic Catal*, No 172. The MS. is of interest as having been written for Raphael Tuki, the well-known Coptic scholar, and by an already familiar scribe (v. Brit. Mus., *loc cit*, No 724)

No. 18, Theophilus and the Virgin; differing from the Syriac version Cf M Guidi's text

No 22 is the actual MS. used by G Horner for his edition of *The Consecration of Church and Altar*, 1902 At that time it belonged to Bishop J Wordsworth

No 41 is the same patriotic encyclopedia as No. 481 of vol i, but more extensive In §§ 27, 32 ارطستكا represents 'Εορταστική "Festal Letter" Those of Benjamin should be of interest (v Jülicher in the Harnack *Festgabe*, 125)

No 76 Dr Mingana dates this MS in the tenth century and calls its material "Egyptian vellum" It is a translation of the so-called *Alphabetical Apophthegmata* (Migne, *PG*, lxv) It would be interesting to compare it with the Arabic published by Dr Sobhy in Evelyn White's *New Texts*, p 234 ff.

A 698 W. E CRUM.

UR EXCAVATION VOL II THE ROYAL CEMETERY[1] A report on the Predynastic and Sargonid Graves excavated between 1926 and 1931 By C L WOOLLEY. Publications of the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia 13 × 10½ Text pp. xx + 604, pls 4, figs 81 Plates pls 274 New York Trustees of the two Museums, 1934

It is somewhat late in the day for an appraisal of Sir Leonard Woolley's work at Ur The volume under review was

[1] Publications of the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia Ur Excavations. Volume ii, *The Royal Cemeteries*, by C L. Woolley (London and Philadelphia, 1934)

published two years ago; the discoveries themselves date back to 1927, and the educated public throughout the world is aware of their importance. But while a synopsis would serve no useful purpose, it is instructive to consider his main results in retrospect. For our view of the "Royal Cemetery" has changed very considerably since the time when each spring brought numbers of British and foreign archæologists to a temporary exhibition of the season's discoveries arranged at the British Museum.

Let it be clear from the outset that the change of view does not imply diminished appreciation. But instead of an isolated group of objects, the contents of the tombs now appear as part and parcel of a cultural phase which the whole of Mesopotamia passed through early in the third millennium B.C.; and which is, at present, more fully known to us than many which preceded and follow it The better understanding is the outcome of much co-ordinated research; but that it proved possible to equip and maintain several expeditions in Iraq through a number of years is to some degree due to the sensational interest aroused by Sir Leonard's discoveries. Nor should it be forgotten that the solid network of archæological equations which now connects sites as far apart as Mari on the Middle Euphrates, Tepe Gawra near Mosul, Khafaje, Tell Agrab, Tell Asmar, and Kish near Baghdad, and Warka and Telloh in the extreme south, could only be drawn so closely because so many of its threads led to Ur. The richness of the cemetery at Ur presented an exceptionally wide range of features for comparison, so that unrelated discoveries could often be co-ordinated by reference to that site. We must count the many-sidedness of the results as one of the most valuable features of the work at Ur, and one for which full credit is due to the excavator. Fortune no doubt served Sir Leonard well, but a perusal of these volumes will convince even those who did follow his work at close range of how much would have been lost but for the alertness, resourcefulness, and skill of the leader of the "Joint Expedition". Treasures

like the Standard, the goat-shaped supports for offerings,[1] harps, and gaming-boards were no more than unconnected fragments among decayed débris at the moment of their discovery, which might well have been also the moment of their final annihilation The same precision of technique which salvaged these objects recovered the record of ritual interment and sacrifice from the stratification of the débris in the tomb shafts, and a host of similarly significant details.

When we extend our retrospect from the record of the work to its interpretation we face a less monumental achievement Let us leave aside matters of less account, and consider the two problems, which the novelty of the discoveries has placed from the first in the foreground of controversy; what is the age of these graves, and who were buried in them ?

Chronological argument naturally occupies much space in this volume, but it is curiously unsatisfactory Occasionally it is even forgotten that terms of years are meaningless in dealing with events preceding the accession of Sargon, since we only know objectively a succession of cultural stages, and each translation of these into years is a purely subjective expression of opinion within confines drawn with ever narrowing limits as research advances Thus statements to the effect that one scholar dates certain tablets about 3750 B C (p 15) or that another assigns certain remains to 4000 B C. (p. 224) are futile It is almost certain that they would not quote such figures in the light of the latest information But it would still be interesting to know how these scholars correlate other remains with those under discussion Worse is the wearying frequency of assertions that a great length of time must have elapsed before rubbish could be dumped near graves, or types of tomb-equipment changed, or that certain walls "must be credited with a lifetime of several human generations" Of all these things we know absolutely nothing. We know that the mentality of the ancients differed

[1] For its interpretation see the seal, Weber, *Altorientalische Siegelbilder*, 430.

from our own, and that their building material was exceedingly susceptible to the influence of the weather. We also know that certain periods, hardly represented at one site, may have left elsewhere substantial remains. Thus the magnificent temples of the Uruk Period find no parallel outside Warka, though contemporary levels can be identified. The First Early Dynastic Period, a mere age of transition at most sites, was recently found to be represented by a dozen floor-levels and four successive " Archaic Shrines " at Tell Asmar. It is therefore unsound to base even a relative chronology on the information obtained at one site alone.

Now the stratigraphical observations at Ur, detailed in themselves and very fully recorded, refer to conditions in the soil which are, by reason of their very nature, unsuited to supply a chronological framework. In the case of successive buildings we are, in more senses than one, on firm ground; for each floor-level must have corresponded to a real situation in which the building and its surroundings formed a complex in practical use. But at Ur we have to deal with graves, dug at various depths and from varying levels into a mass of dumped rubbish, sloping in several directions, spread unevenly and of varying consistency and colouring Moreover, rubbish-dumping went on while the graves were dug [1] It is therefore not surprising that the actual observations of the excavator only give a rough determination of the age of the main cemetery as pre-Sargonid. Sir Leonard, it is true, believes that he can be more definite. He has referred on several occasions to a " grey layer " or " barren stratum " separating these earlier graves from those of Sargonid date In 1929–30, he found at the edge of his large excavation a layer which he believes to be continuous with those which were removed in earlier campaigns, and which contained sealings of rulers of the First Dynasty of Ur. He therefore states that the whole of the earlier cemetery was sealed by this deposit, and that no shaft of a pre-Sargonid tomb was ever dug through it.

[1] p. 16, and *Antiquaries Journal*, viii, 420.

I must confess that his own graphic descriptions of the irregularities of the site make me exceedingly sceptical as to the possibility of dogmatizing on this point but the reader must judge for himself![1]

In this same stratum some burnt burials were discovered which Sir Leonard therefore dates to the First Dynasty (pp 31–2, 142–3). But some of the burnt burials belong to the early phase of the cemetery, so that their evidence would support the view that the early cemetery as a whole is contemporaneous with the First Dynasty In any case their contents are too poor to be of much help Of more value is the small series of fifteen tombs, inappropriately, and on no evidence, labelled "Second Dynasty" (pp. 30–31, 181–203). They clearly form a transitional stage between the tomb-equipment of the very homogeneous "Early Cemetery" and that of the equally homogeneous Sargonid graves. It is important to establish their age with some precision, since that would be a date *ad quem* for the Early Cemetery. There is no date implied in, but also no justification for, the designation "Second Dynasty", which to us is nothing but an entry in a king-list – "a mere phantom without content in time, deeds, or persons" (Gadd) The bare fact of its existence is problematical, so that one cannot "imply that they (the graves) come at about the right period for that dynasty" (p 214)

To determine the age of these graves we should remember that the appearance of new features is more significant than the survival of old traits The new features in these fifteen graves are conclusive evidence that they belong to the Sargonid age, they include some of the weapons, all but one of the

[1] pp 16 17, 215, 218–222 Also *Antiquaries Journal*, viii, 2–5, 419–420 It should also be remembered that the large tombs contained brick structures at various levels in their shafts, e.g pp 95 and 103, and that we have to reckon with superstructures of crude brick (*Antiquaries Journal*, viii, 4, 421–2), the decayed remains of which would be well-nigh indistinguishable from the brick rubbish dumped in the "grey layer".

cylinder seals,[1] and some pottery types, such as 197–200, which at Tell Asmar and Khafaje are distinctive for the Akkadian houses, and never occur in the Early Dynastic strata.

The many links with Early Dynastic times show that the fifteen graves fall at the very beginning of the new age, in other words, in the long reign of Sargon of Akkad. This implies that planoconvex bricks were used or re-used at Ur occasionally under that ruler (p 213)—an unexpected conclusion, but one which we are obliged to draw in view of the rest of the evidence.[2] The accession of Sargon naturally did not lead to a sudden break in material culture A typically Early Dynastic poker-butted spear, inscribed with the name of Manishtusu, was found at Assur.[3] That king's statue from Susa resembles Early Dynastic carvings in all but the inscription [4] At Susa also was found the well-known painted pot containing objects of copper and cylinder seals The latter are all Early Dynastic and most of the copper objects resemble those from the Royal Tombs at Ur, but an axe with turned-over socket, such as is typical at Ur for the Sargonid graves, was found with the other objects The seal impressions of Sargon's own servants display the new glyptic style to perfection [5], but one from Ur (Pl 212, No 307), belonging to a servant of Sargon's daughter, shows a transitional style. It maintains the Early Dynastic frieze but shows the new influences in the modelling of the figures and in the dress of one of the protagonists [6] Thus the curiously mixed contents

[1] Pl 211, No 286 (U-17656) alone is Early Dynastic, and No 295 (U-17904) is no doubt intrusive since it belongs to the Third Dynasty of Ur, during which period much of the soil was worked through

[2] At Khafaje an Akkadian tablet was found in a house built of planoconvex bricks See *Oriental Institute Communications*, No 17, p 68

[3] *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft*, No. 73, p 1

[4] Contenau, *Manuel*, p 673

[5] Delaporte, *Catalogue des Cylindres Orientaux* (Louvre), pp 11, 12

[6] The dating of cylinder seals will be discussed in two publications on that subject which are in preparation See provisionally *Oriental Institute Communications*, No 16, pp 40–6

of the fifteen graves under discussion are not difficult to understand; they prove, in fact, their early Sargonid date. It follows, then, that the Early Cemetery was in use down to, or within a short period of, Sargon's accession.

This same conclusion is reached when we consider the numerous discoveries at other sites which have been made of recent years, and which reduce the uncertainty, caused by the stratification at Ur, to a matter of minor importance. For easy reference we have combined these results in the form of a table (See p 337)

We may summarize this evidence as follows —

Underneath the rubbish into which the cemetery of Ur was dug there are some layers containing tablets and seal impressions These tablets have just been published. They are placed between those from Jemdet Nasr and those from Fara [1] The seal impressions, however, resemble some found in a search trench at Warka, where their association with planoconvex bricks and certain types of pottery provides a clear link with the layers of the First Early Dynastic Period at Khafaje [2]

The next period also antedates the earliest tombs of the Royal Cemetery, and was evidently occupied by the accumulation of rubbish in which the tombs were dug. For no objects were found which compare with those of the Square Temple at Tell Asmar or the Macehead of Mesilim or the pre-Urnanshe spear point from Lagash, and the commonest type of seal impressions from Fara is only represented by a very few specimens at Ur Even the beginning of the Third Early Dynastic period precedes the earliest "royal tombs" This earlier part of the E D III Period is represented by the

[1] E Burrows *Archaic Texts* (London, 1936) and A Falkenstein, *Archaische Texte aus Uruk* (Berlin 1936) p 19

[2] E Heinrich *Kleinfunde aus den Archaischen Tempelschichten in Uruk* (Berlin, 1936), pp 10 32 See also Fifth Preliminary Report of the Iraq Expedition, *Oriental Institute Communications*, No 20 (Chicago, 1936).

Period		Archæological Remains: at Ur	Archæological Remains: at other sites	Estimated Dates B.C.	Egypt
Sargonid Dynasty		Sargonid Graves	Town at Tell Asmar and Kish		
Sargon's reign		" Second Dynasty " Graves		2528 ?	Vth Dynasty
Third Early Dynastic Period	E D III*b*	" Early Cemetery "	Urnanshe Dynasty at Lagash First Dynasty of Ur (Al 'Ubaid temple) Kish A Cemetery Single Shrine Temple at Tell Asmar Late Oval at Khafaje	2700 ?	Sneferu (2684)
	E D III*a*	Accumulation of rubbish	Ishtar temple at Mari Ishtar temple at Assur (H-G). Palace at Kish (A) Single Shrine Temple at Tell Asmar Middle Oval at Khafaje Texts from Fara	2800 ?	Zoser
Second Early Dynastic Period		Accumulation of rubbish Building levels D-E	Square Temple at Tell Asmar First Oval at Khafaje. Many seal-impressions from Fara	2900 ?	
First Early Dynastic Period		Building levels E-G S I S 4/5 with archaic texts and seal impressions	Archaic Shrines at Tell Asmar. Sin Temple IV–V at Khafaje Cemetery Kish " Y ". Warka, layer I in trench P/XIII. " Later Cemetery " at Al 'Ubaid.	3000 ?	1st Dynasty
Jemdet Nasr Period					Late Predynastic Period

main body of Early Dynastic objects from Khafaje, and by the Ishtar temples at Mari and Assur H-G. At Khafaje graves like those of the Royal Cemetery were definitely later than the layers in which the objects just referred to were found.[1] And it is symptomatic that two discoveries at Ur which are related to this earlier group of finds, namely the relief-fragment (Pl 181*b*), and a multiple vase (U-8731 on plate 221), were not found in graves, but in the rubbish outside them. Moreover, our conclusion agrees with M Thureau-Dangin's statement that the inscriptions on statues from Mari are more archaic than similar inscriptions at Ur and Al Ubaid.[2] On the other hand, the names of the Royal Cemetery, like those of the First Dynasty of Ur, are sometimes formed in a manner which the Sargonids use too (p 318). Lastly we have found jewellery (resembling that from the Royal- and Kish A-Cemeteries) at Tell Asmar in the earliest building of flat bricks the so-called Akkadian Palace,[3] underneath which, dug in from the highest floor-level of planoconvex bricks, there was a hoard of eighty copper objects which are practically identical with those from the earliest tombs at Ur.[4]

This simplified summary of the evidence at present available reduces the uncertainty as to the date of the Royal Cemetery to its proper proportion It is certain that the whole pre-Sargonid section of the cemetery is to be placed in the latter half of the Third Early Dynastic Period, and attempts at a more precise dating are confined within the limits set by the foregoing comparisons Since we are dealing here with a period immediately preceding historical times, we are able to touch upon the question of absolute chronology The whole of the Royal Cemetery must be dated within the centuries preceding the accession of Sargon, and consequently

[1] *Revue d'Assyriologie* Vol 31 (1934) pp 173 189
[2] Ibid., pp 137 143
[3] *Oriental Institute Communications*, No 17, fig 29
[4] Ibid., No 17, figs. 30-5, and ibid No 19, folding plate at back

Sir Leonard's guess (frankly presented as such) of 3500–3200 B.C. for the Early Cemetery cannot even be a matter for discussion nowadays. I insist on this point with some warmth because the disagreement existing between scholars where Early Near Eastern chronology is concerned is even now generally overrated, and is bound to become yet more insignificant when the recent discoveries summarized above have been more generally studied.

One of the most valuable contributions of archæology to general knowledge is precisely this, that it provides a correlation of those early stages of civilization in the main centres, for which no historical date, and therefore no absolute chronology, is available. It is relevant to our present argument to recall the interdependence of early Babylonian and early Egyptian chronology as a result of the numerous signs of intercourse between the two countries preceding and during the rise of the First Dynasty in Egypt.[1] Already there are indications that it will be possible to include the Aegean in this system of relative chronology, but in any case the many cross-datings result in a fabric sufficiently coherent to exclude the possibility of inserting several centuries at any one point. Moreover, we are apt to use "several centuries" too glibly. It should be remembered that they must comprise—once savagery has been left behind—a very considerable cultural change The evidence concerning the periods just preceding dateable events in Egypt and Mesopotamia, especially the introduction of the calendar under Zoser about 2776 B.C.,[2] makes it impossible to place the First Egyptian Dynasty, and consequently the Jemdet Nasr Period in Mesopotamia, much before 3000 B C

To return to the Royal Cemetery at Ur, it is obviously desirable to subdivide the Third Early Dynastic Period more

[1] See the comprehensive article by Scharff in *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache* 71 (1935), pp 89–106 Differences between our respective tables will be discussed elsewhere

[2] See Scharf in *Orientalistische Literatur Zeitung*, 1928, 78 ff, and also his *Grundzüge der Aegyptische Vorgeschichte*, pp 46–58.

precisely. But the remains from this age are all closely interrelated, as was to be expected. Gadd,[1] Landsberger,[2] and Moortgat[3] have pointed out in well-considered studies the close affinities existing between the Urnanshe dynasty at Lagash, the remains of the First Dynasty at Ur and Al 'Ubaid,[4] and the Royal Cemetery. Gadd's conclusion still holds good "So far, then, it has remained doubtful to whom the oldest treasures of Ur must be ascribed, whether to the First Dynasty itself, or to some earlier unrecorded kings. The position in which they lay is somewhat in favour of the latter, historical probability and their intrinsic character weigh heavily for the former"

But apparently palaeography gives a slight bias in favour of an earlier date for the Royal Cemetery Its seal inscriptions display, as Father Burrows shows, sometimes the random arrangement of signs which occurs occasionally under Urnanshe, but no longer under Eannatum, nor does it occur in the inscriptions of the First Dynasty of Ur On the other hand the latter uses the place-determinative *ki'* quite regularly, while Urnanshe omits it, and so do some of the seals from the Royal Cemetery.

It would seem that our three groups overlap, but that the earliest graves of the cemetery antedate the First Dynasty of Ur a little, while the first king of that Dynasty, Mesannipadda, perhaps reigned a few decennia before Urnanshe Actually we are drawing here distinctions of an order entirely different from those normally used in Mesopotamian

[1] Gadd, *History of Monuments of Ur* (London, 1929), 37 ff

[2] In *Orientalistische Literatur Zeitung*, 1931, 115 ff

[3] Anton Moortgat *Frühe Bildkunst in Sumer* (Mitteilungen der vorderasiatisch Aegyptischen Gesellschaft, Band 40) Leipzig, 1935, pp 6–23, 32

[4] The "Later Cemetery" at Al 'Ubaid which has been considered, reasonably enough, to be contemporaneous with the Temple of A-annipadda, is, in fact, much older Its pottery is intimately linked with that of the graves of the First Early Dynastic Period at Khafaje See Fifth Preliminary Report of the Iraq Expedition, *Oriental Institute Communications*, No 20 (Chicago, 1936)

archæology. It is legitimate, seeing the richness of the latest remains of the Early Dynastic Period, that we should attempt to measure in years where hitherto we have been satisfied by approximations in centuries. But we should not exaggerate the importance of our success or failure to do so.

Historically there is much to be said for Mr. Gadd's attractive combination of Eannatum's claim to have conquered Ur and the havoc wrought at A-anni-padda's temple at Al 'Ubaid. Eannatum would then have defeated the last king of the First Dynasty of Ur, which would again place the beginning of that Dynasty three generations before Urnanshe.[1] If the Royal Cemetery contains, in fact, the tombs of rulers of Ur, that "Kalam-dug dynasty" (p. 318) would then have been the creator of the wealth and power which enabled Mesannipadda to establish his hegemony in the land and to obtain for his dynasty a place in the later king-lists.

But it is not certain that the graves contained interments of actual rulers of Ur at all. One seal (U-11825) seems to mention a ruler of Ur, but it belonged to a priestess and the text is, in any case, difficult to interpret (p 316 with note 3). And the seal of Meskalamdug-lugal is doubly ambiguous, firstly because it does not name the realm of which Meskalamdug was king, and secondly because that same name recurs in connection with another man in the cemetery, who was, moreover, like Meskalamdug-lugal, buried high up in the shaft of a larger tomb In other words, it seems that the burial of these two men was a feature of the ceremony which started with the excavation of the larger tombs, and that "Meskalamdug" was not a proper name at all, but the name of the part these individuals played in the gruesome dramas disclosed by Sir Leonard's work in the death-pits [2]

[1] Gadd, *History and Monuments of Ur*, p 71 f.

[2] I am aware that proper names of a similar form occur at Fara, but this excludes as little the possibility that "Meskalamdug" was the name of a *part*, as its possible translation "Hero of the Good Land (= Netherworld)" proves for certain that these men played the role of mock-king, as suggested here.

This drama has been explained as a ritual one.[1] It is not the place here to discuss the probability of this hypothesis, which cannot be proved at present, though occasionally new discoveries bring it fresh support.[2] We know that the death and resurrection, and also the marriage of the god who impersonated the generative force of nature, were enacted yearly throughout Mesopotamia, and it seems certainly worth considering whether some or all of the Royal Tombs do not represent interments of the actors in such a mystery-play, taken in deadly earnest in times of national emergency.

A variety of objects in the volume under review requires study with this problem in mind. As an example, I will refer to the limestone fragment of a relief (Pl 181*b*), which Sir Leonard explains as an importation from the north and a monument of victory (p 377) Now neither view is tenable. Fragments of similar plaques have not only been found at Tell Asmar, Tell Agrab, and Khafaje, but also at Fara and Susa.[3] At Khafaje alone nine of these plaques are represented, and their details recur with such precision elsewhere that it is impossible to see in them memorials of historical, and therefore unique, events We know, moreover, that such events were commemorated by another type of monument, of which Khafaje and Lagash (Stela of the Vultures) have supplied examples The smaller square reliefs showing a banquet as the main subject and often an empty chariot in the lowest register, must refer to an event which came to pass in all these cities in the same manner and on more than one occasion This would be the case, of course, with ritual

[1] Sidney Smith, "A Babylonian Fertility Cult," in this *Journal*, 1928, pp 849 ff Also Bohl in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol 39

[2] See *Iraq* i, p 12, note 3 Sir Leonard Woolley's objections are vitiated by his not taking into account that the impersonator of the god need not be the king himself but the "Mock king" whose existence in Mesopotamia is well testified by Berosus.

[3] These will be discussed in the forthcoming publication of the Oriental Institute of Chicago University *Sculpture of the Third Millenium from Tell Asmar and Khafaje*.

performances, and it is interesting that a commentary on the New Year's Festival found at Assur actually mentions an empty chariot as one of its features.[1] That a banquet formed the crowning ceremony at that feast is sufficiently clear from Gudea's inscriptions.

We cannot here elaborate the argument and discuss, for instance, the scenes on cylinders which are relevant in this connection What precedes may suffice to show that we have by no means exhausted the information contained in the treasures from the Royal Cemetery and that, in fact, the richest tombs still retain the secret of their ultimate significance.

A 184 H. FRANKFORT.

THE HARĒM By N. M. PENZER. An account of the institution as it existed in the palace of the Turkish Sultans with a history of the Grand Seraglio from its foundation to the present day. 9½ × 7. pp. 277, ills. 43. London: G. G Harrap, 1936 £1 1s

Mr. Penzer is a true disciple of Burton, on whom he is indeed an authority he shares Burton's enthusiasm for travel, Burton's love of the curious, and, let it be added, Burton's touch of the Rabelaisian. Mr Penzer definitely does not write *virginibus puerisque* · but in any case there are others enough who do

The Harēm is a diverting book. As its sub-title indicates, it is quite severely limited in scope, and having once started on its excursion through the labyrinthine passages of the Grand Seraglio at Istanbul (which a careful plan by the author sets forth for all to follow), it never wearies of the quest until it brings us safely out at the other end. But during our tour of inspection we are treated to an uninterrupted and most learned discourse on the history and antiquities

[1] Langdon, *Epic of Creation*, p. 49, line 66 The cylinder seals studied in *Iraq*, i, 2 ff., prove beyond a doubt that many if not all ritual features mentioned in late texts go back to immemorial antiquity

of the Sultan's harēm, not from the lips of an underpaid dragoman who has gotten his learning from official guide-books and has an eye to a substantial baksheesh at the end of his labours, but from the racy pen of an author who is familiar with all that has been said or written on his subject.

The book is beautifully printed, and contains many reproductions of old plans and miniatures, as well as excellent photographs of special views taken by the author himself. In the place of a desolate palace, now falling into decay, where cobwebs hang yards thick, we watch through Mr Penzer's magic glass the medieval harēm spring again to life We see the many hundred lovely women flitting to and fro on their multifarious businesses (and those that are the loveliest make their strenuous business of the very *raison d'etre* of the institution to which they belong), we see the cooks, the stewards, the officers, the gatekeepers, the craftsmen, the soldiers, the ubiquitous eunuchs—and all this, we are reminded, for the pleasure of one man and we do not wonder that that one man was often a lunatic We watch the troubled pageant of Turkish imperial life, from its splendid and strenuous beginnings down to its last degradation and final extinction "I may be allowed to say," writes the author, "without any boastful intent, that at this moment of writing I know of no person whatever who has seen more of the Seraglio than I have myself" All this topical knowledge, the results of patient and irrepressible investigation, is now at the disposal of whoever cares to read A generation ago that knowledge would have cost you your life to-day it costs you one guinea

It may be permitted to regret that this excellent book has not substituted for one chapter which it contains another which it does not Without wishing to be charged with excessive squeamishness we nevertheless remark that we could have sacrificed the physiological digression on the eunuch, albeit *sui generis*, namely as an emetic, that chapter attains a high standard. It would have been most invaluable

if the author had given us instead a short history of the ḥarēm itself as an institution in Islām.

Mr. Penzer spells harēm, and gives his reasons for so doing on p. 15. It is astonishing to an Arabist to read that "the Turks softened the word [*harām*] into *ḥarēm*". *Ḥarīm* (to spell it correctly) is a sound Arabic word among its several connotations, it is used anciently to describe that part of the house upon which the door is closed, as distinct from the *finā'* or courtyard in which the menfolk habitually sat. From this evolved the specialized signification of "women's quarters" As every visitor to Egypt knows, even tram-cars there have a special compartment labelled in Arabic and French, "*harīm* dames"

A 761 A. J. ARBERRY.

India

THE BRĀHŪĪ LANGUAGE Part II. The Brahūī Problem; Part III Etymological Vocabulary. By SIR DENYS BRAY $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. ii + 313. Delhi Manager of Publications, 1934. 13*s* 6*d*

The 'Politicals' of India have made many valuable contributions to our knowledge of peoples and languages with which they have come into contact And recently, within a period of less than a year, we have had the publication of Colonel Lorimer's *Burushaski Grammar and Texts* and the conclusion of Sir Denys Bray's standard work on Brahui.

Both of these books deal with non-Aryan languages of the North-West Frontier of India, languages of slight practical importance, but for the linguist full of interesting information and tempting riddles which may, perhaps, one day be solved and throw new light upon ancient wanderings and cultural contacts But, while the genealogy of Burushaski is still unknown, the Dravidian character of Brahui has long been recognized, the evidence being indisputable, if not overwhelming in bulk.

In the first part of the present volume Sir Denys gives a valuable survey of the linguistic position of Brahui and also,

with intimate knowledge of all facts, a vivid and most interesting account of the historical and social factors which have determined the survival and present condition of this linguistic relict. This chapter appeals not only to the specialist, but will be read and meditated upon with great profit by anyone interested in linguistics or in tribal sociology. There appears to be frequent discrepancy between linguistic and tribal classification, the tribes being highly complex and heterogeneous unities[1] The result is an extensive bilinguism and cross-borrowing between the various languages spoken in the area, and Sir Denys' account gives a useful warning to armchair philologists who may easily be prone to simplify matters and to overlook the difficulties of finding words with a 'pure lineage' in such circumstances

The larger part of the book consists of an excellent and copious vocabulary, amply illustrated by examples, the result of long and devoted work and quite invaluable to the student of Dravidian, I A, or Ir linguistics Absolute exhaustiveness could not possibly be achieved by one single worker, but I have not been able to detect in other available sources any true Brahui word which has been overlooked by the author But it is, of course, not always possible to decide whether a word of foreign origin ought to be considered good Brahui or not So many people speak broken Brahui, and so many Balochi and Sindhi words are adopted into the language that we cannot draw any absolute line

The Dravidian and I A parts of the vocabulary have been reviewed by Bloch[2] and Turner[3] As remarked by Turner, it may be possible in some cases, where the author has left the question open, to distinguish between borrowings from Lahnda and Sindhi, but just as often it seems to be impossible.

[1] Cf the similar conditions prevailing among the Lur tribes of S Persia (see Mann *Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen*, ii, p xvii)

[2] *BSL*, 36, CR, 171 *sqq*—Note (p 173) Br *mux* (not *murx*!) 'waist', compared with Gondi *margi* 'side'

[3] *BSOS*, viii, 223 *sqq*—Cf ad *drōhur*, *dohada* (p 226) also Bal. *dō-gīn* 'pregnant'

At any rate, ample material has been furnished for the reader's consideration, and there can be no doubt that the vocabulary deepens our insight into Brahui etymology to a very considerable extent. In order to illustrate the importance of the book from the Iranian point of view I shall give some examples.

A number of Br. words, most of them of Balochi origin, not known from our previous sources for this language are found in the *Beludžskie Skazki*, published by Zarubin in the Trudy Instituta Vostokovedenija Akademii Nauk SSSR, iv (1932). Thus, e.g. *dištar* 'bride(groom)'; *dasag* 'thread' (Br *dask*, Prs *dasa*); *duttuk* 'daughter' (Br. 'doll, pupil of the eye', cf. Ormuri *dŭkɔ* 'girl, pupil of the eye'); *gisd* 'coral' (Prs *bussud*); *omán* 'longing, desire' (Br. *hōmān*); *rēp-* 'to deceive', *šlap-* 'to splash', *kap* 'half' (cf. the semantic parallel in Germanic *half*)

Words of probable or possible Bal. origin, although not always known from that language, are also *ārčin* 'wild almond' (Prs *arǰan*, *aržan*; Bakhtiari *arzan* ?), *drōt* 'ceremonial kissing'; *gwānz* 'fathom' (*Bal with *gw-* for *b-* from Prs. **bāz*, cf. *bāzū*, Psht *wāzə* ?)[1], *gwar-soč* 'dyspepsia (Bal *sōč* 'burning', not Si *soj* 'swelling'); *iz-γand* 'thyme', *iz-bōtk* 'aniseed' (Bal *izbōxt* 'Ligustum ajowain') (< **ganda-* 'stench', **baudika-* 'fragrance' ?), *pād* 'shooting shelter'; *patkēnk* 'sprinkling of flour' (**pati-kanya* from *kan-* 'to throw' ?), *sāčing* 'to agree with' (Sogd. *s'č-*, etc.), etc.

Some of these words may, of course, equally well be of Middle Prs. origin Cf. also, e g. *birēna* 'womb' (Prs. *birīna*); *čatr* 'two-year-old calf' (Prs. *čadr* 'four-year-old she-camel', from a compound with *čatur-*), *ǰō-hān* 'stack of corn' (also Bal., but with Prs. dial. *-h-* < *-δ-*), *xūrt* 'tiny, minute' (Prs. *xurd* < **hw-ṛta-* 'well-ground'), *mistāī* 'reward for bringing glad tidings' (< Prs. **mizdāī*, cf. *mižda*, etc., 'glad tidings')[2]; *mōda* 'lamentation' (Prs. *mōya*); *pōta*

[1] Cf. Bal. *Gwaharām*, n.pr, prob from Prs *Bahrām*

[2] Note that Br. has preserved the ancient meaning of the word.—Is Bal. *mustāyari* 'congratulations'—also with *st* for *zd*—borr. through Br.?

'weft-thread' (Prs. *pūd*); *rōča* 'fast' (Prs. *rōza*); *šōm* 'breaking up ground for cultivation' (Prs. *šūmiz*, etc., 'ploughed field', Bakhtiari *šōm*, *šuhm* 'ploughing', Kurd. *šōc*, Talish *šum* 'plough-furrow' < **xšaudman-* 'crushing' ?); *šir-gōna* 'Latonionis leobordia' ('milk-coloured' ?); *zēn-kōda* 'pommel of a saddle' (Prs *zīn-kūda*, Bal. *kōč* < **kōtč*), etc.

More archaic forms than those recorded from Bal. are, e.g., *xat* 'olive' (Bal *haθ*), *kutām* 'nest' (Bal *khuδām*, Prs. *kunām* < **ku-dāman-* ?), *path* 'Populus euphratica' (Bal. *purt*, Prs *pada*). Such forms may, however, still exist in S Bal dialects

Very characteristic of Br, and illustrating the complexity of borrowings, are the numerous doublets of words of Ir and I A origin Examples are, e.g *dāmān* 'skirt of a hill' *dāmun* 'skirt', *drust* 'all' *durust* 'recognized', *gumbaz* 'dome' *gumbad* 'vault, heap', *drōγ* 'lie' *drōh* 'fraud' (I A), *jādū* 'magic' *jātū* 'witch', *xūrda* 'lamb' *xūrt* 'tiny' *nālinq nārinq*, *nardinq* 'to groan', *pand* 'journey' (I A) *pant* 'advise' (Bal), *pahr(a)*, *pās* 'watch, measure of time' *pīra* 'watch, sentry-go', *pūra* (I A) *purr* 'full', *rīk* 'sand' *rēq-ravān* 'quicksand', *rōta* *rōtk* 'root', *tanq* 'girth' *tank* 'tight', *tāp* 'snare' *tāv* 'twisted'

The origin of *čamrī* 'dried apricots' Khowar *čambor* is unknown to me

4 526

G MORGENSTIERNE

BUDDHIST CAVE TEMPLES OF INDIA By Major R S WAUCHOPE 10 × 7½, pp ix + 121, pls 50, map 1. Calcutta Edinburgh Press London Luzac and Co, 1935 12s 6d

Major Wauchope's aim has been to give in a single volume a brief, yet attractive, illustrated survey of all the groups of Buddhist caves in India, more detailed and technical accounts of which are to be found in various reports of the Archæological

Survey and other publications, access to which is often difficult. The fact that all the plates but one are from photographs taken by the author himself speaks for the remarkable energy and interest he has devoted to the task. The value of the illustrations is enhanced by the addition of several 'group' views, and by the apt selection of view points, thus presenting in many instances an aspect not hitherto familiar.

The book, as will be gathered from the preface, is intended primarily for the "not-too-serious general reader"; and to such it will certainly appeal. The more serious Orientalist, however, may take exception to more than the peculiarities of transliteration of Indian words: for instance, to the inclusion of the Udayagiri and Khandagiri caves in the Puri (not Cuttack) district, which have been definitely assigned to adherents of the Jaina faith, as also of the caves of Elephanta, where the sculptures, as Dr Hīrānanda Śāstrī tells us, are "exclusively Brahmanical in origin". The meanings of the word *garbha* do not include that of 'dome', nor can a 'dagoba' be correctly described as an altar (p 8); and the term *torana* seems to have been confounded with *harmikā* (ib) The suggestion that the pattern of the *caitya* window "probably representing the early thatched roof of a Bengal village hut took the shape of a conventionalized leaf of the sacred *pīpal*" is not likely to find general acceptance. surely it is but a copy of an earlier wooden type, with ridge-pole and beam-ends protruding? Such criticisms must not, however, detract from the pleasure of perusing this well illustrated record of wide travel, and at times of climbing, by a man with a keen sense of the artistic

A. 533 C. E A. W. OLDHAM.

A SHORT HISTORY OF INDIA By W. H. MORELAND and Sir ATUL CHATTERJEE. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ pp. x + 496, maps 8. London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1936. 12*s* 6*d*.

This is an extraordinarily good piece of work. The joint authors (a combination which could not have been bettered)

have produced a narrative which is masterly in its condensation, yet presents many fresh and suggestive points of view. They have given a welcome prominence to the cultural and economic aspects of the subject, and they have avoided the common error of going too much into detail when dealing with the period of British ascendancy, preferring (as they say in their preface) "to write the history, not of British rule in India, but of India under British rule". Another merit of the work is that full account has been taken of the results of the recent labours of Indian historians, especially as regards the earlier history of the country Particular mention should be made of the series of eight carefully designed maps, which are of the greatest assistance in following the narrative

It is much to be hoped that a cheaper edition will in due course place within the reach of Indian schools and colleges a work so admirably suited to their needs

A 740 W FOSTER

BUDDHIST MEDITATION IN THE SOUTHERN SCHOOL Theory and Practice for Westerners By G CONSTANT LOUNSBERY With a foreword by W Y EVANS-WENTZ $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ pp xviii + 163 London Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co 1935 6*s* net

LA MÉDITATION BOUDDHIQUE Étude de sa théorie, et de sa pratique selon l'École du Sud. Same author $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, pp 180 Paris Adrian-Maisonneuve, 1935 20 frs

The present work as Dr Evans-Wentz explains, is not merely expository or historical, but a presentation of the essential technique and methods of meditation in its Buddhistic form It thus has a practical purpose, which from one point of view is beyond the province of this *Journal*, but at the same time the subject is an essential part of any investigation of Indian psychology and philosophy It is many years since Rhys Davids pointed out that Buddhist meditation in the Southern school does not imply any notion

of hypnotic trance. It is not even called Yoga, still less does it consist in *cittavṛttinirodha*, nor, in spite of some common terms, can it be interpreted on the lines of the *Yoga-sūtra* or even the *Bhagavadgītā*. Miss Lounsbery's work is not a mere Western attempt to interpret the system, but an exposition of the methods as described in the Canon. It follows the scheme developed by Buddhaghosa and as understood by modern Buddhists. No doubt it is to a special type of religious expression that such practices appeal, but what they actually are and aim at is also a question for the historian of religion. To that question this book is an able and serious contribution. The present book is a revision of the French edition, much improved in form, and in expression quite independent of the earlier work.

A. 465 and A. 618 E J THOMAS.

WISSENSCHAFTLICHE ERGEBNISSE DER NIEDERLANDISCHEN EXPEDITIONEN IN DEN KARAKORUM UND DIE ANGRENZENDEN GEBIETE IN DEN JAHREN 1922, 1925, UND 1929/30. Herausgegeben von Dr. PH. C VISSER und JENNY VISSER-HOOFT 11 × 7 Vol I, pp. xviii + 499. In Kommission bei F. A. Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1935.

By a series of three expeditions—to which they have since added a fourth in 1935—into the unknown and little-known recesses of the Karakoram, Dr. Visser and Mrs Visser-Hooft have gained an ever-increasing reputation as intrepid and indefatigable explorers

In 1922, accompanied by two Swiss guides, they examined a number of glaciers in the Nubra-Shyok region. In 1925, this time with the addition to the party of an Indian surveyor, Khan Sahib Afraz Gul, they explored the mountain gorges of Eastern Hunza. In 1929 and 1930 they returned again to the Nubra-Shyok region and eventually made their way northwards over the Aghil and K'un Lun ranges to Chinese Turkistan. After wintering in Kashgar they returned via

Khotan to continue their explorations in the mountain country west of the Shyok and south of the Saser Pass, so connecting up with the work of the preceding summer. This expedition had the benefit of the services of a zoologist, Mr. J. A. Sillem, and a geologist, Dr. R. Wyss, as well as of two Indian surveyors. Dr Visser himself specializes in geography and meteorology and Mrs Visser-Hooft in botany.

Dr Visser has already given some account of his explorations in lectures and in a couple of works published in Dutch and German, and Mrs Visser-Hooft has provided a lively account of their Hunza expedition in her book *Among the Karakorum Glaciers in 1925* (Edw Arnold, London, 1926).

The present volume initiates the publication of the scientific results of these expeditions It begins with a section by Dr Visser, entitled "Geographie" (pp 1–118), in which he gives a historical summary of exploration in the Karakoram, Aghil, Serikol, and K'un Lun, which will be a convenience to those not acquainted with the literature This is followed by two chapters giving the details of his own explorations The section is concluded by a chapter on the geographical classification of the mountains of Central Asia and their nomenclature This last is an original contribution to a subject of prolonged controversy and will be of special interest to geographers

A note follows on "Our Maps". These are presumably to be published later In the present volume there are only three sketch-maps one of the Karakash Valley, one showing diagrammatically the arrangement of the mountain ranges, to illustrate the author's views, the last giving the halting places of the 1929–1930 expedition on so small a scale as to provide something of an optical exercise

In the second section of the work (pp 121–153), under the title of "Ethnographie" Mrs. Visser-Hooft sets out to give an account of the peoples and the countries visited. To Hunza and Nagar are allotted 28 pp, while Ladakh and Chinese Turkistan are dealt with in 5 which gives a

fair indication of the exiguousness of the material available. Highly mobile expeditions, such as those of the Vissers, carried out over a wide area under the most strenuous physical conditions and largely remote from the habitations of man, are not favourable to ethnographical research, and Mrs. Visser-Hooft, as was natural, seems to have drawn her material chiefly from previous writers, and has repeated some of their rather doubtful assertions. A great deal of work will have to be done before anything definitive can be said about the origins and relationships of the various peoples inhabiting the districts lying round Gilgit. It is not very helpful forcibly to christen them all "Dards" and then to say that the Dards "doubtless at least in part belong to Iranian stock". Biddulph and Conway notwithstanding, I know no reason for asserting that the Burūsho of Hunza are Yashkūns, an appellation which they themselves repudiate. Yashkūns live side by side and intermingled with the Shīns (not "Shinas") in the Shina-speaking districts of Gilgit; whether the non-Shina-speaking inhabitants of Yasin, Hunza, and Nagar share a common ancestry with the Yashkūns, whom their Shīn neighbours regard as an inferior people, has yet to be proved by something more than possibility or even probability.

In speaking of their religion, Mrs. Visser-Hooft says that the Nagaris are Sunni Muhammadans. This is incorrect. They are Shi'as as were the Hunzukuts until they became Maulais (Isma'ilis) three or four generations ago.

The appearance, manners, customs, and occupations of the people are next dealt with, partly from original observation, in a few pages; a compression which inevitably leads to questionable generalizations from isolated data and to eclecticism in the material presented

Finally, a brief note on folk-lore is followed by a folk-tale recorded in Shīmshāl by Dr. Visser. Ladakh and Chinese Turkistan then follow with their five pages, and the sections end with a bibliography.

The rest of this volume (pp. 161–494) is occupied with

the enumeration and technical description of the zoological material collected by Mr. J. A. Sillem during the 1929–1930 expedition, to which are added a collection of Lepidoptera made by Mrs Visser-Hooft in 1925. The examination of these collections was arranged for by Dr. J. B. Corporaal, Kustos of the Entomological Section of the Zoological Museum in Amsterdam, and was carried out by eighty-seven specialists representing seventeen nationalities (the figures are Dr. Corporaal's) Mr Sillem's own special domain is birds, and it appears that he was originally intended to play ornithologist only to the expedition and was pressed to take over the whole field of zoology almost at the last moment. It would therefore seem to be no mean achievement to have succeeded in collecting, preparing, and packing in difficult circumstances the following specimens about 500 birds, 70 eggs, 450 fish, 40 reptiles and amphibians, more than 2,000 insects, and 225 other invertebrates The work was done in no perfunctory way "His steadfast devotion and extremely scientific documenting and labelling," says Dr Corporaal, "deserve the highest praise" It must be a satisfaction to him that his labours have been rewarded not only by praise but by the discovery of a very large number of new species To the layman it is disappointing that when we get to the higher end of the scale new species cease to appear There seems to be no new fish, amphibian, reptile or mammal, while among the 155 birds which Mr Sillem himself has described and identified he appears to claim no new species Of mammals, specimens of only five species were collected a hare, a mouse-hare (ochotona), a mouse, a *pseudoïs nahoor* (whatever that is), and a Tibetan antelope

The text is frequently enlivened by excellent illustrations of the critical parts of the more interesting of the lower animals The fish, which by the way are described by two Indian scientists, Dr Sunder Lal Hora and Dev Dev Mukerji, M.Sc., of the Zoological Survey of India, are allowed an excellent series of portraits and photographs of two of their

habitats. There are also eight photographs of the chief habitats of various birds.

In the geographical and ethnographical sections of the book the photographs of scenery and people have suffered by bad reproduction.

It is very much to be hoped that Dr. and Mrs. Visser will be able to complete this splendid record of scientific work in an equally impressive and important volume presenting the results obtained in the spheres of geology, botany, and meteorology. Meanwhile all must congratulate them on the success attending their three courageous and valuable expeditions and on their safe return from the dangers and hardships of their explorations.

A 624 D. L. R. LORIMER.

THE GHERAṆḌA SAṀHITĀ. A Treatise on Haṭha Yoga. Trans. by ŚRĪŚ CHANDRA VASU. T.P.H. Oriental Series. 7½ × 5, pp. xviii + 132 Adyar, Madras. Philosophical Publishing House, 1933.

The publishers of the above Yoga text issued in the same year the text and translation of the *Hatha-yoga-pradīpikā*, of which the *Gheraṇḍa-saṃhitā* is a more detailed and more systematic continuation This supplement is welcome, not only because it describes more extensively the *mudrās*, the doctrine of the ten winds of the body, and the diet of a yogin, but above all because it (1, 6; 1, 8; and 7, 3, etc.) gives a remarkable variant of the name and thus of the meaning of the *Hatha-yoga*. *Hatha-yoga* has been commonly interpreted as *hathād* or *hathena yoga*, as 'violent', 'sudden' *yoga*, which, however, is not in accordance with the contents of the *Haṭha-yoga-pradīpikā*, where the *madhyama-mārga*, or temperance in asceticism and abstinence from other forcible forms of mortification is expressly taught. The *Gheraṇḍa-saṃhitā* uses as a synonym for body the term *ghaṭa* or 'vessel' (of the Ātman). Similarly, the Upaniṣads and

their commentators speak of the body as the *puram* of the Ātman. Thus, instead of *Hatha-yoga* we should read *Ghaṭa-yoga*, which would mean nothing more than 'physical' *yoga*, as contrasted with psychological or spiritual *yoga* which follows and is built up on it The term would therefore not imply extreme asceticism This agrees both with the constantly repeated prescriptions of the *Hatha-yoga-pradīpikā* and with those of the *Gheranda-samhitā*

The explicit rules of the *Gheraṇḍa-samhitā* also cast valuable light on the general attitude of the *yoga* The *Gh.S.* asserts that "there are as many *āsanas* as there are living beings in the world" (2, 1) Thus we find in the enumeration of the postures, suited to the human body, the advice to imitate the bearing of different animals (serpent, tortoise, peacock, cock, lion, etc) or of single parts of the bodies of animals (e g *go mukha*) In addition, the imitation of the position of a tree or of a corpse (a position of complete relaxation) is recommended The Indian, living in natural surroundings, is gifted with an acute faculty of observation (cf the names of animals and plants in the Indian languages which point to a keen sense of perception) From these indications and descriptions of the manifold *yoga-āsanas* we can draw further important conclusions In the first place we find the fundamental attitude of the Hindu firmly held in the *yoga* as well as everywhere in Indian thought, the idea that man cannot be regarded as being isolated from all other living creatures, further, that man through his general biological development, especially through his upright carriage, has lost valuable physical properties The *yoga* tries to restore these natural qualities by means of special exercises With regard to this tendency of the *yoga* we might consider the physical ideas underlying Indian mythology and their pictorial expression in Indian art There, too, the Divine is sought not only in the human shape but also in other forms of living beings. An exhaustive study of the *biological* basis underlying the representations of the *yoga-āsanas* and those of Indian

art (plastics, dance, etc.) will reveal a new line of comparison which might be added to the studies on *yoga* and art which H. Zimmer gives from another angle in his book, *Kunstform und Yoga.*

The *Gheraṇḍa-saṃhitā* is, moreover, a remarkable text on account of its short but apt characterization of the purpose of the seven (*sic* !) stages of *yoga* exercises In it, as well as in the *Haṭha-yoga-pradīpikā*, the attainment of all psychic stages is dependent on the physical preparation—a demand for the *mens sana in corpore sano*, which is taught in all particulars Thus an exercise which has generally been interpreted as merely psychological, the fixing of a small point of concentration, must first, according to the *Gh S.*, have a physical, then a psychological effect. The first step is that through this practice the eye is purified by the shedding of tears—thus, and only thus, is the way opened for introspection.

We are indebted to the translator for having made this important *yoga* text accessible to a wider public The Sanskrit scholar will welcome his arrangement which facilitates the comparison of each verse and its translation

A. 106 B HEIMANN.

DHOLĀ-MĀRŪRĀ DŪHĀ A BALLAD FROM RĀJPUTĀNĀ Edited by RĀM SĪH, SŪRAJ KARAṆ, and NAROTTAM DĀS $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ pp 15 + 877 Benares · Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā, 1934 Rs 4.

This delightful and valuable work contains an old Rājasthānī ballad edited with much learning. The first and second of the editors are already favourably known to us through their edition of *Veli Krisan Rukmaṇī rī* published by the Hindustani Academy four years ago

The date and authorship of the poem which they then edited were known. It was written by the famous Prithīrāj ("Pīthal") of Bīkāner and is one of the brightest gems of Dingaḷ literature. This on the other hand is a ballad, and

like other ballads has no assignable author or date. All we can say is that it is later than A.D. 980, for the people described in it lived about that time. We may say also that through the years it has been constantly altered and modernized.

The volume before us begins with an introduction of 136 pages in which the editors give the geographical and historical background of the narrative, relate the story in brief, and discuss at considerable length from a conventional standpoint the different elements of the poem, such as the hero and heroine's separation, the hero's journey, their happy reunion, the other wife's distress, their return to her, and finally the camel which bore them back

An account is furnished too of the different texts or versions of the story and of the MSS in which they are enshrined

The ballad, 1,348 lines in length is translated with copious linguistic notes and a full glossary Poetically it is perhaps not equal to *Veli Krisan Rukmanī rī*, but in narrative power it is far superior The language is in the main Middle Rājasthānī of the period 1200 to 1500

We lay down the book with a feeling of gratitude to the editors and with the hope that they may give us more of the ballads and other narrative poems in which their country is so rich

A 496 T. GRAHAME BAILEY

THE GEETĀ THE GOSPEL OF THE LORD SHRI KRISHNA By SHRI PUROHIT SWĀMI $10\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp 110, pl. 1 London Faber and Faber, Ltd, 1935

This edition of the Bhagavadgītā is a luxury edition, restricted to a limited number of copies, and has thus a narrow circulation, chiefly among people of means This feature detracts from the value which the book might have had as a new translation of a very popular text It also accounts for the fact that more importance is attached to its outer garb than to its inner body Incidentally one wonders

why the author replaces the familiar spelling of the title by the curiously Anglicized form Geetā.

The book is dedicated to W. B. Yeats on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, and it bears in its preface a recommendation by the Gaekwar of Baroda. It is not our object here to criticize the translation in detail: that would be an extensive task. Suffice it to say that, although it may be "beautiful", it does not do justice to the peculiar beauty of the Gītā. The subtler shades of its poetical art have not been brought out in English, perhaps because they are inimitable

Here one realizes once more the difficulty of translating a work in which philosophic interest prevails over the æsthetic appreciation of the word or that which is called the spirit of poetry The latter which is inseparable from rhyme and rhythm is so often obscured by the letter of pure reason which finds expression in bare prose. Swāmi Purohit's translation in this respect does not come up to Edwin Arnold's "Song Celestial". Many striking similes and descriptions in the original have been omitted in the translation, many "puns" have been missed altogether

This work is another interesting attempt to reset a masterpiece of Indian mysticism, art, and philosophical ethics without using all the means available in English to achieve an adequate setting When will the "perfect" English Gītā be forthcoming ?

A.479. W. STEDE.

AN INTRODUCTION TO COLLOQUIAL BENGALI. By W. SUTTON PAGE. Forlong Fund Vol xiii $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ pp xi + 195 Cambridge W. Heffer and Sons, 1934 10*s* 6*d*

This book teaches colloquial Bengali entirely by the phonetic method. The Bengali character does not appear at all, nor any word in its transliterated form. The model

which the author has chosen for this purpose is "the speech of an educated Bengali living in Calcutta", which is the same standard as was adopted by Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterjee. This speech is transcribed phonetically, and the teaching is combined with the use of linguaphone records. The phonetic system followed is that of the International Phonetic Association

As the author remarks in the Preface, colloquial Bengali is very different from the Bengali of books, and experience has shown that those who approach the language in this way not only acquire more facility in speaking and understanding spoken Bengali, but also gain a better all-round mastery of the language.

The book is based upon some years of practical experience of the author in teaching Bengali to beginners, and for this reason has the advantage of being both practical and progressive It begins with elementary exercises, but the method followed and the progressive exercises are so thorough that the student who has gone through it will have acquired a very complete speaking knowledge of the colloquial language, only requiring to be supplemented by an extended vocabulary, to enable him to converse with facility in Bengali

The system followed in each lesson is, first, an explanation of the sounds and symbols used in it, which is followed by a Phonetic Drill, of the pronunciation of those sounds in various combinations, then a Sentence Drill, composed of words of those sounds, a Substitution Table for further practice in using the words employed in the Sentences, which is followed by Inductive Grammar so far as it arises from the Sentences This method of teaching the grammar is necessarily, but intentionally, inconsecutive, the object being that the student should not burden himself in the earlier stages with more of it than is necessary at the time A complete Grammar of the Colloquial Language is given towards the end of the book, but the student is instructed not to refer to it until he reaches Lesson XXII.

The author remarks that "the section on grammar (pp. 115–172) is, so far as I am aware, the first attempt that has ever been made at a grammar of spoken Bengali as distinct from the Bengali of books". Although this is strictly correct as a separate grammar, the grammar of the spoken language has been given by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, in conjunction with that of the written language in his "Outline of Grammar", pp. 110–144 of *Bengali Self Taught* in Marlborough's Self-Taught Series, in which it is phonetic; and so far back as 1861 by Shama Churn Sircar in "Rules for Familiar or Common Conversation", pp 329–343 of his *Introduction to the Bengali Language*.

To obtain the best results, as the author notes, "the book should be used in conjunction with a teacher, and the ideal arrangement would be to divide the work into four periods (1) a period spent in preparing the lesson with the help of the book and the gramophone records, (2) a period spent with the teacher, working through the sentence drills and exercises, (3) a period spent with the teacher, in conversation and 'unconscious assimilation', in which no English should be used, and (4) a period of revision of the day's work with the aid of the book and the gramophone records"

The teaching of Bengali by the phonetic script requires to be supplemented by a knowledge of the orthography, even more than in other languages, owing to the colloquial pronunciation of so many words differing so greatly from their spelling The student who has learnt a language from phonetic script is not in the same position as a child who has learnt his language from ear before he does so from print, in as much as he has formed a visual image of the word in phonetic script Thus, in Bengali, no difference is made in the phonetic script between the long and short vowels *i* and *u*, nor between ন, the dental *n*, and ণ, the cerebral *n*; the symbol ʃ stands for all the three Bengali sibilants, শ, *ś*, ষ, *ṣ*, and স, *s*; *c* represents চ, *ch*, ছ, *chh*, *ts*, e.g. boc:or for বৎসর, batsar,

and *sn*, e.g. can for স্নান, *snān*; and biʃeʃ represents বিশেষ, *bišeš*, while bıʃ:eʃ represents বিশ্বাস, *biswās*; etc.

Dr. Sutton Page has in preparation *A Colloquial Bengali Reader*, intended for the use of students who, having finished the *Introduction to Colloquial Bengali*, wish to learn to read and write colloquial Bengali, which will include "a Transcription in Bengali characters of the sentence-drills, exercises, and stories" of the present book, and also a Vocabulary of Colloquial Bengali If this will be merely a phonetic transcription in Bengali characters, it would be a great benefit if Dr Sutton Page were also to include in the vocabulary, for comparison, the respective words as they are spelt

The present book, as the author notes, should "be of use not only to beginners who intend to make a thorough study of the language, but also to a large number of Europeans resident in Bengal who have not the leisure to acquire a complete knowledge of the written language, but would be glad to learn enough to carry on a conversation in Bengali". For these the question of orthography does not arise, and the thanks of all students of Bengali are due to Dr Sutton Page for this thorough and efficient work

A 345 E H C WALSH.

Art, Archaeology, Anthropology

LE TEMPLE DE DENDARA By E CHASSINAT 14 × 10. Tome 1^er^, pp vii + 173, pls i-lxxxvi Tome 2^me^, pp 244, pls lxxxvii-clxvii Cairo Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1934

M Chassinat certainly wastes no time Hardly have the volumes of his publication of the Temple of Edfu ceased to appear than we find on our tables the first fruits of his work in the Temple of Dendera—the first of at least sixteen volumes. The new work in the main follows those lines with which we have become familiar in the case of the Edfu publication.

In the present work, however, each volume is being issued complete in itself, with both line and photographic plates. This is a very welcome improvement; it is a great convenience to have text and plates at the same time, instead of having to wait, as is still unfortunately the case with Edfu, for months or even years for the plates referring to any given portion of the text.

The new venture is in every sense a worthy successor of the magnificent Edfu volumes That it should be accurate is only what we have come to expect from Chassinat. I do not pretend, as yet, to have read every word of these volumes, but nowhere in the course of a wide reading of the text and checking of the photographs have I discovered an error in transcription The photographs are indeed good, especially when one considers the conditions under which some of them have had to be taken, and the line plates on the whole clear and well produced, though in some instances there is an unfortunate inequality in line. Chassinat must be congratulated on yet another excellent piece of work Let us hope that no untoward events will hinder the regular appearance of the remaining fourteen volumes which are promised

The two volumes which are dealt with here publish the texts—many of them for the first time—of the first parts of the temple to be built. In volume i are to be found the texts on the interior and exterior of the Sanctuary, and in volume ii those texts that are on the exterior of all the little chapels that open on to the corridor surrounding the Sanctuary, as well as the complete texts of the chapels that lie to the east and south-east of the Sanctuary (Nos. D–H on the plan).

One plea. It is indeed pleasant to be able to supplement the full publication of Edfu with an equally complete publication of Dendera it is instructive to contrast and compare the one with the other, to note the differences in writing and texts, the greater number, for instance, of "enigmatic" writings at Dendera, or to see how the warlike atmosphere of Edfu hardly finds an echo in Dendera's courts and chapels

with their absorption in Hathor and her cult. But we most earnestly ask Chassinat not to forget that even Edfu is not yet quite complete. we still await anxiously the final half of volume x (the remaining line plates); the Mammisi is not yet complete, and, above all, is it too much to ask that in some way or other those painfully inaccurate first two volumes of Edfu may be corrected, or in some way rendered trustworthy and usable? We know that Chassinat is not to blame for these first two volumes, but they remain a blot on an otherwise admirable and invaluable piece of work, and are of prime importance for purposes of comparison with these two volumes of Dendera

A. 381. H W FAIRMAN.

FOUILLES DE TÉPÉ-GIYAN, PRES DE NÉHAVEND, 1931 ET 1932 Par G CONTENAU et R GHIRSHMAN Musée du Louvre - Département des Antiquités Orientales. Série Archéologique, Tome III 13 × 10 pp vi + 144, pls 85 Paris Paul Geuthner, 1935 Frs 150.

This account of excavations carried out by the Louvre, with the active assistance of the Persian authorities, in 1931–3, is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of an area between Nihavand and Hamadan In 1928 pottery and objects of brass were offered for sale by dealers in antiquities, and in 1930 some of these found their way to the Louvre These objects were said to come from near Nihavand It was decided to investigate the matter. and the expeditions led by Dr Contenau and M Ghirshman resulted

Excavations were carried on during 1931 and 1932 at the small village of Givan half a dozen miles west by south from Nihavand, and borings were made in 1933 at Jamshidi (near Givan) and Bad Hora (40 miles south-west of Hamadan) These excavations are described in detail in the careful report now made, containing 144 pages of text and tables, and a large number of excellent plates At Giyan the trenches cut revealed five separate strata, containing graves and traces

of buildings; in each stratum objects of pottery and brass, etc., were found, which the authors compare with similar objects found at Susa, Jamdat Nasr, and elsewhere. The dates suggested run from 3,000 to 2,500 B.C. for the fourth stratum at Giyan to 1,400 to 1,100 B.C for the uppermost. The broken sherds found at the lowest stratum are not dated, but can be compared with pottery found at Susa and El-Obeid. Two skulls, found at Jamshidi and Bad Hora, were examined by M. Vallois, who contributes an appendix dealing with them and the anthropological deductions to be drawn from them. An analysis of certain metal objects by Mlle L. Halm is also appended

The book is well printed and is of considerable scientific value It may be studied with advantage by those interested in the results of excavations in Persia and Iraq.

A 628 C N SEDDON.

Biblical Archæology

THE BIBLE AN AMERICAN TRANSLATION. J. M. POWIS SMITH, Editor of the Old Testament, EDGAR J. GOODSPEED, Translator of the New Testament. Popular edition. 8 × 5, pp. 883 + 247. U.S A. University of Chicago Press, Great Britain and Ireland · Cambridge University Press, 1935.

The reasons alleged for a new translation of the Bible are in the case of the Old Testament advanced knowledge of Hebrew, fuller appreciation of textual problems, clearer recognition of poetic structures, and changes in the English language since the earlier versions were executed. The work has been divided between the Editor, and Messrs. Theophile J. Meek, Leroy Waterman, and Alex. R Gordon. Mr Godspeed's reasons for his new rendering of the N T. are analogous. An appendix furnishing a list of numerous passages wherein the Masoretic text has been altered is omitted from the Popular Edition

To review a work of this scope would require more pages

than this journal can spare, and a whole staff of reviewers. Some idea of its nature may be given by comparing its renderings of some difficult verses with those of the R.V.

Psalm lviii, 9. R V. —

Before your pots can feel the thorns
He shall take them away with a whirlwind, the green and the burning alike

Am. B —

Before your pots feel the thorns
Whether green or burning, may he blow it away

Psalm lxviii, 13 R V —

Will ye lie among the sheepfolds,
As the wings of a dove covered with silver
And her pinions with yellow gold ?

Am. B —

(Did you lie among the sheepfolds ?)
The wings of a dove covered with silver,
And its pinions with glittering gold

Job xix, 25-7. R V —

But I know that my redeemer liveth,
And that he shall stand up at the last upon the earth
And after my skin hath been thus destroyed,
Yet from my flesh shall I see God
Whom I shall see for myself,
And mine eyes shall behold, and not another,
My reins are consumed within me

Am. B —

But as for me, I know that my Vindicator lives,
And as the next-of kin he will stand upon my dust,
And as the next-of-kin he will rise as my witness,
And I shall see God as my defender,
Whom I shall see on my side,
And my eyes will see to be no stranger.
My emotions are spent within me

Phil. ii, 6. R V. —

Who, being in the form of God, thought it not a prize to be on an equality with God.

Am. B. :—

Though he possessed the nature of God, he did not grasp at equality with God.

1 Cor. xi, 10. R.V. :—

For this cause ought the woman to have *a sign of* authority on her head, because of the angels.

Am. B. :—

That is why she ought to wear upon her head something to symbolize her subjection, out of respect to the angels, if to nobody else.

The N.T. renderings quoted scarcely differ from those of James Moffatt; if ἐξουσία "licence", "authority", can really mean "a symbol of subjection", perhaps the derivation of *lucus a non lucendo* may after all be correct. The O T. renderings do not differ materially from the R.V., except in the verses of Job, where the text has been altered beyond recognition. These specimens suggest that the results of philological research have been somewhat overrated.

A 645 D. S. MARGOLIOUTH

TEXTS AND STUDIES IN JEWISH HISTORY AND LITERATURE. By JACOB MANN. Volume II. Ḳaraitica $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$. pp xxiii + 1600, facsimiles 4. Philadelphia · Jewish Publication Society of America, 1935. $5.

The second and concluding volume of Professor Jacob Mann's monumental *Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature* (the first volume was reviewed by me in this *Journal* in 1933) extends to no less than 1,600 pages. In this volume the author has edited and annotated with masterly ability an unrivalled collection of documents relating exclusively to the Ḳaraites. By far the largest portion of these documents come from the National Library at Leningrad, but other collections, notably those at Oxford, Cambridge, and at the British Museum, are also utilized. Professor Mann

traces the fluctuating fortunes of the sect of the Ḳaraites through all the stages of their variegated history, from the hey-day of their power in the days of Sĕʻadhyāh (who championed so brilliantly the claims of Rabbinic Judaism), down to modern times The documents cover most of the centres of Ḳaraite activity, ranging from Egypt and Palestine to the Crimea, and Lithuania and Poland The lion's share of the book is devoted to Karaism in Lithuania and Poland, where Professor Mann strikes altogether new ground. Thanks to the rich material available at Leningrad, which has not before been made use of by scholars, Professor Mann has added a new chapter to history

In a brief review it is, of course, impossible to deal critically with a work of this scope It must suffice to say that the present volume exhibits the same scholarly qualities as the first On the other hand, it is to be regretted that Professor Mann has not removed from his book the many evidences of hasty writing and defective proof-reading These are, however, minor blemishes in a scholar who has rapidly established himself as leading authority on Geonic and Karaite history and literature He has opened up with these two volumes new avenues of fruitful research and has accumulated in them treasure from whose quarry scholars will hew with profit for many years to come

A 556 J LEVEEN

MARRIAGE CONDITIONS IN A PALESTINIAN VILLAGE. Vol. II. By HILMA GRANQVIST, PH D, Societas Scientiarum Fennica Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum, vi, 8 9½ × 6¼, pp 366, ills 30. Helsingfors · Akademische Buchhandlung, 1935. Leipzig Otto Harrasowitz. Fmk. 160.

The second volume of this work fully maintains the standard set by the first. It is remarkable what a wealth of human interest the author has extracted from the narrow field to

which she has confined her inquiries. This is partly due to the fact that the explanations of rites, customs, etc., are set down in the actual words of her native helpers, 'Alya, Ḥamdiye, and Sitt Louisa, and to the translations of traditional bridal songs, etc , which the author gives. These songs, apart from their interest in connection with the subject under review, are very colourful and often really poetic.

The book reveals the continuance of superstitions which must be immemorial, even pre-Islamic Avoidance of the Evil Eye is naturally one of the main preoccupations of these Palestinian peasants and the use and fear of spells seem universal, just as they were among the Semitic peoples of ancient Mesopotamia Taboos also play a part.

Another feature is the conservatism which seeks to retain old faiths and customs against the incursions of westernization or at least to wed the new to the old and so preserve the old.

The present volume deals with (i) marriage ceremonies (betrothal ceremonies, periods for wedding celebrations. preparations and preliminary festivals for weddings, the fetching of the bride, the bridegroom's home, and the wedding week), and (ii) married life (the woman in her husband's house, polygyny, the hardāne problem, divorce, and widow and widower), and each section is treated in careful detail and elaborately annotated.

These simple fellahin are also on occasion distinctly amusing, not only in the pleasure which they derive from getting a good meal out of a wedding, but also in the eagerness which is displayed by all who legitimately can, especially the bride's uncle, to make money out of the marriage proposal. The latter personage indeed will often stay away from the actual proceedings of the betrothal contract so that he may afterwards disavow responsibility for it and so make a *douceur* the condition of his acceptance.

Nevertheless these people are quite lovable, and the village weddings afford them the opportunity of displaying an unaffected joy in the elemental events of human life not

too common in the mechanized and sophisticated West. In their humble way they have a much greater sense of the pomp of procession and ritual of public ceremony than the sombre, unimaginative, over-"civilized" European.

There are also biblical parallels as would be expected in the "Immovable East", and not the least fascinating feature of the book is the way in which it throws the light of reality on the life of ordinary people in the Old Testament narrative.

Indeed this comprehensive study should afford a happy hunting ground in which biblical students may trace the continuity of human customs, hopes, and fears in the Holy Land

A book which in nearly six hundred large sized pages deals with but one aspect of life, albeit one of the most important, in the circumscribed area of a small village, might seem to the casual observer to promise a satiety of academic dullness, but this is just what the book does not give. It is in fact a work which the imaginative student can take up and, in spite of its extremely careful and thorough treatment of its subject, find pleasantly informative and stimulating, and thoroughly enjoy

The book is alive because it is an eye-witness account of, and deals simply and clearly with, real life in a country which by its associations, its part in history, and the influence it has had in moulding the religious thought of both East and West still draws and will continue to draw towards itself the questing mind of the seeker after knowledge

The book should become a standard work of reference and remain a mine of information

A 586

E. B. W. Chappelow.

Cuneiform

Le Poème babylonien de la Création. (Enuma eliš.) By René Labat. 10 × 6¼, pp. 177. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1935. Fr. 45.

Of translations and treatises upon the Babylonian Creation Epic there seems to be no end; only a few months ago there appeared the Italian translation of Furlani and a German critical discussion by Deimel This is at any rate a tribute to the interest which was so profoundly stirred by George Smith's first revelation of the story in 1876, and a sign that it is by no means yet exhausted when the story has acquired a greater completeness from subsequent discoveries, the latest of which are incorporated in the present book If M Labat needed justification for adding another to the existing versions he can plead that his is the only one completely up to date in its text, and he can add that the last French translation was made in 1907. But he needs none for having published so valuable and useful a work, which gains rather than loses from being based upon lectures given to students and from the appropriate *forme un peu scolaire*, as he calls it.

The Introduction is divided into three sections · (1) Text, language, and composition, (2) Sumerian and Semitic sources; (3) Religious value and significance of the poem. Of these the third is valuable, and the others convey the necessary information with admirable fullness. But a good deal that appears here is more speculative than the author's manner suggests, whether the subject be the date of composition, or the alleged sources and forerunners of the epic. He is not, of course, responsible for the confidence with which theories about these matters have been propounded, but he reproduces them with perhaps insufficient criticism. In particular this applies to what is said about the assumed earlier traditions of Nippur, Marduk replacing Enlil or Ninurta, and the like. The truth is that we have no real prototypes of the Creation Epic, such as we have for Gilgamesh, and in their absence conjecture has been widely substituted.

(At the end of p. 60 M. Labat has been sadly misled by his authority.)

The translation itself (printed with the transcription on the opposite page) is good, and not afraid to be original in several of the obscure passages in which the text abounds. The notes are particularly valuable for the attention which they pay to grammar, though sometimes a rather wilful interpretation seems to be chosen, and the long note on p 143 f is unconvincing, there is other evidence to suggest that the purpose of the gods in creating man really was no more than to unburden themselves of the housing and catering problems

A. 589. C. J. GADD.

Islam

KORAN PRVNI ÚPLNÝ PREKLAD Z ARABŠTINY POŘÍDIL. Dr A R NYKL 8¾ × 5½, pp xxxi + 360 Prague: Maráč v Praze, 1934

While Muslim savants are still at controversy over the new Turkish translations of the Qur'ān, being generally opposed to all translation, Christian scholars are seemingly more active than ever in producing translations of the Scripture of Islam New translations in Swedish, Italian, French, Spanish, Bulgarian, and Greek have succeeded one another in the last few years, and here is the latest of them, a new translation into Czech

In 1913 Dr Ignaz Veselý commenced a Czech translation which appeared in parts and was completed in 1925—*Korán, z arabštiny přeložil Dr Ignác Veselý, s předmluvou a 5 vyobrazeními v Textu* Praha, 1913-1925, 8vo, vi, 592 pp. Veselý's translation, however, was dependent very largely on Marracci's Latin, with some reference to the French versions, and is now practically unprocurable

Dr. Nykl's version is made direct from the Arabic text by a competent Arabist, and has taken account of most of the recent research work done on the Qur'ān. He has an adequate

introduction on the place of the Qur'ān among the Sacred Books of the East, and giving the necessary information as to Muḥammad and the growth of the Qur'ān, to make the book intelligible to a Czech audience. He also notices the work of earlier translators and the little that has been done in the way of Qur'ānic introduction His own version wisely follows the text of the printed Qur'āns, but he gives Noldeke's chronological arrangement of the Sūras for those who would wish to study more carefully the growth of the book.

The brief notes to the text are gathered at the end, as in the case of Zetterstéen's version, and are followed by a Table of Sūras. The printing and general get up of the work are attractive, but one wonders what sale such a version will have even in its own linguistic area

N R 38 ARTHUR JEFFERY.

NUZHAT AL-'UMR FI'T-TAFḌĪL BAIN AL-BAIḌ WA'S-SŪD WA'S-SUMR By JALĀL AD-DĪN AS-SUYŪṬĪ 9 × 6¼, 16 pp Damascus Taraqqī Press, 1349

There seems no end to the appearance of small or great tractates from the store left by the great Muslim polygraph of the fifteenth century, whose literary production seems to have covered the whole area of Islamic learning from Commentaries on the Qur'ān to unblushing pornography.

The present elegantly printed little pamphlet concerns the Colour Question. The Colour Question is not entirely a modern one, nor one that occupies the Nordic races only One occasionally comes across it in Arabic writings of the present day, and as-Suyūṭī in his introduction to this pamphlet tells us that quite a number of Arabic men of letters had devoted their attention to the comparative excellences of the white and brown peoples Ibn al-Marzubān had even written a work to prove the superiority of the blacks over the whites, but as-Suyūṭi says that since he had also produced a work to prove that dogs were superior to many who wore pants, we may be excused from taking his work seriously.

The work itself is mostly an anthology of little poetical pieces that the author has excerpted from a great variety of sources all dealing with the virtues and excellences or otherwise of the whites and the blacks and the browns Perhaps it is necessary to remind the reader that by whites these authors do not mean Europeans

The verses are of varying quality, and some are mainly of interest because of the source from which they come. Some are witty, some are bitter, but none perhaps more worthy of quotation than the couplet of al-Bahā' Zuhair which heads the last page –

"Hearken to a true saying * and hold with me that which is true
A gentleman is a gentleman * beloved whate'er be his colour"

N B 36 ARTHUR JEFFERY.

ORIENTALISTISCHE STUDIEN ENNO LITTMANN ZU SEINEM 60 GEBURTSTAG AM 16 SEPTEMBER, 1935, ÜBERREICHT VON SCHÜLERN AUS SEINER BONNER UND TÜBINGER ZEIT Herausgegeben von R PARET 10 × 6 Leiden. E. J Brill, 1935

This volume is somewhat similar to the one dedicated to Professor Kahle, only its contents deal exclusively with Semitic subjects Attention should be called to a paper of some length by Fridolin Stier *Zur Komposition und Literarkritik der Bilderreden des Aethiopischen Henoch* (Kap 37–69), and to one by Otto Spies *Über wichtige Handschriften in Meschhed* In the case of several others, while the industry displayed is commendable, it may be doubted whether the conclusions will win acceptance Thus the first article (by Hans Alexander Winkler) which collects nonsense words from nursery rhymes, spells, etc, in many languages endeavours to enucleate thence the order of the letters in the Hebrew alphabet, not very convincingly The second (by Karl Georg Kuhn) in which the different forms of the Tetragrammaton are historically traced explains the form יהוה as a plural, this view is paradoxical

on several grounds. The editor contributes a paper on "The plan of a new translation of the Qur'an"; one may agree with him that the Arabic commentaries often inspire little confidence, but the first example which he offers of a new rendering is in the same case. It is of the words (iv, 38). فالصالحات قانتات حافظات للغيب بما حفظ الله *und die rechtschaffenen Frauen sind demütig ergeben und das Verborgene* (nicht für die Öffentlichkeit Bestimmte, d.h die geschlechtlichen Intimitäten) *bei sich bewahrend wegen dessen was Gott bewahrt hat* (weil Gott bestimmt hat, dass so etwas nicht an die Öffentlichkeit kommen soll). Now the fact that the law-books contain a section dealing with *Al-qasm wal-nushuz* makes it clear that this interpretation cannot be right; Tabari's authorities were unable to construe the words, some resorting to the rather desperate expedient of reading *Allaha* as the object of *hafiza*. Karl Heinrich's explanation of the exclamation לוקוס in a story told in the Tosefta Sukka as the Latin *locus* is not attractive; from the context it would appear that the word should be Greek, and the ordinary interpretation of it as λύκος, "*wolf*," is fairly satisfactory.

Still our congratulations on the *Festschrift* should be offered to Professor Littmann, whose pardon the reviewer solicits for "looking his gift-horse in the mouth".

A. 807 D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

THE HISTORY OF THE KORAN. A Treatise on the Biography of the Prophet and on the History of the Holy Koran, its writing, the order of its chapters, how they were collected, and the translation of the Koran into European Languages. By ABU ABDULLAH AL-ZANDJANI, Member of the Arabic Academy. With an Introduction by Professor AHMAD AMIN, of the Egyptian University, and a Forward (*sic*) by the Committee for translating Incyclopaedia (*sic*) of Islam into Arabic. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xx + 83. Cairo: Lagnet al-Taalif wal-Targama wal-Nashr Press, 1935.

With the exception of the title-page and the Committee's "Forward" the work is in Arabic, and represents a new venture in Qur'ānic studies which is very welcome. The author is a Shī'a Muslim, who is already well known for his contributions to the Damascus Academy, and produced this little book while visiting Cairo for the meetings of the Arabic Academy there. The Committee's "Forward" is not very fortunate in its English, which does not always say what they mean to say, as when they refer to the work of European Orientalists whose "views are sometimes not very far from being impartial" Ahmad Amīn's introduction confines itself to expressing his satisfaction as a Sunnī in introducing the work of a Shī'a, which may herald a day when both great sections of Islam may work together on common problems.

The work itself is extremely interesting, for though the author gives the orthodox solutions to all his problems, he is aware of the work of modern scholarship, and of the modern attitude that must be taken up even with regard to the Holy Book of Islam This is so unusual that it deserves to be given notice Though the author has obviously never read a word of Noldeke, he knows of him and of his attempt at chronological arrangement of the material of the Qur'ān Though he himself argues every time for the orthodox position, he is not afraid to recognize that there is another position

To the general student of Islam the main interest of the little book is that it gives in a succinct form the orthodox account of the formation, assembly, and arrangement of the Qur'ān, giving clearly and concisely information that one often has to search for in many sources To the Qur'ānic specialist the work has two claims to notice Firstly it gives the Shī'a additions to the usual Sunnī traditions Secondly the author quotes material from certain Shī'a works still in MS, such as the Teheran MS of the *Tafsīr* of ash-Shahrastānī, which seem to contain material of the first importance for our study of the early history of the Qur'ān text Thus, for instance, beside the variant order of the Sūras in the Codices

of Ubai b. Ka'b and 'Abdallah b. Mas'ūd, which were already known to us from the *Fihrist* and the *Itqān*, he gives variant Sūra orders from the Codices of 'Abdallah b. 'Abbās and of Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq.

Outside the field of his immediate Qur'ānic studies the author is somewhat at sea. For instance in his chapter on the conditions in Arabia before Muhammad came he tells us that the Christians were divided into Jacobites, Nestorians, Arians, and Orthodox, while the Jews were divided into Rabbinic Jews, Qaraites, and Samaritans. Arians look strange among the Christians of that day, and since Anan the founder of the Qaraites was a contemporary of Abū Ḥanīfa it is stranger still to find Qaraite Jews in pre-Islamic Arabia. He also seems to think that Estrangelo was a type of Jewish script

On p. 46 he makes the statement that the great Samarkand Codex which used to be in the Leningrad Museum has now been taken to England This statement one hears every now and again and it needs examination. The Indian Muslims were furious when Pisareff published his photographic reproduction of this Codex for the use of textual studies, and the story that I have is that after the Russian Revolution the Indian Muslims requested the Codex to be restored to Muslim hands The Soviet authorities granted the request and the Codex was taken and destroyed. If it was not destroyed scholars would be very glad to know of its whereabouts.

N.B 37 ARTHUR JEFFERY.

ANALYTICAL INDICES TO THE KITĀB AL-'IKD AL-FARĪD OF AḤMAD IBN MUHAMMAD IBN 'ABD RABBIHĪ, prepared by MOHAMMAD SHAFI'. Vol. I Indices 10½ × 7 Calcutta. The Baptist Mission Press, for the University of the Panjab, 1935.

Professor Shafi' has earned the cordial gratitude of all who study Arabic literature by undertaking and executing this arduous task. How widely read the *'Iḳd al-Farīd* is, may be

inferred from its having gone through six editions, for any of which these indices will serve, as the compiler has devoted 55 pages to collating their pagination. The word Analytical in the title is fully justified, as the articles are not merely references to places where names occur, but furnish summaries of what is said about them, with valuable comments Like the Indices to the *Aghānī* this work gives a special index of poets and another of rhymes It is a counsel of perfection to read a book from cover to cover before quoting it, but even when this has been followed a good index saves an incalculable amount of time And this is one of the best which has been compiled for any work of importance

When the famous Ṣāḥib Ismā'īl b 'Abbād saw this encyclopaedia of a Spanish Muslim, he quoted the words of Joseph's brethren (Sūrah xii, 64), "Here is our merchandise returned to us," implying that the matter was all familiar The modern student would not describe it similarly, but rather as a mine of useful information The publication of this admirable set of Indices is calculated to bring honour to all who have had a hand in it, the compiler, the University of the Panjab, and the Baptist Mission Press

N B 42 D S MARGOLIOUTH

احلام السياسة وكيف يتحقق السلام العام (POLITICAL DREAMS, AND HOW UNIVERSAL PEACE CAN BE REALIZED). By AL-USTADH AL-HAKIM AL-SHAIKH TANTAWI JAUHARI 8½ × 5½. Figs 3 Cairo Mustafa al-Babi al-Halabi and Sons, 1354 (1935)

The title of this work calls to mind those of two treatises to be found in the collected works of Immanuel Kant, *Träume eines Geistersehers* and *Zum ewigen Frieden*. Kant was a mathematician and astronomer, but these sciences do not enter into his expedients for perpetual peace, both are employed by the Shaikh as well as botany, chemistry, anatomy,

and psychometry. He states that on certain days of the year 1932 he dreamed that he was wafted to Orion and placed under the protection of five guardian spirits, in order to undergo examination by a board, who would ascertain his ability to utilize various sciences for the promulgation of universal peace. Each day's examination was confined to one question, to which his answer won loud applause, the most vociferous of his admirers being houris of unrivalled beauty. Even if this *Journal* admitted such topics, it would be hazardous to summarize his replies for fear of doing him injustice It is, however, comforting to learn that he is thoroughly optimistic about the results; and since chemistry has provided the most homicidal instruments of war, a demonstration that the table of the elements might be used for securing universal peace should be welcomed with enthusiasm

The reviewer's acquaintance with the Shaikh dates from 1904, when he had already commenced what is now a long series of works, all of which have lofty and philanthropic aims. He has endeavoured, not without some success, to eradicate prejudices and to promote good will. It may be hoped that this book may do something to compass these ends.

A 776 D. S MARGOLIOUTH.

---

1. DIWAN OF KHAKI KHORASANI An abbreviated version, edited with an introduction by W. IVANOW. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. pp. 20 + ۱۲۸ Bombay Islamic Research Association, No. 1, 1933
2. TWO EARLY ISMAILI TREATISES. Edited by W. IVANOW. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. pp 9 + ۱۲ Bombay. Islamic Research Association, No. 2, 1933.
3. SHIHABU'DDIN SHAH AL-HUSAYNI, TRUE MEANING OF RELIGION (RISALA DAR HAQIQATI DIN). Edited and translated by W. IVANOW. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. pp. 28 + ۳۷. Bombay. Islamic Research Association, No. 3, 1933.

4. KALAMI PIR, A TREATISE ON ISMAILI DOCTRINE. Edited and translated by W. IVANOW. 8½ × 5¼. pp. lxviii + 146 + ١١٧. Bombay Islamic Research Association, No. 4, 1935

The first fruits of the Bombay Islamic Research Association bear testimony to the excellent work it has done since its foundation a few years ago and reflect credit not only on the indefatigable editor and translator, to whom none will grudge the lion's share, but also on all concerned in their production, perhaps I may be allowed to mention particularly the Secretary of the Association, my friend and former pupil, Mr Asaf A A Fyzee, who is himself an authority on the subject, and has given valuable help in more ways than one. The format of these handy volumes will be appreciated by European students The Persian text, lithographed at the Muẓaffarí Press, pleases the eye, while the English printing, for which the Baptist Mission Press is responsible, looks as well as it reads *Al-ẓáhir 'unwánu 'l-báṭin*

As was remarked by E G Browne in connection with the Bábís, study of the origin and growth of a religious movement that has constantly been exposed to persecution "is fraught with peculiar difficulties" In the present case every scholar knows how great they are, and few will quarrel with Mr Ivanow's statement that "one of the most important problems of research in the mediæval culture of Persia is to discover, and, when discovered, to make easily accessible, genuine original works dealing with the doctrine of Persian Ismailism". His investigations have thrown much light on the beliefs current in Central Asia and Southern Persia amongst Ismá'ílís belonging to the Nizárí branch which broke away from the Fáṭimid tradition and is now represented in India by the Khojas under the religious headship of H H the Aga Khan The documents he has edited, though late copies, seem in the main to be authentic and show that the developed Nizárí system was a characteristically Persian blend of diverse

elements derived from Shí'ite theology and Ṣúfí theosophy. The details of this combination are suggestive as an example of the way in which opposite doctrines may nevertheless influence each other to such an extent that in the end, apart from some matters of terminology, the difference between them almost disappears. The fact that the Nizárí books are popular in style and relatively worthless as literature does not impair, but on the contrary rather accentuates, their value as records of a "mystery" religion that in spite of being driven below the surface continually welled up to feed the large streams of Moslem intellectual life.

With only incorrect modern MSS. at his disposal, Mr. Ivanow decided to publish what he calls "auxiliary or tentative editions, which may be used in the same manner as a facsimile, having, however, considerable advantages over it", since they are supplied with indexes and short notes and preceded by critical introductions, where the student will find information regarding the contents of each volume and also (when possible) about its author Some questions raised in these preliminary surveys are of great interest and invite discussion which would exceed the limits of a review, though in the present state of our knowledge it could seldom be profitable. Mr Ivanow handles his problems with judgment as well as learning, and his conclusions carry the more weight because he refuses to jump to them.

While admittedly tiresome reading the volumes before us reveal curious aspects of Ismá'ílí mentality and furnish evidence as to the nature of the doctrine taught in Persia since the twelfth century A D. Its historical relation to the orthodox Fáṭimid school must remain obscure till the missing links are disclosed by further research.

The selections from the *Díwán* of Khákí Khorásání introduce us to an Ismá'ílí devotee, whose proper name was Imámqulí of Dizbád. He lived in the Ṣafawí period. His poems are poor in quality and careless of metre. Superficially much in them might be mistaken for Ṣúfism, but many Ṣúfí terms

he uses, e.g. *Ahl* *Ḥaqq*, are to be understood quite differently. The editor points out an interesting reference to thirty-three religious trade-guilds (v. 772 sqq.).

Of the two works contained in the second volume, the former, entitled *Haft Bábi Bábá Sayyid-ná*, is important on account of the early date (A.D. 1199–1200) at which it was composed, and also because it is a basis of our chief source of information concerning Nizárí Ismailism, namely, the *Kalámi Pir* (see below). Of course the *Haft Báb* cannot be the work of Ḥasani Ṣabbáh, as its title pretends; it gives, however, a few sayings of his and several quotations from certain *fuṣúli mubárak* ascribed to the Imám Ḥasan *'alá dhikrihi 'l salám*, who promulgated the Nizárí reformed doctrine at Alamút in A.D. 1164. The second treatise (*Maṭlúbu 'l-Mu'minín*), a compendium for novices, has no remarkable feature except that the author calls himself Muhammad (presumably Naṣíru'ddín) Ṭúsí. In my opinion, this attribution is fictitious.

Mr. Ivanow describes the *Risála dar ḥaqíqati dín*, which forms the third volume of the series, as a useful introduction to the study of Ismá'ílí and especially Nizárí doctrine. Its author, son of the 47th Imám of the Nizárís, was a comparatively young man when he died fifty years ago, leaving it incomplete.

All these sketchy outlines are filled in by a far more extensive and detailed compilation, the so-called *Kalámi Pir* which, in its present form, the editor assigns to the sixteenth century of our era. The 'Pir' is the famous Ismá'ílí poet and philosopher Náṣiri Khusraw, and the opening chapter repeats the story of his conversion as related in his pseudo-autobiography. Like Ḥasani Ṣabbáh and Naṣíru'ddín Ṭúsí, he merely serves to lend authority to the anonymous writer's principles of faith; such figureheads are natural and almost necessary when a persecuted sect possesses no official learned class of its own. Mr. Ivanow has studied the original version of the *Kalámi Pir*, which only came into his hands after

the latter was in print. As the result of his painstaking analysis, it appears that practically the whole of the older text (entitled *Haft Báb* of Abú Isḥáq) is contained, together with large additions, in the work he has translated, of which he gives the following account: "The work is not concerned with philosophical matters and obviously avoids them. The purpose of the author was apparently twofold. to give the necessary instruction to his co-religionists and to dispel any possible doubt which might arise in the minds of the sectarians, who were chiefly recruited from amongst the Ithna-'asharis, or who lived amongst them. The first half of the book deals chiefly with controversial matters, while the second is devoted to dogmatic questions, though these subjects are not entirely separated from each other" In reading what is said about the Imáms and their real nature, the student of Ṣúfism will find himself at home *mutatis mutandis*, it is just the mystical theory of the Perfect Man

We are deeply indebted to Mr. Ivanow for his explorations and discoveries in a secret religious literature which hitherto has been jealously guarded by its owners

A. 27, 26, 25, 483 R A. NICHOLSON.

Miscellaneous

A HISTORY OF EXPLORATION By Sir PERCY SYKES 10 × 6½. pp. xiii + 338, ills. 25, maps 33. London George Routledge and Sons 2nd edition, 1935 12*s*. 6*d*.

THE QUEST FOR CATHAY By Sir PERCY SYKES. 9½ × 6½. pp. xiv + 336, ills 25, maps 35 London George Routledge and Sons, 1935 15*s*.

Sir Percy Sykes' *History of Exploration* has now been in the hands of the public for some three years past, and its merits have been so fully recognized that a further presentation of its virtues seems somewhat superfluous. It was a happy thought of the author to bring together in one book an account

of the explorations of all ages and all countries, and he has covered his wide field with conspicuous success. No book could fail to please which recounts the adventures of the great procession of the world's explorers—which tells us of Polo, of Ibn Batuta, of Columbus, of the Conquistadors, of Captain Cook, of Speke, of Livingstone, of Doughty, of Amundsen, of Scott, and all the company of brave men who have explored new lands or new oceans—and in Sir Percy Sykes' hands the history of their achievements makes gallant reading He has an eye for the more striking and romantic aspects of travel and his narration carries us on from one enterprise to another with an easy flow of diction and an infectious enthusiasm His book is well illustrated and is furnished with no less than 33 maps, accompaniments which add greatly to the joy of reading the letterpress

The later volume on *The Quest for Cathay* is of a different calibre It does not supersede, nor does it in any way aim at superseding, the immortal Yule and his commentators, and it is addressed not to the experts but to the laymen interested in Asiatic travel To such readers it presents a brightly written conspectus of Central Asian exploration though the centuries, illustrated by excellent photographs and maps, and it obtains an added interest from occasional references to the author's personal experiences in the same areas There is at times a tendency to digression, but the digressions, like those of the Father of History, add to the charm of the book and the narrative displays on every page the intense interest of the author in his subject The conclusion, which comes on us a little abruptly, is appropriately signalized by the quotation of the saying regarding Benedict Goes, who, in 1607, "seeking Cathay found heaven" but neither Sir Percy Sykes, nor Sir Henry Yule, have told us who it was who said this or where the saying is recorded.

A. 728, 731.

E D MACLAGAN

David Ḳimḥi's Hebrew Grammar (Mikhlol). Systematically presented and critically annotated by William Chomsky. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6$, pp. iv + 120. Philadelphia: The Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, 1933.

David Ḳimḥi was one of the three great Jewish medieval commentators of the Bible. Rashi (1040–1105), Abraham ibn Ezra (1092–1167), and David Ḳimḥi (1160–1235) are "a threefold cord" that "is not quickly broken". Ḳimḥi's commentary had a great influence on the English version of the Bible. Ḳimhi was also a great grammarian and lexicographer. His important work *Mikhlol* consists of two parts. The first part contains an exposition of Hebrew grammar, and the second part a dictionary of the Bible. The second part, regarded as a separate work, was later issued under the title *Sefer ha-Shorashim*, "the Book of Roots," and the title *Mikhlol* was retained exclusively for the part dealing with the grammar. The influence of Ḳimḥi's *Mikhlol* extends to our own days (cf. E. König's *Hebrew Grammar*).

It is obviously a matter for satisfaction if the work of Kimḥi is illumined more fully. Dr. Schiller-Szinessy laid Biblical students under a lasting debt of gratitude by his scholarly and beautifully printed edition of Ḳimhi's commentary on the first Book of the Psalms (Cambridge, 1883). It has taken over fifty years before Ḳimhi's commentary on the second Book of the Psalms has been edited (by Dr. Sidney I. Esterson, of Baltimore, in the *Hebrew Union College Annual* vol. x, Cincinnati, 1935). It is to be hoped that the remaining parts of Ḳimḥi's commentary on the Psalms will follow in more rapid succession.

Now we have to welcome the publication of a part of Ḳimḥi's *Mikhlol* by a young American scholar. Dr. William Chomsky submitted as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning at Philadelphia "David Ḳimḥi's Hebrew Grammar

(*Mikhlol*) systematically presented and critically annotated ". In the Preface the author surveys the grammatical work of Ḳimḥi and gives the reason for his endeavour to give a systematized translation of Ḳimḥi's Grammar (see especially p. 2, bottom, and p. 3, top). In notes appended after every chapter the translator attempts "to trace as far back as possible the sources from which Ḳimḥi probably drew his material" (p. 3).

The author writes very optimistically of his work (see especially p. 3, middle, and p. 5) Optimism is a virtue of youth The present volume consists of 120 pages and contains three chapters (Phonology, The Pronoun, The Verb). At the conclusion of the Preface Dr Chomsky writes · "The entire manuscript is now ready for the press. But present circumstances make it necessary to publish it in parts, of which this is the first instalment" We hope that the publication of the other parts will follow soon, so that we may see the *Mikhlol* in all its perfection

930. SAMUEL DAICHES.

ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS

Vol 189, No. 5094, contains a description of an exhibition, at the British Museum, of the masterpieces of Egyptian sculpture from the collection of Mr C S Gulbenkian, including a statue head in obsidian, generally believed to represent Amenemhat III, about 2050 B C, and considered to be one of the finest Egyptian portraits known

No 5095 gives a résumé of some of the finds on the mountain slopes west of Tomsk in Siberia, the first of which were accidentally discovered by a peasant Dr Salmony, who lectured in this subject before the R A S, has given a brief description of the finds, which he dates about A D 600–800.

In No. 5096, Sir Leonard Woolley, a member of this Society, describes some items from an exhibition in London of the

discoveries from Antioch revealing early contacts between Minoan Crete and the Asiatic Mainland and raising some interesting problems of origin. He voices the supposition that either Minoan art had its imitators so far afield as the Tigris Valley "or that there was in Asia a native culture that influenced Crete".

No. 5097 of 26th December, 1936, describes how elephants roamed the desert east of the Nile 5000 years ago, as proved by the rock drawings of pre-dynastic artists. Hippopotami were harpooned and cattle bred for their milk. One human figure is shown with a triple head dress somewhat like our Prince of Wales's Feathers

In No. 5098 is illustrated the Theban funerary temple of Amenhokep, son of Hapu, the architect, who became a god. His funerary temple, which has lately been uncovered by an expedition under the French Institute of Cairo, is much larger than several of the royal temples, and shows that these royal temples were not a royal privilege. This architect was the right hand man of one of the greatest of the Egyptian kings, Amenophis III.

Nos. 5099 and 5100 of 9th and 16th January, 1937, describe the implications of the finding of the remains of "Sinanthropus Pekinensis" (in a short account by Dr Cave, Conservator of the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons in London) as a very primitive type of humanity of the early Pleistocene Age, perhaps a million years ago, "a type which came into existence too late to be ancestral to Neanthropic (modern) man, whose beginning is still to be sought in the mists of antiquity". The latter number records his diet. Also of further discoveries of a hoard of finely wrought gold and human skeletons on Mapungubwe Hill, in the Northern Transvaal, that may throw some light upon the still mysterious ruins of Zimbebwe It is thought that the bones belong to a type of man that was not of the Bantu race Could he have been Semitic ?

No. 5102 shows some of the results found by the Greater-

Indian Research Expedition under Dr. Quaritch Wales, a member of the R.A.S., which unearthed an Indian city in Central Siam, probably founded by Indian colonists in the fifth century of our era It was originally located by Prince Damrong in 1905, but has never been scientifically examined, and Dr Quaritch Wales and his party were the first Europeans to be seen in that part of the world He found what he thinks to be the oldest remaining Hindu temple in Indo-China: built in the first quarter of the sixth century Also a mutilated but life-sized statue of Vishnu, which he considers to be the most beautiful figure yet found in Indo-China. Dr Barnett, a member of the Council of the R A S, considers that the colonist-builders came from the northern part of the Deccan, probably from Telingana The city was abandoned about A D 550, as a result of the rise of the pre-Cambodian state of Chenlā and the Buddhist kingdom of Dvāravatī

No 5103 of Vol 190, 6th February, 1937, gives pictures and short descriptions of a ritualistic dance to bring rest and peace to the world, performed in the Island of Bali The dance of Good and Evil

No 5106 gives description of the modern and traditional methods of refining oil in the Kirkuk field of Iraq, and of the discovery of an undisturbed First Dynasty Egyptian Nobleman's Tomb The tomb of Sabu at North Sakkara with its furniture undisturbed Also of the recent discoveries of Chinese frescoes fifteenth century Ming paintings in the little Temple of Fa Hai Sse in the hills north-west of Peking, paintings that rival those at Ajanta

No 5107 publishes an illustrated account of the Unknown Tribes discovered in Central Papua, a well organized "Stone Age" people, found by an Assistant Resident Magistrate while on an adventurous patrol Also of some interesting results of the excavations being carried out at Edfu (Upper Egypt) by the University of Warsaw and the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale Under the ruins of the Roman towns with its remarkably well preserved baths lay

the Temple of Horus and several unviolated tombs with beautiful funerary objects.

In No. 5108 and 5109, Mr. James M. Plumer describes the finding of the long-lost Chekiang kiln-sites, where the *pi se yao* or "secret colour" ware was produced for the Princes of Wu Yueh in the first place about A.D. 907. He gives photographs of peasants' cottages built of kiln-waste Sung pottery. (See *Illustrated London News*, 26th October, 1935) The number also contains a review of A. L. Sadler's *The Maker of Modern Japan*, being the history of Tokugawa Ieyasu, one of whose foreign advisers was the remarkable Will Adams.

The thanks of the Society are also due for the following volumes —

MALLIA Deuxième Rapport (1925-6) Études Crétoises, Tome IV. École Française d'Athènes Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1936

THE CHILD IN ANCIENT INDIA By KAMALABAI DESHPANDE. Poona Aryasamskrti Press, 1936. (Venus Stores, Poona)

A SHORT GRAMMAR OF OLD PERSIAN With a Reader, accompanied by a word-for-word Translation, Notes, and Vocabulary. By T. HUDSON-WILLIAMS. Cardiff: University of Wales Press Board, 1936.

GORAKNATH AND MEDIAEVAL HINDU MYSTICISM By MOHAN SINGH Lahore Mercantile Press. 1936.

THIS BUSINESS OF EXPLORING By ROY C. ANDREWS. London G. P Putnam's Sons, 1935.

POVERTY AND POPULATION IN INDIA By D. G. KARVE. London Oxford University Press, 1936.

A SANSKRIT PRIMER By E. D PERRY. New York. Columbia University Press, 1936.

ROYAL CORRESPONDENCE OF THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE. Part IV. By L. WATERMAN. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1936.

FIRDAUSI CELEBRATION, 935–1935. Ed. by D. E. SMITH. New York: McFarlane, Warde, McFarlane, 1936.

ALLAH AKBAR. 2 Vols By GERMANUS GYULA. Révai, Budapest, 1936.

MORPHOLOGY OF THE TIBETAN LANGUAGE. By HANS NORDEWIN VON KOERBER. Los Angeles: Suttonhouse, 1935

A PROPOS DES VOYAGES AVENTUREUX DE FERNAND MENDEZ PINTO. Notes de A J H. CHARIGNON recueillies et complétées par Mlle M Médard Pekin Imprimerie des Lazaristes, 1936

OBITUARY NOTICE

James H. Stewart Lockhart

The members of the Royal Asiatic Society will have heard with deep sorrow the news of the death of Sir James Haldane Stewart Lockhart, one of the oldest members both of the parent Society and of its vigorous North China Branch. He died in London on 26th February, nearly sixteen years after his retirement from the service of the Colonial Office.

Born in Scotland in 1858, Lockhart would have been 79 years of age on 26th May Edinburgh was mainly responsible for his education From Edinburgh University he entered the Colonial Service as an Eastern Cadet, and proceeded in 1879 to Hong Kong During his twenty-one years of service in that Colony he held a variety of posts and received the thanks of the Secretary of State for special services rendered in connection with the delimitation and settlement of the New Territories, which were added to the Colony as a lease-hold in 1898 By this time he had become Colonial Secretary of the Colony, a post which he held till 1902, when he was promoted to be first Civil Commissioner of the British Leased Territory of Weihaiwei There he remained until his retirement in 1921

Lockhart received the C.M G in 1898, and became a K C M G in 1908 He was one of the first to receive the honorary degree of LL D from the newly founded University of Hong Kong, and during the latter years of his service in China he was elected an honorary member of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. His interest in Chinese pictorial art led him to make a collection of pictures which were exhibited in London in 1928. He also made a noteworthy collection of Chinese copper coins. But his chief interest, outside his official work, lay in the direction of Chinese literature. Although he published little, he was

recognized to be one of the best Chinese scholars among the foreigners of his time in China. He spoke Cantonese fluently, and after his transfer to Weihaiwei he acquired a good working knowledge of "mandarin"—now known as the National Language. His acquaintance with ancient and modern Chinese literature was extensive. His publications included a translation of the *Ch'êng Yu K'ao* (成語考) under the title of *A Manual of Chinese Quotations*. The first edition of this work appeared in 1893. Though it was not a book that could be expected to have a wide popular appeal it was found useful by students of the language, and a second edition was published in 1903. Much more recently he edited and prepared for the press an *Index to the Tso Chuan*, which had been compiled but left unrevised by the late Sir Everard Fraser. This useful compilation was produced by the Oxford University Press in 1930.

Though he was a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, Lockhart's travels in the interior of China were not extensive; he made some interesting journeys, however (when travel in China was more arduous than it is now), in the provinces of Kwangtung, Chehkiang and Shantung. The journey which he remembered and spoke of with the greatest pleasure was one which he undertook in 1903, when he visited Chou Fu, the Governor of Shantung, at Tsinan, and afterwards made a pilgrimage to the sacred T'ai-Shan and to the temple and tomb of Confucius at Ch'ü Fou. There he was received and hospitably entertained by Duke K'ung Ling-yi, the head of the family which traces its descent to Confucius himself. Shortly before leaving China on his retirement, Lockhart—on the strong recommendation of the writer of this notice—paid a short visit to the beautiful Yen-tang mountain in the interior of southern Chehkiang.

After his return to England in 1921, Lockhart kept up his Chinese studies with undiminished enthusiasm, and he was a regular attendant at the Council meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society. He also frequently presided at the ordinary

meetings and lectures given under the Society's auspices. In 1928 he became honorary secretary of the Society, and the time and thought which in that capacity he gave to the Society's interests and welfare will not be forgotten. He was the Society's nominee on the Governing Body of the School of Oriental Studies in London University, and held that post until failing health necessitated his resignation in 1935.

Both in Great Britain and in China Lockhart was well known to a wide circle of British and Chinese friends, who will never cease to think of him with respect and affection. Most of his contemporaries in Hong Kong have passed away or have left the Colony, but there are still many Chinese in Weihaiwei, where he was held in great esteem, who will lament the passing of a kindly and sympathetic administrator and a warm-hearted friend

23. R. F. JOHNSTON.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Some Historical Notes on East Africa

By Arthur E Robinson

We are pleased to welcome a new publication, *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, which was founded by Sir Harold Macmichael, D S O, last year No 2 (pp. 21–43) contains an article, "Some Historical Notes on East Africa," which may be of special interest Mr Robinson has illustrated his paper by a map showing the principal racial migrations since the earliest times, eight reproductions of ancient and Moslem maps and a map of the Greek and Roman sea routes between the Red Sea, East Africa, and the East There is an extensive and useful bibliography

Notices

The Keeper of the Privy Purse has been commanded by His Majesty, King George VI to state that His Majesty is pleased to grant His Patronage to the Royal Asiatic Society

---

A Loyal Address in connection with the accession of His Majesty King George VI and of cordial thanks for the gracious continuance of the Royal Patronage was signed on behalf of the Council and Members of the Society by the President on 27th January, 1937 A reply expressing His Majesty's "deep appreciation of the sentiments of loyalty and devotion to which it gives expression" was received from the Secretary of State for Home Affairs, dated 4th February, 1937.

Forthcoming Events

In honour of the Coronation of Their Majesties, the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society will hold a Reception at India House, on Thursday, 6th May, 1937, by the kind permission of the High Commissioner.

Attention is drawn to Rule 97, concerning the borrowing of books from the Library for purposes other than reviews: "In no case shall a book be retained for a longer period than six months." Members desiring the use of books for a longer term must return them to the Librarian for examination at the end of six months with a suitable request. Should the book not be required it will then be returned to the borrowing member.

The annual List of Members will be published in the *Journal* for July. Members who wish to make any alterations in name, style, or address, must send the fully corrected entry so as to reach the Secretary by 1st June.

The quarterly numbers of the *Journal* are forwarded to subscribers about 11th of January, April, July, and October respectively. Should a volume not be received within a reasonable time after the prescribed date, notification should be sent to the Secretary as early as possible, but at any rate before the end of the quarter concerned Should such notice not be received by the Secretary within six months of the first day of the quarter for which the volume has been issued, the onus cannot be admitted and the number cannot be replaced free of charge

---

Authors of articles in the *Journal* who desire more than the twenty off-prints, which are supplied *gratis*, are requested to apply to the Secretary in good time as the type is broken up after the lapse of one month. The cost of extra copies varies in accordance with the length of the article and the number of plates.

In accordance with Rule 93, the Library will be closed for cleaning and repair throughout the month of August.

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

The Antiquaries Journal Vol xvii, No 1, January, 1937.
Woolley, Sir L Excavations near Antioch in 1936.

Religions. No 18, January, 1937
Gaster, T H New Light on Early Palestinian Religion
—— More Texts from Ras Shamra.
Murphy, J The Indus Civilization in Relation to Indian Religions.

Parnassus Vol ix, No 1, January, 1937
Sickman, L Notes on Chinese Rubbings
Kühn, H Asiatic Influences on the Art of the Migrations
Warner, L An Introduction to Bronze Statuettes of the Far East
Coomaraswamy, A K Indian Bronzes

Sudan Notes and Records Vol xix, Part 1, 1936
Evans Pritchard, E E Zande Theology
Robinson, A E The Camel in Antiquity
Walker, J The Coinage of Ali Dinar

The Muslim Revival Vol v, No 2, June, 1936
Smith Dr M The Path of the Soul in Sufism

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
Vol xxii, Part iii, September, 1936
Jayaswal K P Chronology and History of Nepal, 600 B C to 880 A D
Basu, K K An Account of Firoz Shah Tughluq (from Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi) (in continuation of page 96, *JBORS*, Vol xxii)

Journal of the University of Bombay Vol v, Part 1, July, 1936.
Heras, H The Religion of the Mohenjo Daro People according to the Inscriptions

Epigraphia Indica Vol xxii, Part vi, April, 1934.
Aiyer, K V S No 34 The Larger Leiden Plates (of Rajaraja I)

Vol. xxii, Part vii, July, 1934.

Aiyer, K. V. S. The Larger Leiden Plates (of Rajaraja I).
—— The smaller Leiden Plates of Kulottunga II
Mazumdar, R. C Note on Sailendra Kings mentioned in the Leiden Plates

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society. Vol. xxvii, New Series, Nos. 1 and 2, July–Oct, 1936.

Coomaraswamy, A. K The Nature of "Folklore" and "Popular Art".
Law, B C A Short Account of the Damilas
Mitra, S C. On the Fire-Walking Ceremony of the Dusadhs of Bihar

Indian Art and Letters Vol x, No 2, 2nd issue for 1936

Quaritch Wales, H G The Exploration of Sri Deva, an Ancient Indian City in Indochina
Visser, H. F E The Museum of Asiatic Art, Amsterdam
Dalet, R A Newly Discovered Monument of Primitive Khmer Art
Lindsay, J H. Indian Influences in Chinese Sculpture

Bengal Past and Present Vol lii, Part ii, Serial No 104, Oct–Dec, 1936

Cotton, E The Sardhana Pictures at Government House, Allahabad
—— Government House, Calcutta An Official History
Seth, M J. Armenians as Political Stepping-Stones in India.
Sarkar, Sir J Memoir of Monsieur Rene Madec
E C Unpublished Letters of Lord Clive (Correspondence with Admiral Watson)
Bullock, H. Lewis Anthony Yvon
—— Monumental Inscriptions, Third series (1698–1830)

The Indian Historical Quarterly. Vol. xii, No. 4, December, 1936.

Berriedale Keith, A Aryan Names in Early Asiatic Records
Sharma, S R The Administrative System of Sher Shah.

Journal of the Karnatak Historical Research Society

Vijayanagara Sexcentenary Commemoration Volume, 1936
Containing thirty-two articles by many well-known Indian scholars on subjects relating to the history and culture of the Vijayanagara Empire.

Indian State Railways Magazine Vol. x, No. 3, December, 1936.

Surfield, Charles Masson. Archæologist and Vagrant.
Sutherland, T. C. Tibetan Medicine.
Mackay, D. Excavating in the Indus Valley.

The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society. Vol. xvi, Nos 2 and 3, 1936.

McCown, C C New Historical Items from Jerash Inscriptions.
Ginsberg, H L Ba'lu and his Brethren
Maisler, B A genealogical List from Ras Shamra
Picard, L, and Solomonica, P On the Geology of the Gaza-Beersheba District

Palestine Exploration Quarterly Sixty-ninth Year, January, 1937.

Salmon, F J The Modern Geography of Palestine
Gaster, T H The Chronology of Palestinian Epigraphy.

Journal of the American Oriental Society Vol 56, Number 4, December, 1936

Montgomery, J A Ras Shamra Notes VI. Danel Text.
Prince, J D Turkic Material in Hungarian
Vernadsky, G Notes on the History of the Uigurs in the Late Middle Ages

La Géographie Tome lxvii, No 3, Mars, 1937.

Guibon, A La navigation fluviale à Sumatra

Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde Van Nederlandsch-Indie Deel 94, Afl iii, 1936

Ronkel, S van In Memoriam, Dr Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, 8 Febr 1857–26 Juni 1936
Heuting, A Iets over de spraakkunst van de Tobeloreesche taal
Juynboll, H H Vertaling van Sarga xxiv, xxv, en xxvi (slot) van het Oud-Javaansche Rāmāyana

Archiv Fur Orientforschung Band xi, Heft 4, 1936

Böhl, F M T Die funfzig Namen des Marduk
Humbert, P A propos du "serpent" (bšn) du mythe de Môt et Alein

Orientalia Vol vi Nova Series, Fasc 1–2, 1937

Ungnad, A Maeri und Subartu
Rosenthal, F Arabische Nachrichten uber Zenon den Eleaten.
Mittwoch E, u Schlobies, H Altsudarabische Inschriften im Hamburgischen Museum für Volkerkunde (Fortsetzung).
Aescoly, A. Z Die athiopische Übersetzung eines Kapitels aus einer verlorenen hebraischen Chronik

Ostasiatische Zeitschrift. Neue Folge 12 Jahrg., Der Ganzen Reihe 22 Jahrg., 5 Heft, 1936.

Bachhofer, L. " Art Treasures from Japan " in Boston.
Umehara, S. Über die Bronzezeit in China.
Gupta, C. C. D. Remarks on a few early Indian Terracotta-Figurines

Studi E Materiali Di Storia Delle Religioni. Vol xii, Fasc. 3° e 4°. Anno xii, 1936.

Cassuto, U. Il calendario di Gezer e il suo valore storico-religioso.
Gaster, Th. H. The Story of Aqhat.
Furlani, G. Nuovi documenti sui Yezidi

La Turquie Kamâliste. No. 15, Octobre, 1936.

Alaca Hüyuk.
Koşay, Hâmit Z. A description of the results of the work of the Turk Tarih Kurumu (Historical Society of Turkey), in excavating the site of the Hittite city down to the level of the Copper Age deposits at Alaca Hüyuk

The Chinese Social and Political Review. Vol. xx, No. 4, January, 1937

Shaw, S J Historical Significance of the Curious Theory of the Mongol Blood in the Veins of the Ming Emperors
Riasanovsky, V. A The Influence of Ancient Mongol Culture and Law on Russian Culture and Law.

PRESENTATIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

Remainder of Accessions, October–December, 1936

Tun Li-chen, Annual customs and festivals in Peking, as recorded in the Yen-ching Sui-shih-chi by Tun Li-chen Tr. and annotated by D. Bodde 10 × 7 *Peiping*, 1936
From M. Henri Vetch.

Umehara, S, Étude des bronzes des royaumes combattants . . (Mém. de Tôhô-Bunka-Gakuin, Kyôto Kenkyusho, vol 7). *Japanese* 12½ × 10½ *Kyôto*, 1936 *Exchange*

Vedas Atharva Veda, The Kashmirian Atharva Veda, Bks. 16 and 17 Ed by L C Barret (American Or Ser, vol. 9.) *New Haven*, 1936 *From the American Or Society.*

Vogel, J Ph, Buddhist art in India, Ceylon, and Java. Tr from the Dutch by A J Barnouw 8 × 5½ *Oxford*, 1936
From the Oxford University Press

Wangelin, H, Das arabische Volksbuch vom Konig Azzāhir Baibars (Bonner Or Studien, Heft 17). 10 × 7 *Stuttgart*, 1936 *From Messrs. W Kohlhammer.*

Ware, J R, Vocabularies to the elementary Chinese texts used at Harvard University 10½ × 8½ *Cambridge, Mass*, 1936 *From the Harvard Yenching Institute*

Wilcken, U, Die Bremer Papyri (Abhandlungen, Preuss. Akad der Wiss, Jahrg 1936, Phil-hist. Kl, Nr 2) 11 × 7½ *Berlin*, 1936 *Exchange*

Wright, H Nelson, The coinage and metrology of the Sultāns of Dehlī Incorporating a catalogue of the coins in the author's cabinet now in the Dehlī Museum 10 × 7 *Delhi*, 1936 *From the High Commissioner for India*

Younghusband, Sir F, Everest the challenge 2nd ed. 9 × 6½ *London*, 1936 *From Messrs Thomas Nelson.*

Zetland, L J L Dundas, 2nd Marquess of, Āryāvarta-hṛdayam [The heart of Aryavarta A Sanskrit tr. by Viṣṇupada Bhattācarya] 9 × 6 *Calcutta*, 1936
From the Librarian, India Office.

January–March, 1937

Annamalai University Sanskrit Series
No 3 Tattvabindu by Vācaspatimiśra, with Tattvavibhāvanā by Rsiputra Parameśvara Ed by V A Ramaswami Sastri .

No. 4. Svarasiddhāntacandrikā of Śrīnivāsayajvan. Ed. by K. A. Sivaramakrishna Sastri . . . *Sanskrit.* 10 × 7. *Mylapore,* 1936.
From Annamalai University.

Anstey, V., The economic development of India . . . 3rd (revised and enlarged) ed. 9 × 6. *London,* 1936.
From Messrs. Longmans Green and Co.

Baroda. Annual report of the Director of Archæology, Baroda State, 1934–35 12 × 9. *Baroda,* 1936
From the Director of Archæology, Baroda.

Bartha, D, Die Avarische Doppelschalmei von Jánoshida . . (Archæologia Hungarica, 14) *Hungarian with German tr.* 12½ × 9½ *Budapest,* 1934 *From the Author*

Bible Old Testament. Prophets Hesekiel, von A. Bertholet . . . mit einem Beitrag von K Galling . (Handbuch zum Alten Testament, 1ste Reihe, 13) 10½ × 7½. *Tübingen,* 1936.
From Messrs. J. C B. Mohr.

Bibliotheca Buddhica, 30, Madhyānta-Vibhanga Discourse on discrimination between middle and extremes commented by Vasubandhu and Sthiramati. Tr by Th Stcherbatsky 10 × 7 *Moscow and Leningrad,* 1936 *Exchange*

Brandenstein, W, Die Herkunft der Etrusker (A O, Bd 35, Heft 1) 9½ × 6 *Leipzig,* 1937 *Bought*

Brandt, J J, Introduction to Literary Chinese . 2nd ed 9½ × 6½ *Peiping,* 1936. *From M Henri Vetch*

British Museum Catalogue of the coins of Ancient India By John Allan 9 × 6 *London,* 1936
From the Trustees of the British Museum

Buchanan, F, An account of the Districts of Bihar and Patna in 1811–12 . . (Publ. by the Bihar and Orissa Research Soc., with introduction by J F W. J) 2 vols 10 × 7 *Patna,* [1936 ?] *From the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*

Bukhārī Al-Bukhari A collection of Muhammad's authentic traditions Tr into English by I H. el-Mougy . . . originally appearing in Al-Azhar Review Vol 1 *With Arabic Text* 10½ × 7½ *Cairo,* 1936 *From the Translator.*

—— An important MS of the Traditions of Bukhārī . . . Facsimile . . [ed] by A Mingana. 12½ × 10 *Cambridge,* 1936 *From Messrs. Heffer.*

Bulling, A, Die chinesische Architektur von der Han-Zeit bis zum Ende der T'ang-Zeit . [Being a series of articles in *Orient et Occident,* 2e Année, nos 4–9, 1935–6] 11 × 9. (*Genève,* 1935–6) *From the Author*

Calcutta, Bengal Library. Catalogue of books registered in the Presidency of Bengal during the quarter ending 31st March, 1936. 14 × 9 *Calcutta,* 1936.
From the High Commissioner for India.

Carali, P., Fakhr ad-Dīn II, principe del Libano e la Corte di Toscana 1605–1635 Vol 1 . . (R. Accad. d'Italia, Studi e Documenti, 5) 10 × 7½. *Roma*, 1936.
From the R. Accad. d'Italia.

Chand, T., Influence of Islam on Indian culture . 9 × 6. *Allahabad*, 1936 *From the Indian Press, Ltd.*

Charignon, A J H, and Médard, M, À propos des voyages aventureux de F. M. Pinto Notes de A. J. H. C., recueillies et complétées par M M 10 × 7. *Pékin*, 1935.
From the Imprimerie des Lazaristes.

Chikashige, M, Alchemy and other chemical achievements of the Ancient Orient 8 × 5½ *Tokyo*, 1936.
From the Author.

China. The criminal code of the Republic of China Tr into English by Ching-Lin Hsia . . and Boyer P H. Chu . . . 10½ × 7 *Shanghai*, 1936 *From Messrs Kelly and Walsh.*

Chevalier, C, La Mariologie de S Jean Damascène . . (Or Christiana Analecta, 109) 9½ × 6½ *Roma*, 1936 *Exchange*

Christensen, A, Les gestes des rois dans les traditions de l'Iran antique (Univ de Paris Conférences Ratanbai Katrak, 3). 8 × 5½ *Paris*, 1936 *From Messrs Paul Geuthner*

Dalgado, S R, Portuguese vocables in Asiatic languages From the Portuguese original tr with notes, etc, by A X Soares (Gaekwad's Or Ser, no 74) 10 × 6½ *Baroda*, 1936 *Exchange.*

David ben Abraham, al-Fasi, The Hebrew-Arabic dictionary of the Bible known as Kitāb Jāmi' al-Alfāz (Agrōn) Ed by S L Skoss Vol 1 (Yale Or Ser, Researches, vol 20) 10 × 7½ *New Haven*, 1936
From the Oxford University Press.

Desideri, I, An account of Tibet The travels of I D 1712–1727 Ed by F de Filippi Revised ed (The Broadway Travellers) 9 × 6 *London* (1937) *From the Editor*

Dietrich, A, Phonizische Ortsnamen in Spanien (A K M, Bd 21, Heft 2) 9½ × 6½ *Leipzig*, 1936 *Exchange*

Duchesne Guillemin, J, Études de morphologie iranienne 1 Les composés de l'Avesta (Univ de Liége, Bibl. de la Faculte de Phil et Lettres, fasc 74) 10½ × 7 *Liége and Paris*, 1936 *From the University of Liége*

Ebeling, E, and Meissner, B, Reallexikon der Assyriologie . . Bd 2, Lief 4 Dunšarni-Ekešk̥i. 10½ × 7½ *Berlin and Leipzig*, 1936 *From Messrs W de Gruyter.*

Ebers, G, The Papyrus Ebers, the greatest Egyptian medical document Tr by B Ebbell 11 × 7½ *Copenhagen and London*, 1937 *From the Oxford University Press.*

Eichhorn, W., Chou Tun-i. Ein chinesisches Gelehrtenleben aus dem 11. Jahrhundert . . . (A. K. M., Bd. 21, Heft 5). 9½ × 6½. *Leipzig*, 1936. *Exchange.*

Encyclopædia of Islam. No. 54. Rabghūzī-Ribāt. 11 × 7½. *Leyden and London*, 1936. *Bought.*

Faddegon, B., Studies on Pāṇini's Grammar . . . (Verhandelingen, K. Akad. van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, N.R., Dl. 38, no. 1). 10½ × 7½. *Amsterdam*, 1936. *Exchange.*

Firdausī Celebration, 935–1935 Addresses delivered at the celebration of the 1,000th anniversary of the birth of the national poet of Īrān, held at Columbia University . . . [with] a bibliography of the principal MSS. Ed by D E Smith. 12 × 8½. *New York*, 1936 *From Columbia University Library*

Fischel, W. J., Jews in the economic and political life of mediæval Islam (A. S M, vol 22). 8½ × 5½ *London*, 1927.

Gaster, M, Occident and Orient . . Studies in Semitic philology, etc . . . in honour of . . . Dr M. Gaster's 80th birthday. Ed by B Schindler in collaboration with A. Marmorstein 10 × 7 *London*, 1936 *From Taylor's Foreign Press.*

Geiger, W, Jayatilaka, D B., and others. A dictionary of the Sinhalese language, vol. 1, pt 2. 11½ × 9. *Colombo*, 1936. *From the Sinhalese Dictionary Committee*

Germanus, G, Allah Akbar . 2 vols *Hungarian.* 7½ × 5½. *Budapest*, 1936. *From the Author.*

Gourou, P, Les paysans du delta tonkinois . . (Publications de l'Ecole Fr d'Ex Or, vol 27)

—— Esquisse d'une étude de l'habitation annamite (do, vol 28) 11½ × 7½ *Paris*, 1936.

Gregory, of Cyprus Gregorii . De theoria sancta quae syriace dicitur visio divina Syriace ed, latine vertit . I Hausherr . . . (Or. Christiana Analecta, 110) 10 × 7. *Roma*, 1937. *Exchange.*

Hemacandra Rayachaudhuri Materials for the study of the early history of the Vaishnava Sect 2nd ed 9 × 6 *Calcutta*, 1936. *From the Registrar, Calcutta University*

Heydt, Baron Eduard von der, Sammlung Baron E von der Heydt Asiatische Plastik, von W Cohn 12 × 9 *Berlin*, 1932

—— Kunst der Naturvolker, von E. von Sydow. 12 × 9. *Berlin*, 1932

—— Ordos-Bronzen, Bronzen aus Luristan und dem Kaukasus, [etc], von V. Griessmaier (Wiener Beitrage, Sonderpublikation). 12 × 9 *Wien*, 1936. *Presented by Baron von der Heydt.*

Hirananda Sāstri, The Asokan rock at Girnar . . . (Gaekwad's Arch. Ser, no 2) 11½ × 9 *Baroda*, 1936.
From the Director of Archæology, Baroda.

Hocart, A M, Kings and councillors. An essay in the comparative anatomy of human society (Egyptian Univ. Works publ. by the Faculty of Arts, no 12) 10 × 7 *Cairo*, 1936.
From the Egyptian University.

Hsi Hsiang Chi, The West Chamber (H H. C). A medieval drama Tr by H H Hart 10 × 7. *Stanford, California*, 1936 *From Oxford University Press*

Ibn al-Furāt, The history of I F . Ed by C. K. Zurayk . . [American Univ of Beirut], Vol 9, pt 1. 10 × 7. *Beirut*, 1936 *From the American University, Beirut.*

India Annual report on S Indian epigraphy for the year ending 31st March, 1933 13½ × 8½ *Madras*, 1936 *Exchange.*

India, Archæological Survey Annual reports for the years 1930–31, '31–'32, '32–'33, and '33–'34 Ed by C L Fábri 2 vols 13½ × 10½ *Delhi*, 1936
From the Director-General of Archæology

Jaffar, S M, The Mughal empire from Bābar to Aurangzeb (1st ed) 7½ × 5 *Peshawar*, 1936 *From the Author*

Jamal-ud-din Ahmad and Muhammad Abdul Aziz, Afghanistan, a brief survey *London (and Kabul)*, 1936
From the Authors

Joannes, of Lycopolis Ein dialog uber die Seele und die Affekte des Menschen Herausg von S Dedering (Vilhelm Ekman's Universitetsfond, Uppsala, 43) *Syriac and German.* 10 × 7 *Uppsala*, 1936 *From the R University Library of Uppsala*

Jodhpur Report on the administration of the Archæological Dept and the Sumer Public Library for the year ending 30th Sept, 1936 Vol 10 13½ × 8½ *Jodhpur*, 1937
From the Superintendent, Archæological Dept

Karve, D G, Poverty and population in India 7½ × 5 *Oxford*, 1936 *From the Oxford University Press*

Leumann, E, Das nordcrische (sakische) Lehrgedicht des Buddhismus Text und Übersetzung von E L Heft 3 A d Nachlass herausg [mit Einleitung] von M Leumann . (A K M, Bd 20, no 3) 9½ × 6½ *Leipzig*, 1936 *Exchange*

Leyden University Catalogus DI 35 Inventaris van de HSS 3de Afd 9½ × 6½ *Leiden*, 1936
From the University Library, Leiden

Licent, E, Comptes-rendus de onze années (1923–1933) de séjour et d'exploration dans le bassin du Fleuve Jaune du Pai Ho, etc Tom 1, 2, 3, [also] Tables, et Atlas. (Publns du Musée Hoang Ho Pai Ho, no 38) 13 × 9½. *Tientsin*, 1935. *From M. Henri Velch.*

Lukas, J., Die Logone-Sprache im zentralen Sudan . . . (A. K. M., Bd. 21, Heft 6). 9½ × 6¼. *Leipzig*, 1936. *Exchange.*

Madras. Records of Fort St. George. Anjengo consultations, 1749–1750. Vol. 2B.

—— Fort St. David consultations, 1702. 13½ × 8½. *Madras*, 1936. *From the High Commissioner for India*

Mahābhārata, (Southern Recension) . . . Ed. by . . P. P. S. Sastri . . . Vol. 15. Śanti parvan, pt. 3. 7½ × 5. *Madras*, 1936. *From Messrs. V. Ramaswamy Śāstrulu and Sons.*

Martiny, G., Die Gegensatze im babylonischen und assyrischen Tempelbau . . . (A. K. M., Bd. 21, Heft 3). 9½ × 6½. *Leipzig*, 1936. *Exchange*

Merlier, M., Études de musique byzantine . (Bibl. musicale du Mus. Guimet, Sér 2, tom 2). 11½ × 9 *Paris*, 1935. *Exchange.*

Mughultai. M.'s Biographical dictionary of the martyrs of love Ed from the two extant MSS in Istanbul by O Spies Vol. 1 (Bonner Or. Studien, Heft 18) 10 × 7 *Stuttgart*, 1936 *From Messrs W Kohlhammer*

Mundy, P., The travels of P M . . . Ed by the late . Sir R C Temple . . and L M Anstey Vol 5 (Hakluyt Soc, 2nd Ser, no 78) 9 × 6. *London*, 1936 *Bought.*

Al-Mutanabbi Recueil publ à l'occasion de son millénaire. [Six articles by MM Blachère, Canard, Gaudefroy-Demonbynes, Lecerf, Massignon, and Sauvaget] (Mém. de l'Inst Fr de Damas) 10 × 7 *Beyrouth*, 1936 *Exchange*

Nazim, M., Bijapur inscriptions . (Mem Arch. Survey of India, no 49) 13½ × 10½ *Delhi*, 1936. *Exchange*

Neogi, P., Copper in Ancient India . (Ind Assoc for the cultivation of Science, Spec. Publ, no. 1) 10 × 7½. *Calcutta*, 1918. *Bought*

Nielsen, D, Ras Šamra Mythologie und Biblische Theologie . . (A K M, Bd 21, Heft 4) 9½ × 6½ *Leipzig*, 1936 *Exchange*

Nippold, W, Rassen- und Kulturgeschichte der Negrito-Volker Sudost-Asiens Bd 1 . (Studien zur Volkerkunde, Bd 11) 9 × 6. *Göttingen*, 1936. *From the Institut t. Rassen- und Volkerkunde, Leipzig Univ*

Patna Annual report of the Managing Committee of the Patna Museum for the year ending 31st March, 1935 13½ × 8½ *Patna*, 1936 *From the High Commissioner for India.*

Perry, E D, A Sanskrit primer . . 4th ed 9 × 6 *New York*, 1936. *From Oxford University Press.*

Pillai, V Chockalingam, The origin of the Indo-European races and peoples Vol. 1 1st ed. 10 × 7 (*Palamcottah*), 1935 *From the Author.*

Pohl, A., Vorsargonische und Sargonische Wirtschaftstexte, autographiert und mit Inventarzeichnis und Namenlisten

versehen von A P (Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities in Eigentum der Univ. Jena, 5). 13 × 10. *Leipzig*, 1935 *From Messrs. J. C. Hinrichs.*

Pondicherry Catalogue des MSS des anciennes archives de l'Inde Française Publ par E. Gaudart . . . Tom. 7. Pondichéry, 1816–1855 Tom 8 Établissements secondaires et loges, 1816–1855 10½ × 7½. *Pondichéry and Paris*, 1936. *Exchange.*

Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-samcaya-gāthā Sanscrit and Tibetan text, ed by E Obermüller [with English introduction] (Bibl Buddhica, 29) 9 × 6 *Moscow and Leningrad*, 1937 *Exchange*

Pritchard, E H, The crucial years of early Anglo-Chinese relations, 1750–1800. (Research studies, State College of Washington, vol 4, nos 3-4) 10 × 7 *Pullman, Washington* (1936) *From the Author.*

Punjab Catalogue of works and periodicals registered in the Punjab during the quarters ending the 30th Sept and 31st December, 1936 13½ × 8½ (*Lahore*, 1936–7) *From the Government of the Punjab*

Punjab, Government Press lists of old Records in the Punjab Civil Secretariat Chief Commissioner's Administration . . 1853 to 1858 Index to vol 13, Political Dept. Index to vol 14, Judicial Dept Index to vol 15, General Dept 13½ × 8½ *Lahore*, 1936 *From the Government of the Punjab*

Ruben, W, Studien zur Textgeschichte des Rāmāyana . . (Bonner Or Studien, Heft 19) 10 × 7 *Stuttgart*, 1936. *From the Author.*

Rustum A J, The royal archives of Egypt and the origins of the Egyptian expedition to Syria, 1831–1841 (Publns. of the Amer Univ of Beirut, Or Ser, no 8) 10½ × 7 *Beirut*, 1936 *From the American University, Beirut*

Schubart, W, Die religiose Haltung des frühen Hellenismus (A O Bd 35, Heft 2) 9½ × 6 *Leipzig*, 1937 *Bought.*

Sigurét, J, Territoires et populations des confins du Yunnan. Tr du chinois par J S 10½ × 7 *Peiping* (*Shanghai pr*), (1937) *From M. Henri Vetch*

Sinha, N K, Rise of the Sikh power 8½ × 6 *Calcutta*, 1936. *From the Registrar, Calcutta University*

Société des Études Iraniennes et de l'Art Persan Publications 1 13 [Monographs by G Contenau, A Godard, R Grousset, H Massé, L Massignon, V Minorsky, Muhd. Khan Qazvini, and Sir Denison Ross] 10 × 6½ *Paris*, 1931–6 *Exchange.*

Stein, Sir A, An archæological tour in the ancient Persis . . . (Repr from Irāq, vol 3, no 2) 11½ × 8. [*London*, 1936] *From the Author.*

Storey, C. A., Persian Literature. A bio-bibliographical survey . . . Section 2, fasc. 2. C.-L. Special histories of Persia Central Asia, [etc.] . . . 9 × 6. *London*, 1936.
From Messrs. Luzac.

Tagore, R., Chansons de R T. 26 chants transcrits par A. A. Bake . . . avec tr. littérale [French and English] de la poésie bengalie et tr. libre [English] de R. T. (Bibl. musicale du Mus. Guimet, Sér. 1, tom. 2). *With the music.* 11½ × 9 *Paris*, 1935. *Exchange.*

T'ang Leang-li, The new social order in China . . . (" China To-day " Ser., no 6). 10 × 7½. *Shanghai*, 1936.
From Messrs. Kegan Paul.

Till, W., Koptische Heiligen- und Martyrerlegenden. Texte, Übersetzungen und Indices, herausg und bearbeitet von W T. Teil 2. (Or. Christiana Analecta, 108). 9½ × 6½. *Roma*, 1936. *Exchange.*

Tokyo, Oriental Library. Catalogue of the Asiatic Library of Dr. G E. Morrison, now a part of the Or Library, Tokyo . . . 2 vols 10½ × 8 *Tōkyō*, 1924.
From the Toyo Bunko, Tokyo

Travancore, Archæological Dept Administration report, 1107, 1108, 1109, 1110 M E (A D 1931–5). 10 × 7. *Trivandrum*, 1932–6. *From the Supt of Archæology, Travancore*

Tripathi, R. P, Some aspects of Muslim administration . . 9 × 6. *Allahabad*, 1936 *From the Indian Press.*

Tucci, G, Indo-Tibetica, 3 I templi del Tibet Occidentale . Pte. 2. Tsaparang (R Accad d'Italia, Studi e documenti, 1) 10½ × 7½ *Roma*, 1936 *From the Author*

Umeśa Miśra, Conception of matter according to Nyāya-Vaiçesika 9 × 6 *Allahabad*, 1936 *From the Author*

Ur Excavations. Vol. 3, Archaic seal-impressions By . . L Legrain . (Publns , Joint Expedition of the Brit Mus and of the Univ. Mus , Univ. of Pennsylvania, to Mesopotamia). 13½ × 9½ (*London*), 1936.
From the Trustees of the British Museum.

Vidyakāra Purohita, Nārāyaṇa śataka . with the commentary of Pitāmbara Kavicandra Ed . by Śrīkānta Śarmā. (Gaekwad's Or. Ser , no. 71) 10 × 7. *Baroda*, 1935
Exchange

Vijayanagar Vijayanagara sexcentenary commemoration volume . . . 10½ × 8. *Dharwar*, 1916.
From the Karnentak Historical Research Society.

Waterman, L., Royal correspondence of the Assyrian Empire Pt. 4. Supplement and indexes . (Univ of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Ser., vol. 20). 11½ × 8½. *Ann Arbor*, 1936. *From the University of Michigan Press*

Waxman, M., A history of Jewish literature . . . Vol. 3. 9 × 6½. *New York*, 1936. *From the Bloch Publishing Co.*

Wichmann, Y. Y W's Wörterbuch des ungarischen . . . Csángo-dialektes nebst grammatikalischen Aufzeichnungen und Texten Herausg. von B. Csüry und A Kannisto. (Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae, 4) 10½ × 7½. *Helsinki*, 1936. *From the Société Finno-Ougrienne.*

Wimsatt, G, Chinese shadow shows . . 10½ × 8 *Cambridge, Mass*, 1936 *From the Oxford University Press.*

Winlock, H E, Bas-reliefs from the temple of Rameses I at Abydos (Metropolitan Museum of Art, Papers · Vol. 1, pt 1) 13 × 10 *New York*, 1921 *Presented by the Metropolitan Museum of Art.*

Winlock, H E, Ed Dākhleh oasis Journal of a camel trip made in 1908 With an appendix by L Bull (Metropolitan Museum of Art, Dept of Egyptian Art, vol 5) 13 × 9½ *New York*, 1936 *Presented by the Metropolitan Museum of Art*

Winlock and Crum, The monastery of Epiphenius at Thebes Pt 1 The archæological material, by H E. Winlock The literary material, by W E Crum Pt 2 Coptic ostraca and papyri, ed with tr by W E Crum Greek ostraca and papyri, ed with tr by H G Evelyn-White (Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian expedition) 14½ × 11 *New York*, 1926 *Presented by the Metropolitan Museum of Art*

Winlock and Mace, The tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht (Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian expedition) 14½ × 11 *New York*, 1916 *Presented by the Metropolitan Museum of Art*

Winlock, H E, The tomb of Queen Meryet-Amūn at Thebes (Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition, vol 6) 14½ × 11 *New York*, 1932 *Presented by the Metropolitan Museum of Art*

Winlock, H E, The treasure of El-Lāhūn (Metropolitan Museum of Art, Dept of Egyptian Art, vol 4) 13 × 9½ *New York*, 1934 *Presented by the Metropolitan Museum of Art.*

Wu Yung, The flight of an Empress Told by W Y transcribed and ed by I Pruitt 8½ × 6 *London*, 1937 *From Messrs Faber and Faber*

Yü Hsuan-chi, Selling wilted peonies Biography and songs of Y H, T'ang poetess [Tr by] G Wimsatt 10½ × 7½. *New York*, 1936 *From the Oxford University Press.*

RULES RELATING TO MEMBERSHIP AND SUBSCRIPTIONS

3. (a) Members shall be divided into three classes :—

(1) Resident Members; those who usually reside or have a place of business within the London Postal Area.

(2) Non-resident Members; those who usually reside outside, and have not a place of business within, the above-stated Area.

(3) Honorary Members and Foreign Extraordinary Members admitted as hereinafter provided

(b) Members in the first two classes are hereinafter designated Ordinary Members

4. Any person desirous of becoming an Ordinary Member must be nominated by one Member and seconded by another, of whom one must act on a personal knowledge that the candidate is likely to be a suitable and useful Member; and the nominating Member shall address the Secretary in writing and give the candidate's name, address, and occupation, or status, and shall state to which of the aforesaid classes the candidate desires to be admitted Provided always that in the case of persons domiciled abroad, it shall be within the power of the Council on being satisfied as to the credentials of any particular candidate, to dispense with these conditions

17. The annual subscriptions of Ordinary Members shall be as follows —

	£	s	d
Resident Members	3	3	0
Non-resident Members residing in the British Isles	2	2	0
Non-resident Members residing abroad	1	10	0

17A The Annual Subscription for Associates shall be as follows ·—

	£	s	d
Library Associates	1	10	0
Student Associates		10	6

19 An Ordinary Member may compound for all future annual subscriptions by paying in lieu thereof one sum calculated according to the Member's age and category as follows ·—

Under 40 years of age · Eleven times the annual subscription as laid down in Rule 17

Between 40 and 60 years of age: Nine times the annual subscription as laid down in Rule 17

Over 60 years of age Seven times the annual subscription as laid down in Rule 17

23 The first payment of subscription is due on election, but if a Member be elected in November or December of any year, the first annual subscription paid by him shall cover the year beginning on the 1st January next after his election.

24. Annual subscriptions shall be due on the first day of January of each year.

Every member of the Society whose subscription is paid is entitled to receive the quarterly JOURNAL post free.

P T O

When proposing a candidate for election, this form may be filled in and sent to the Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society, 74 Grosvenor Street, London, W. 1. Certificate of Recommendation to be made out in block capitals

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

CERTIFICATE OF RECOMMENDATION

being desirous of becoming a Member of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, *we, whose names are hereunto subscribed, being Members of the said Society, do hereby recommend to the Society as a Candidate.*

Members { *Proposer* / *Seconder* }

Revised Price List. July, 1937.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS

ON SALE AT THE ROOMS OF THE SOCIETY

74 GROSVENOR STREET, LONDON, W. 1

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND

NEW SERIES

8vo.

(1–5) REHATSEK (E.). Mīr Khwānd's "Rauzat-us-Safā" or "Garden of Purity". 1891 to 1894. 12*s*. 6*d*. a volume.

(6) TAWNEY (C H). The Kathā Koṣa. 1895. 12*s*. 6*d*.

(7) RIDDING (Miss C. M) Bāna's Kādambarī 1896. 12*s*. 6*d*. *Out of print*

(8) COWELL (E. B.) and THOMAS (F. W.). Bāṇa's Harṣa Carita. 1897. Reprinted. 1929. 12*s* 6*d*.

(9) CHENERY (T). The first twenty-six Maḳāmātat of al Ḥarīrī. 1898. 1926. 12*s*. 6*d*.

(10) STEINGASS (F.) The last twenty-four Makāmāta of al Ḥarīrī 1898. 12*s*. 6*d*.

(11) GASTER (M) The Chronicles of Jerahmeel; being a collection of the most ancient Biblical legends translated for the first time from the unique Hebrew MS. in the Bodleian, with an introduction, full of literary parallels, copious index and five facsimile reproductions of the Hebrew MS 1899 12*s* 6*d*.

(12) DAVIDS (Mrs. Rhys). The Dhamma Sangaṇi. 1900. Reprinted. 1923. 12*s*. 6*d*.

(13) BEVERIDGE (Mrs. H.). Life and Memoirs of Gulbadan Begum. 1902, 1927. 12*s*. 6*d*.

(14, 15) WATTERS (T.). On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, 629–645. Edited by T. W. Rhys Davids and S W. Bushell. 1904–5. 12*s*. 6*d*. a volume.

(16) WHINFIELD (E. H.) and MĪRZĀ MUḤAMMAD ḲAZWĪNĪ. **The Lawā'iḥ of Jāmī.** Facsimile of an old MS., with a **translation and a** preface on the influence of Greek philosophy **upon Sufism.** 1914 Reprinted, 1928 7*s*. 6*d*.

(17) BARNETT (L. D) Antagaḍa-dasāo and Aṇuttaroavvāiya-dasāo From the Prakrit 1907. 6*s*. 6*d*.

(18) KEITH (A. Berriedale). The Sānkhāyana Āraṇyaka. 1908 6*s*. 6*d*

(19, 22) ROGERS (A) and BEVERIDGE (H.). Memoirs of Jahāngir Translated Vol I, 1909 Vol. II, 1914. 12*s*. 6*d*. a volume *Out of print*

(20) NICHOLSON (R A). The Tarjumān al-Ashwāq of Ibn al-'Arabī Text and Translation 1911. 7*s*. 6*d*.

(21) WARDROP (Miss M) The Man in the Panther's Skin. By Shot'ha Rust'haveli. 1912. 12*s* 6*d*.

(23) WARDROP (O) Visramiani The Story of the Loves of Vis and Ramin A romance of Ancient Persia Translated from the Georgian Version 1914 12*s* 6*d*

(24) UI (H) Vaiśesika Philosophy, according to the Daśapadārtha-Śāstra Chinese Text and Translation Edited by F W Thomas 1917 7*s*. 6*d*

(25) SALMON (W H.) The Ottoman Conquest of Egypt from the Arabic Chronicle of Ibn Iyās 1921. 5*s*

(26) GASTER (M) The Asatir, or The Samaritan Book of the " Secrets of Moses " 1927 12*s*. 6*d*

(27) MARGOLIOUTH (D S.). The Table-talk of a Mesopotamian Judge, being the first part of the Nishwār al-Muhāḍarah or Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh of Abu 'Alī al-Muhassin al-Tanūkhī (*text*) Edited from the Paris MS 1921. 12*s* 6*d*.

(28) MARGOLIOUTH (D S) Translation of the above. 1922. 12*s* 6*d*

(29) MILLER (W M) Al-Bâbu 'L-Ḥâdî 'Ashar. A Treatise on the Principles of Shî'ite Theology by Ḥasan B Yûsuf B 'Alî Ibnu'l-Mutahhar al-Ḥillî. Translation. 1928. 10*s*

(30) Stephenson (J.). The Zoological Section of the Nuzhatu-l-Qulūb of Ḥamdullāh al-Mustaufī al-Qazwīnī. Edited, translated, and annotated. 1928. 15s.

(31) Jorgensen (Hans). Vicitrakarṇikāvadānoddhṛta, Nevāri Text and Translation. 1931. 12s. 6d.

(32) Thomas, F. W. Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents from Chinese Turkestan Vol. I. 1935. 20s. (*Vol. II in the Press.*)

(33) Grierson, G. A. Puruṣa Parīkṣā or Test of a Man. 1935. 12s. 6d.

(34) Robson, J Ibn abī'l Dunyā's Kitāb al-Malāhī. (*In the Press.*)

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY MONOGRAPHS

8vo.

(1) Gerini (G. E.). Researches on Ptolemy's Geography (Further India and the Indo-Malay Peninsula) 1909. 15s

(2) Winternitz (M.). Catalogue of South Indian Sanskrit MSS. belonging to the R A.S , with an Appendix by F. W. Thomas. 1902. 5s.

(3) Hirschfeld (H.) New Researches into the Composition and Exegesis of the Qoran. 1902. *Out of print.*

(4) Dames (M. Longworth). The Baloch Race. 1904. 4s.

(5) Le Strange (G.). Mesopotamia and Persia in the Fourteenth Century A.D., from the Nuzhat-al-Kulūb of Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī. 1903. *Out of print.*

(6) Browne (E. G.). Chahár Maqála of Nidhámí-i-'Arúḍí-i-Samarqandí. 1899 *Out of print.*

(7) Codrington (O) A Manual of Musalman Numismatics. 1904 7s. 6d.

(8) Grierson (G. A.). The Piśāca Languages of North-Western India. 1906. *Out of print.*

(9, 10) Dames (M. Longworth). Popular Poetry of the Baloches. Text and translation. Two vols. 1907. 15s.

(11) Sayce (A. H.) and Pinches (T. G.). The Tablet from Yuzgat in the Liverpool Institute of Archæology. 1907. 4*s*.

(12) Bailey (T Grahame). The Languages of the Northern Himalayas, being studies in the Grammar of Twenty-six Himalayan Dialects. 1908. *Out of print.*

(13) Bailey (T. Grahame). Kanauri Vocabulary. 1911. 2*s* 6*d*

(14) Le Strange (Guy) Description of the Province of Fārs, in Persia, from the MS. of Ibn-al-Balkhī. 1912. 4*s*.

(15) Brandstetter (R) An Introduction to Indonesian Linguistics, translated by C O Blagden 1916. 7*s*. 6*d*.

(16) Pinches (T. G). Babylonian Tablets of the Berens Collection. 1915. 4*s*.

(17) Grierson (G A) and Barnett (L. D.). Lallā-Vākyāni Edit with translation 1920. 10*s*.

(18) Bailey (T Grahame) Linguistic Studies from the Himalayas 1915. 10*s*.

(19) Gairdner (W H T) Al-Ghazzālī's Mishkāt al-Anwār A Translation with Introduction. 1924 5*s*.

(20) Pran Nath. A Study in the Economic Condition of Ancient India 1929 12*s*. 6*d*

(21) Thomas (Bertram). The Kumzari Dialect of the Shihuh Tribe, Arabia, and a Vocabulary. 1930. 2*s*. 6*d*.

(22) Fischel (W J) Jews in the Economic and Political Life of Mediaeval Islam 1937. 12*s* 6*d*.

PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND

8vo

(1) Hultzsch (E) Prākritarūpāvatāra of Simharāja The Text in Nāgarī characters, with Notes, Introduction and Index. 1909 5*s*

(2) Bode (Mrs M. H) The Pali Literature of Burma 1909. 5*s*.

(3) HULTZSCH (E.). The Meghadūta with Vallabha's Commentary. 1911. 5s.

(4) BRAY (D de S) The Life-history of a Brāhūī. 1913. 5s.

(5) GRIERSON (G. A) Ishkāshmī, Zēbakī and Yāzghulāmī. 1920. 7s. 6d.

(6) LORIMER (D L. R.). The Phonology of the Bakhtiari, Badakhshani and Madaglashti Dialects of Modern Persian. 1922. 5s.

(7) STCHERBATSKY (Th). The Central Conception of Buddhism and the meaning of the word Dharma 1923. 12s. 6d.

(8) BAILEY (T Grahame) Grammar of the Shina (Ṣiṇā) Language 1924. 7s 6d.

(9) RANDLE (H N.). Fragments from Diṅnāga 1926. 6s.

(10) MALALASEKARA (G. P). The Pali Literature of Ceylon 1928. 10s.

(11) GRIERSON (G A) Torwali. An account of a Dardic Language of the Swat Kohistan 1929 12s 6d.

(12) WOLFENDEN (S. N.). Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Morphology. 1930. 15s.

(13) IVANOW (W) A Guide to Ismaili Literature. 1933 9s

(14) LICHTENSTADTER (I) Women in the Aiyam al-Arab. 1935. 5s.

(15) JOHNSTON (E. H) Early Sāmkhya (*In the Press*)

JAMES G. FORLONG FUND

(1) HODSON (T C) The Primitive Culture of India. 1922. 6s.

(2) GIBB (H. A. R). The Arab Conquests in Central Asia. 1923. 5s.

(3) RICHMOND (E. T) Moslem Architecture 623–1516. 1926 12s. 6d.

(4) Ross (E Denison). Ta'rikh-i Fakhru'd-dín Mubáraksháh. Edited from a unique manuscript. 1927. 7*s*. 6*d*.

(5) TRENCKNER (V) The Milindapañho: the Pali Text. New edition with General Index by C. J Rylands and Index of Gāthās by Mrs Rhys Davids 1928. 12*s* 6*d*.

(6) Hasan (Hâdī) Falakī-i-Shirwānī. His Times, Life and Works 1929 12*s* 6*d*

(7) VARMA (S) Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians. 1929 12*s*. 6*d*.

(8) ISEMONGER (N E) The Elements of Japanese Writing. 1929 £1 5*s*

(9) ḤASAN (Hādī) Falakī-i-Shirwānī Dīwān 1929 10*s*

(10) JUWAYNĪ Ta'rikh-i-Jahān-Gushāy of Juwayni, vol iii Being a facsimile of a manuscript dated A H. 690 belonging to Wahīd-ul-Mulk With an Introduction by Sir E Denison Ross 1931 7*s* 6*d*.

(11) WINGATE (R O) and Ross (E. Denison) Dialogues in the Eastern Turki Dialect on Subjects of Interest to Travellers 1934 4*s* 6*d*

(12) YOSHITAKE, (S) Phonetic System of Ancient Japanese. 1934 6*s*

(13) SUTTON PAGE, (W) An Introduction to Colloquial Bengali 1934 10*s* 6*d*

(14) DAVE, (T N) A Study of the Gujarati Language in the Sixteenth Century (v s) 1935 10*s* 6*d*

(15) READ (A F C) Balti Grammar. 1934 8*s*. 6*d*.

(16) BAILEY (T Graham) Kashmiri Sounds (*In the Press*)

B. C. LAW TRUST SERIES

By the generosity of Dr Bimala C Law of Calcutta a Trust has been founded to facilitate the publication of Monographs on Buddhism, Jainism and Ancient Indian History and Geography up to the end of the Thirteenth Century A.D.

Information will be found in a leaflet issued with the July No. of JRAS, or may be obtained from the Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society, 74 Grosvenor Street, London, W.1.

ORIENTAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Report on the Terminology and Classification of Grammar. Oxford University Press. 1930. 1*s.*

Centenary Volume of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1823–1923, compiled and edited by F. E Pargiter. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Centenary Supplement. 1924. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Decade Index of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1920–9. Paper Covers similar to JOURNAL, each 1*s.*; Bound in paper boards, each 1*s.* 6*d.*; Bound in paper boards and interleaved, each 2*s.*

Members are entitled to buy these publications at 25 per cent discount.
2*d* *in the shilling allowed to the trade*
3*d* *in the shilling allowed to the trade if paid on purchase or in advance.*
4*d* *in the shilling allowed to the trade for purchase of any one publication to the amount of £10 and upwards if paid on purchase or in advance, and for purchase of various publications to the amount of £20 and upwards if paid on purchase or in advance The publications mentioned above, in connection with discount to the trade, do not include either the Journal of the Society or its Index*

Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland

74 GROSVENOR STREET, LONDON, W.1

PATRON

HIS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY THE KING.

VICE-PATRONS

FIELD-MARSHAL HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT

THE VICEROY OF INDIA

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS

1925 THE RIGHT HON LORD CHALMERS, P C, G C B., F B A.
1925 SIR GEORGE A GRIERSON, O M, K C I E, PH D, D LITT.

COUNCIL OF MANAGEMENT FOR 1937-38.

PRESIDENT

1937 THE LORD HAILEY, G C S I, G C I E.

DIRECTOR

1937 PROFESSOR D S MARGOLIOUTH, M A, D LITT, F B A.

VICE-PRESIDENTS

1934 L D BARNETT, ESQ, M A, LITT D
1935 C OTTO BLAGDEN, ESQ, M A, HON D LITT
1934 SIR EDWARD MACLAGAN, K C.S.I, K C I E, M A
1937 SIR E DENISON ROSS, KT, C I E, PH D., D LIT.

HONORARY OFFICERS

1919 A. G ELLIS, ESQ, M A (*Hon Librarian*)
1935 C E A W OLDHAM, ESQ, C S I (*Hon Secretary*)
1923 E S M PEROWNE, ESQ, F S A (*Hon. Treasurer*).

ORDINARY MEMBERS OF COUNCIL

1935 R E ENTHOVEN, ESQ, C I E
1937 SIR WILLIAM FOSTER, KT., C I E
1936 C. J. GADD, ESQ, M.A.
1934 M GASTER, PH D
1934 L C HOPKINS, ESQ, I S O
1935 PROFESSOR E H JOHNSTON, D LITT
1936 LIEUT-COL. D L R LORIMER, C I E.
1936 SIR JOHN MARSHALL, KT, C.I.E, LITT D, F.S A, F B A
1935 R S LE MAY, ESQ, PH D
1934 R A NICHOLSON, ESQ, LITT D, F B A
1934 H N RANDLE, ESQ, M A, PH D
1935 A S TRITTON, ESQ, D LITT
1935 PROFESSOR R. L TURNER, M C, M A, LITT D
1934 SIR OLIVER WARDROP, K B E, C M G, M A
1937 SIR C LEONARD WOOLLEY, Kt., M A, D Litt
1936 PROFESSOR W PERCEVAL YETTS, O B.E, D.LIT., M.R.C S

SECRETARY AND LIBRARIAN

1930 COL D M. F. HOYSTED, C.B.E, D S.O.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY	ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN
1925 MRS M. DAVIS.	1932 MRS F. M. G CARDEW.

HON SOLICITORS

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY'S JOURNAL

JULY, 1937

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

PAGE

Far East

India

④# JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
1937

PART III—JULY

Archaic Chinese Characters

Being some intensive studies in them

PART III

BY L C HOPKINS

(*Continued from the* JRAS, *April*, *1937*, *p* *217*, *line 11*)

HAVING already discussed the first of the two forms used for Summer, we may examine the second, and attractive theory of its origin put forward by Mr Yeh Yu-sên This theory is freely cited by Mr Tung Tso-pin in Part 3 of the *Excavations at Anyang* (*Academia Sinica*), 1931, especially on pp 511–514 Mr Yeh observes "When the ancients invented characters for the Four Seasons—Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter—I surmise that in each case they drew their imagery from the object most conspicuous in that season Now the character 夏 *hsia*, summer, is not found in the oracular sentences, but on the analogy of the example previously adduced, the words 今 春 *chin ch'un* 'the present Spring', I have secured three instances where, following 今 *chin*, there occurs a single character, in each case a pictogram" Here Mr Yeh cites three passages from Bone inscriptions, two from Lo Chên-yu's *Yin Hsu Shu Ch'i*, and one from a work not accessible to me The three figures below I have copied direct from Lo's plates, as cited by

Mr. Yeh, but not from the minuscule forms as constricted into the text of Mr. Tung Tso-pin's article.[1]


FIG 1


FIG 2


FIG 3

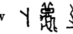
After citing these three forms Mr Yeh continues: "In these three passages the pictographic figures all represent the antennæ, head, wings, and feet, 並狀綏首翼足 *ping chuang sui shou i tsu*, closely resembling those of the cicada 蟬 *ch'an*, and we may surmise that the oracular sentences borrowed the *cicada* to stand for Summer, the cicada being the most conspicuous summer insect When you hear its sound you know it is summer!"[2]

One other variant of the six forms cited in the text by Mr Yeh must be reproduced here as his argument requires it This is  (Fig 4) And Yeh proceeds to put forward a most ingenious explanation of the real sabotage of significance that he perceives in the formation and in Hsu Shên's explanation of his Lesser Seal version of Hsia, viz  (Fig 5) "a man of China". The Lesser Seal, he says, has "perverted  (Fig 6) to  (Fig 7),  (Fig 8) to 頁, and  (Fig 9) to  (Fig 10), and, as it were, robbed them of their resemblances, 猾 略 得 其 似 *yu hao tê ch'i ssŭ* By the time the form had reached the learned Hsu Shên it was held to depict the head, the two hands, and two feet, being those of a Man of China, just as though a foreigner's head, hands, and feet were of some different number to those of Chinese! In all conscience an interpretation of despair!"

誠強索解矣 *ch êng ch'iang so chieh i*

[1] See Lo Chên yü in 殷虛書契, fig 1, ch 5, p 25, fig 2, ch 2, p 5, fig 3, ibid, Hou Pien, 下, p 12 Fig 1 is not preceded by 今 *chin*.

[2] This is enragingly true in Peking of the deafening *we-we* cicada

To Mr. Yeh Yü-sên's argument from the immediately preceding word 今 *chin* "the present", implying a restriction to *one* of the Four Seasons, it is a real pleasure to adduce a short passage of three words, which virtually serves as conclusive proof of the truth of his theory Strangely enough this passage seems to have been overlooked by Mr. Yeh and by Mr. Tung Tso-pin, but it will be found in Lo Chên-yu's *Yin Hsu Shu Ch'i*, ch. 4, p. 5, written horizontally, in fine clear style, as shown below  (Fig 11) *pu hsia chih* "to divine as to the Summer Solstice". Close by, but written vertically, are the two characters  (Fig. 12) *ssŭ yueh*, 4th moon, as a separate entry If the limitation to one of the Four Seasons is cogent, how much more compelling is the restriction to one of the two solstices!

In bidding adieu to the Summer, there is one feature of the character so brilliantly elucidated by Mr Yeh Yu-sên that should be noted as quite exceptional

Assuming that the original form of *hsia* 夏 was an unskilful drawing of a cicada, this is a type of presentative device not referable to the traditional classes of the Six Scripts, and recalcitrant to their conditions. Only two of these classes could lay claim to include it, and neither without violence One of these would be the 象 形 *hsiang hsing* group, or pictographic figures These, in the system, are pictures of objects corresponding to the names of such objects in the spoken language Thus, the original picture of a horse is the character for the word *ma*, meaning horse But in the case adduced by Mr Yeh, the picture was of a cicada, termed *ch'an* in the spoken language, but violently (as it were) diverted or perverted to the term *hsia* summer, on the strength of its undeniably appropriate symbolism. The only other class of the Six Scripts that might be suggested is the 假 借 *chia chieh*, or borrowed forms, but to qualify for entry into that group the borrowing and the lending characters must have the same

sound, which *ch'an*, cicada, and *hsia*, summer, cannot claim ever to have had It is with pleasure that I welcome and perhaps make more widely known to Western students the discovery of Mr Yeh Yu-sên, suggested by his imaginative insight and supported by sound and perspicuous argument.

L. C HOPKINS

332

Assyrian Prescriptions for Diseases of the Feet

By R CAMPBELL THOMPSON

(Continued from p 286)

Col. II (*KAR* 192, *p*. 55, *l*. 33 *ff*.)

33. If a man is sick of a swelling, the colour of his sickness being black, thou shalt [pound] (and) strain the tops (juice) of oleander (?), mix in fine-ground flour, mash in rose-water (!),[1] bind on ; (or) tops (juice) of tamarisk.

---

35. Mustard (and) **Ammi*, [thou] shalt pound finer than (?) flour,[2] mix, mash in rose-water, bind on

---

37 Fruit of acacia [3] while it is yet green thou shalt bray, bind on.

---

38 Liquorice while it is yet green thou shalt bray, bind on.

---

39 Poppy thou shalt bray, bind on

---

40. **Acorus Calamus*, the rush *elpitu mê burki* [4] thou shalt dry, pound, powder of *šupuḫru*-cedar in fine-ground flour with rose-water thou shalt mash, bind on

---

41. If ditto, tops (juice) of Lycium,[3] tops (juice) of caper, tops (juice) of liquorice, tops (juice) . . , tops (juice) of apple, tops (juice) of fig, tops (juice) of pomegranate, tops (juice) of

[1] *A.ZAL LA* (" hemp ") must be a scribe's mistake, as *E* suggests

[2] [*Tu*]-*dàk-kak uš-tu ZID.DA.*

[3] *iṣuAšagu*, see *RA* 1930, 127

[4] See *AH* 32

date-palm . . ., thou shalt dry, pound, mix in flour, mash in a small copper pan, bind on.

---

45. If ditto, tragacanth (and) *kamkadu*-plant thou shalt dry, pound, in fine-ground flour mix, in rose-water mash, bind on

---

47. [If ditto], pine-turpentine, fir-turpentine, cypress of the cemetery (?) thou shalt dry, pound, in *Ú SA*-beer thou shalt mix, bind on

---

48 [If ditto], tops (juice) of liquorice, tops (juice) of nettle, tops (juice) of **Arnoglosson* (?) [1] thou shalt pound, in a small copper pan thou shalt mash, with flour (?) mix, bind on

---

50 If the *tumur* [2] of a man's heel is twisted (*kapil*), the colour [3] of his flesh varies, the sickness being severe, thou shalt take all the tops (juice) of the garden-trees, roast them in an oven, into a [*nam*]*ḫaru*-bowl thou shalt pour (them), he shall bathe therein, until the sunset thou shalt leave (?) him

. . . . . .

(*Col II of KAR* 192)

1 thou shalt pound, in beer [in] a small copper pan thou shalt mash, while it is still hot [thou shalt bind it on]

---

2 If a man is sick of a swelling, the *tumur* of [his] heel . . . becoming black bone, anemone, **Anacyclus Pyrethrum*, **Arnoglosson*, tops (juice) of medlar (?) fruit of Lycium

[1] *E* xiv, 30, reads [*urki*]*t* (?) *su*(?)-*nu* "while they are yet green"
[2] Cf col II, l 2
[3] Text *ŠI*, but is this for *ši-mat*? See, however, col II, l 12.

thou shalt bray, mix in beer in a [small] copper pan [thou shalt mash, bind on].

---

6. If a man is sick of a swelling, the sickness [reaching] as far as the bone of [his] . . ., the sickness torments [him],[1] not being loosed from his body, *Ú SA*-beer . . . into a *namḫaru*-bowl thou shalt pour (it), his feet thou shalt bathe,[2] . . . washed, cataplasms . . . mustard, roast corn, in *ḫimetu*-ghee in a small copper pan thou shalt mash, [bind on].

---

11 If a man is sick of a swelling, the sickness rising as far as his knee, the colour of [his] flesh being . . ., it . . . (?),[3] the surface of his sickness being black, (and) that sickness not being relieved[4] by cataplasms, a ball (?)[5] of cow-dung, gazelle-dung, *Vitex* in an oven thou shalt [roast], he shall bathe his legs (therewith), *Arnoglosson, *Anacyclus Pyrethrum*, pine-turpentine , the plant (?),[6] *Cannabis, Withania somnifera*,[7] *ᵘam-* , *kazalurtu*-plant,[8] sumach, *kamkadu*-plant . **Cratægus Azarolus, Solanum, BAR ḪUŠ*-plant, **Ammi*, thou shalt pound, in beer in a small copper pan thou shalt mash, bind on

---

19 If a man is sick of a painful swelling, *Cannabis* . in *ḫimetu*-ghee thou shalt anoint.

---

20. If ditto, . (and) *Solanum* in *ḫimetu*-ghee thou shalt anoint.

---

[1] *Iltazaz*, from *lazâzu*, exact meaning uncertain

[2] Text *tar-ḫat*, surely for *tar-ḫas*, as in col I, l 49, where *tar-ḫas* is the variant *E* xiv, 31 (6), reads *tar-ḫáṣ*

[3] *Tu-ri-iḫ*

[4] *Ul i-til-li.*

[5] *KIL*, as in *AM* 83, 1, r iii, 10, *RA* 1934, 13

[6] *E* xiv, 31, suggests *ᵘana-me-rum* (= rue ?)

[7] *ᵘḪAR ḪU BA ŠIR, DACG* 173.

[8] Hardly *pizalurtu*, " maggot " (cf l. 31), see my forthcoming article in *AJSL* 1937.

21. If ditto, powder of poppy in *ḫimetu*-ghee thou shalt anoint.

---

22. While thou art binding on these cataplasms, . . . dry (?) thou shalt bind.

---

23 If ditto, thou shalt dry, pound, **styrax*, *Arnoglosson*, tragacanth, anoint with oil, bind [1]

---

24 If ditto, thou shalt dry (and) bray a cricket of the river (and) pine-turpentine in *ḫimetu*-ghee anoint, bind [1]

---

25 If ditto, mucilage (?) of sesame (*Here is AM.* 73, ii), thou shalt dry, pound, the sick place . . (?) anoint, bind [1]

---

26 If ditto, tops (juice) of poppy thou shalt dry, pound, the sick place . (?) anoint, bind

---

27 If ditto, thou shalt pound the mineral geodes of the river,[2] the sick place (?) (?) anoint, bind, bind on

---

28 If ditto, *Artemisia*,[3] seed of *hdruša*-plant, **Anacyclus Pyrethrum* thou shalt pound, anoint, bind

---

29 If ditto, *Solanum* (and) *TU LAL*-plant thou shalt pound, in beer-yeast [mix], anoint

---

[1] *MAR*(*rum*) (ll 25-6) in conjunction with l 23, seems rather to indicate that the reading for *MAR* in these texts is *tasaru*, perhaps as well as *ekû* (*PRSM* 1924, 4, n 6) Cf *AM* 26, 2, r 6, 7, *MAR* and *ta-sa-rum-ma* For *tasaru* = " bind ", see *PRSM* 1924, 5, n 3, *E* reads " bestreuen ", doubtless *zarû*, Heb *zarah* " scatter " ll 25-33, as represented by *AM* 73, ii, 1-9, have no dividing horizontal lines

[2] *Ætites*, a reddish brown ironstone, containing a smaller stone, *DACG* 108

[3] *AM* adds *arzallu* plant, *Cratægus Azarolus*

30. If ditto, date-stones thou shalt bray, in pig's fat anoint, bind.

---

31. If ditto, *kazallurtu*-plant thou shalt bray, in oil anoint, bind.

---

32. If ditto, *Cannabis*, *Cratægus Azarolus* thou shalt pound, anoint with mountain oil (petroleum), bind

---

33 If ditto, rind[1] of pomegranate thou shalt reduce, anoint in fish-oil, bind

---

34 If (ditto) the sickness of a swelling (be) great, a tabu has seized upon him though he assuage it he will subsequently die.

---

35 If (ditto) the sickness of the swelling result in "moisture",[2] he will die

---

36 If he is sick of a swelling, thou shalt mix in a small copper pan green dung with red-brown urine with fine-ground flour, bind on

---

38. If ditto, *mint, *Artemisia*, *balsam, **Sagapenum*, powder of poppy (opium) in *ḫimetu*-ghee (and) pig's fat thou shalt mash in a small copper pan, bind on

---

40 If he is sick of a swelling,[3] thou shalt reduce the plant *išin ekli*, put on the (sick) place

---

[1] *BAR* = *kuliptu*, *CT* xii, 16, No 93043 cf *AM* 12, 6, 7, and for a word *kuliptu* = "bark," "skin," see *JRAS* 1924, 454, *PRSM* 1926, 44, n 1, *Gilg Ep*, xi, 289 *KAR* has *PA* See also my *Devils*, ii, 148, 12

[2] *Rušumtu*, v *rušibta* Both these last two prescriptions suggest dropsy

[3] *KAR* "If the sickness ditto" *AM* omits the horizontal lines between ll 40–45

41. If ditto,[1] tops (juice) of liquorice thou shalt bray, put on the place

---

42. If ditto, "shell" of pomegranate thou shalt fry, put on the place

---

43 If ditto, a falcon [2] thou shalt fry, put on the place.

---

44. If ditto, tops (juice) of nettles thou shalt chop,[3] put [4] on the place

---

45 If ditto, tops (juice) of nettles, tops (juice) of *urzinnu* [5]-plant thou shalt chop, put [4] on the place [6]

---

46 If ditto, tops (juice) [7] of rue (?) thou shalt chop, apply to the place

---

47 If a man's *kappaltu* [8] hurts, the head of a "red-tongue" (lizard ?) thou shalt reduce, bray, apply to the place

---

48 (If ditto) "shell" of pomegranate thou shalt bray, put on the place

---

49 (If ditto), the head of a *kaziru* thou shalt fry, put on the place

---

[1] This "If ditto" is not always on *KAR*, and conversely in ll 48–50, although it is on *KAR* *AM* 74 omits

[2] *KAR* has *SAG DÍ ḪA*, a fish, much more probable Cf col i, l (68)

[3] *Tabšal lit*

[4] For *tanadi* on *KAR*, *AM* 74 has *tatabbal*, except l 46, where both have it

[5] In addition to the examples in *AM* 212, cf Weidner, *Boghaz K Studien, D Zug Sargons*, 1922, 64

[6] *KAR* for the latter part has "ditto"

[7] *PA* omitted on *KAR*

[8] Some part of the foot = *RI GÌR*, ii *R* 29, 31, c *KAR*, *ka-pal-ta*

50. (If ditto), the sick place thou shalt cleanse, apply a needle.[1]

(51 *on KAR.* (*mutilated*) *appears to be different from the text on AM.* 74, *which, since only two much-mutilated lines of this column remain on KAR., is put here in continuation*).—

24. If a man's feet are full of sickness, thou shalt dry the root of male-mandrake, pound, sift, in neat-oil bind on, and he shall recover.

---

25 If a man's feet are full of sickness, their sickness having a recurrent period, the day when they are full of sickness, **Anacyclus Pyrethrum*, of which the "eyes" (flowers) are turned to the west, thou shalt root up in the sun, saying thus "O Shamash, the plant is thy plant (?) . . ." This plant below (?) thou shalt tie, thus[2] thou shalt say "Free, O Shamash, loose, O Shamash!" Seven times [thou shalt say it]. then shalt thou take dust of the City-Gate, go to the river, go down into the river, and set his face downstream (?) thou shalt tie his feet downstream (?), thus[2] shalt thou say, "thou hast bound, do thou loose, O Shamash!" Seven times thou shalt say (it) , his face upstream (?) thou shalt set, the dust aforementioned[3] on his feet upstream-(wards) (?) he shall rub thus[2] shalt thou say, "Thou hast bound, do thou loose, O Shamash!" Seven times thou shalt say (it), and he shall recover

---

32 If sickness comes out in a man's leg, or (in) a man's testicle,[4] and it tickles him and makes (him) itch[5], moisture, burning . . For his recovery, roses, fenugreek, *saḫlê* in

[1] *Itgurtu* see *DACG* 120

[2] *ḪAR GIM*

[3] Lit "their dust"

[4] *ŠIR* But it would almost appear here that there had been a doubtful text, and that the scribe was not certain whether it was *ina šepâ* or a dittography of *ina* For this reason he has given this almost impossible word as an alternative

[5] *Iraššašumma ukkak.*

rose-water thou shalt knead, bind, mix in fat, make a suppository, put into his anus and [he shall recover]

---

34. If sickness comes out in a man's leg, and it tickles him and makes (him) itch [1], the sickness moisture, b[urning ?] . . . thou shalt sprinkle bean-flour [2] with oil, put (it) on the place; thou shalt put powder of manna [3] and oil on a cloth, and [bind on]

---

36 Thou shalt sprinkle water of *Salicornia*-alkali on the sick place, anoint with oil, seed of *Cratægus Azarolus* and seed of daisy [thou shalt put] on the place

---

Reverse of AM. 74 (Col III)

1 Thou shalt bray *styrax, put (it) on the place Thou shalt bray *Calendula*, lupins (and) *Chrysanthemum segetum*, put (them) on the place Thou shalt bray seed of tragacanth (and) seed of *kamkadu*, put (them) on the place Thou shalt bray seed of *Ricinus* (and) seed of fennel put (them) on the place Thou shalt bray pine-turpentine (and) fir-turpentine, put (them) on the place Thou shalt bray *mint, put (it) on the place Thou shalt bray *kazallu*-plant (and) **Ammi*, put (them) on the place Thou shalt bray shoot of **Conium maculatum* (and) *Ricinus*, put (them) on the place Thou shalt bray root of rue (?) (and) seed of tamarisk, put (them) on the place

---

5 Thou shalt put (thereon) tops (juice) of oleander (?), tops (juice) of liquorice, tops (juice) of laurel, pine-turpentine, fir-turpentine, when it hurts

---

6 Thou shalt put *balsam (and) **Sagapenum* on the place, in an oven thou shalt roast (them), rub his feet therewith,

[1] *Irassasumma uklak*

[2] *ZID lub ba*

[3] On *kudru* "manna" see my article in *AJSL* 1937

anoint with oil; thou shalt mix fir-turpentine (and) *Œnanthe* (?), anoint.

---

8. Thou shalt bray seed of daisy, seed of *Cratægus Azarolus*, mix in rose-water, bind on.

---

9 Thou shalt mash seed of rue (?), seed of *Hyoscyamus*, seed of **Arnoglosson* in rose-water, rub with oil, bind on.

---

10 Thou shalt bray seed of sumach (and) seed of caper in rose-water, mash, bind on

---

11. These drugs in beer he shall drink, mix with wax of honey, bind on

---

12. Thou shalt bray chamomile, tops (juice) of oleander (?), tops (juice) of fennel, put on the place

---

13. If sickness comes out on a man's leg and it grows like a pustule, he shall prick (cut) (it) (its name is "*sagbanu*[1] which is full of fluid") and he shall recover If ditto, he shall anoint with human excrement,[2] and shall recover If ditto, thou shalt reduce camel-ticks (?),[3] bray, apply, and he shall

[1] *Kima pu-pu ul TE* (= *alâku, emêdu*) *i-ḫar-ra-as sag-ba-nu MU NE šá IR RA malû* *Sàg-pa-nu* occurs also in l 24, and is written out more fully in l 26 [*sa*]-*ag-ba-nu-(um)* It occurs in Sumerian as *SAG BA NÁ* (*D* 115, 58) and [*SAG*] *DINGIR BABBAR*, ib 67, and since *PA* = *ZAK*, we may assume that *sagbanu* and not *šagbanu* is correct, although the Syr *š'kaph*, verberavit, contudit, and *šûkâphâ*, colaphus suggest a cognate for a form *šakpanu* V *R* 21, 4–6 *a–b* gives *SAG BA NÁ* = *sag-ba-nu*, *SA NIGIN* = *ra-pa-du*, *SA AD NIGIN* = *si da-nu IR* = *izutu* and *zutu* "sweat" (*D* 232, 3 and 9), which suggest the fluid in a blister (*ir-ra*, as a Semitic word, is not so easy to trace as *IR*) The remedies suggest a simple swelling

[2] "Human excrement" suggests an alchemist's synonym I know of no synonym in the syllabaries for this, but *JRAS* 1924, 455 (the explanatory text), says "*kurkanû* (turmeric) like *suḫatum* (excrement)", which suggests that this or some similarly coloured substance is the equivalent

[3] *NAM* + *SAB SAḪAR.RA* (*ḪU* + *SAB SAḪAR RA*) = *ḪU* + *ṢAB ga-ra-bi* (?) (= *erib turbu'ti*, *ŠID ekli*, Landsberger, *Fauna*, No 232)

recover. If ditto, with blood of the kidney of an ox thou shalt anoint, reduce stalks of straw, bray, apply, and he shall recover If ditto, thou shalt dry poppy, bray, ditto. If ditto, thou shalt anoint the sick place with oil or *ḫimetu*-ghee, dry the "shell" of pomegranate, bray, apply. If ditto, thou shalt bray gum of **Galbanum*, put on the place. If ditto, thou shalt anoint the sick place with oil, bray date-stones, ditto If ditto, thou shalt anoint the sick place with oil of cedar, or *ḫimetu*-ghee, bray pine-turpentine, fir-turpentine, cummin together, ditto If ditto, thou shalt reduce the heart of the palm, bray, ditto If ditto, thou shalt reduce ash of the heart of the palm, stalks of straw, *mirsu*,[1] mash with rose-water, bind on. (*Here is AM* 75) If ditto, thou shalt reduce *mirsu*, bray, mash in rose-water, bind on If ditto, thou shalt bray tops (juice) of tamarisk, anoint in cedar-"blood", put on the place If ditto, honey thou shalt introduce,[2] bind on If ditto with honey thou shalt anoint, thou shalt put ash of cedar on the place If ditto, with honey thou shalt anoint, (?) thou shalt reduce, bray, ditto

---

23 Charm (*unintelligible to me*)

---

24 Incantation for a blister [3]

---

25 all drugs as many as thou canst bray,[4] thou shalt mix, mash in rose-water, bind on, and he shall recover

---

26 the [s]*agbanu*(-blister) thou shalt anoint with *ḫimetu* ghee, one shekel of tops (juice) of pomegranate thou shalt pound,[5] for four days bind on, and he shall recover.

---

[1] *Mirsu* (*GAR VI TE*, *A*) appears to mean something thickened, either of flour, or of honey and curd, or of wine

[2] *Tulam*, *PRSM* 1926, 63

[3] *Sdg pa nu* (see l 13)

[4] *Ta za al* (?)

[5] *Ta-pa aṣ*(*z*)

27. . . . gum of **Galbanum* together thou shalt mix, ditto : dates thou shalt reduce, pound, with oil anoint, bind on, and he shall recover

28 If . . . his . . . is pierced [1] hart's-horn thou shalt bray, mix in oil, anoint, bind on and he shall recover.

29 . . alkali (?) thou shalt bray, put on the place ash of salt thou shalt bray, put on the place gum arabic (?) thou shalt reduce, bray, put on the place . thou shalt bray, put on the place mustard thou shalt bray, put on the place.

31 [2] Thou shalt boil [roast *saḫlê*] (and) fresh (*BÍL^{pl}*), powdered roses in beer, (and) bind on for three days A bandage for a pierced foot

32 [3] After this, on the fourth day (?), horn , barley-flour (?), date-stones thou shalt reduce, bray, mix in oil, anoint in *ḫimetu*-ghee Two bandages for a "pierced" sickness.[4]

33 [If] . . is sick, thou shalt bray leaven, anoint him in oil, apply, and he shall recover

34 . in oil thou shalt mix, bind on, and he shall recover.

35 . thou shalt anoint, boil in gypsum, apply, and he shall recover.

[1] *-ḫir-ta-šú nu-uḫ ḫu-ra-at-ma*

[2] The first half must be duplicate of *KAR* 192, *r* 2, 19 *sikûti* = "powdered", *JRAS* 1931, 17 The "three bandages for a pierced foot" in *KAR* refers to the three preceding recipes

[3] From *KAR*. 192, *r* 2, 21, a horizontal line being drawn in this latter text between this and the previous recipe Read (?) *arki-šu ina IV^{kam}* (?) *ûme(me)* Are the signs after "horn" a mistake for "hart", as in l 28 ?

[4] i e a pricked blister It is not easy to see whether this last phrase is included on *KAR* as it is here, since the text is damaged

36. . . . in rose-water thou shalt mix, ditto.

(Remainder mutilated)

Col IV

1. *(Here is AM 18, 5, reverse, joined to AM. 75, 1, iv)* Pine-turpentine, fir-turpentine, *opopanax thou shalt dry (?), put on,[1] and he shall recover

---

2. If ditto, the sick place thou shalt wash, anoint with oil, *Artemisia*, *balsam, **Sagapenum* in water thou shalt put, roast in an oven, take out, rub his feet with this water, and anoint with oil, thou shalt mix pine-turpentine, fir-turpentine, *Œnanthe* (?), anoint, and he shall recover

---

5 If ditto, the sick place thou shalt wash, anoint with oil, seed of daisy (and) seed of *Cratægus Azarolus* together thou shalt bray, thou shalt mash in rose-water, bind on, and he shall recover

---

6 If ditto, the sick place thou shalt wash, anoint with oil, seed of *mint, seed of *Cratægus Azarolus*, seed of **Arnoglosson* in rose-water thou shalt mash, rub in oil, bind on and he shall recover

---

8 If ditto, the sick place thou shalt wash, anoint with oil, seed of cummin, seed of lettuce, in rose-water thou shalt mash, bind on, and he shall recover

---

9 If ditto, the sick place thou shalt wash, anoint with oil, these drugs in wax of honey thou shalt mix, bind on, and he shall recover

---

10 If ditto, the sick place thou shalt wash, anoint with oil,

[1] *RU RU*

bray together *Cratægus Azarolus*, tops (juice) of oleander (?), fennel, apply and he shall recover.

---

11. . . . male thyme in slime (?)[1] of fish thou shalt put, and pour into his anus, and he shall recover.

---

12. . . thyme in the milk of a virgin (?) kid thou shalt pour into his anus, and he shall recover.

---

13. . . tragacanth, *Solanum* (?), thyme, without a meal he shall drink, and he shall recover.

---

14 . . lupins, without a meal he shall drink, and he shall recover.

---

15 . . . thyme, . . cypress of the cemeteries in water thou shalt steep,[2] thou shalt let it stand under the stars; in the morning thou shalt . . ; without a meal he shall drink (it), and he shall recover.

---

17 If the sole[3] of a man('s foot) is "broken",[4] gum of *Aleppo pine thou shalt dry, pound, in a [small] copper pan in rose-water thou shalt mash, bind on.

---

18. If ditto, poppy thou shalt dry, pound, in fat mix, bind on.

---

19. If the soles of a man'(s feet) are split,[5] thou shalt mix worms of the field[6] in fat (?), bind on.

---

[1] *Nidi ša nūni*, *nidu* meaning anything cast, *nid libbi*, an untimely birth (*PRSM* 1926, 67), *nid ru'ti*, the spitting of spittle, etc

[2] *Tar-sa-an*, so also *AM* 38, 3, 7 (in beer), and *i-ra-sa-an* (also in beer, *AM* 85, 3, 4), Syr *r'san*, perfusus fuit

[3] *Asidu*, Holma, *Körp* 150, Ungnad, "sole", *ZA* 1917, 44, also "sole of a shoe" (*SAI* 4652, Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 1913, 224) Cf *E* xiii, 132 *AH* 157

[4] *Pur-ru-ur.* [5] *Luttá.*

[6] *Mubattira ša ekli*, see Landsberger, *Fauna*, 129

21 If ditto, the whole scrotum of a river-tortoise[1] thou shalt dry, bray . put [on the place]

If ditto, *Ricinus* thou shalt dry, bray, bind on :

If ditto, myrrh .

If ditto, flour of the plant *BAT TAR* thou shalt bray, mix in fat, bind on

If ditto, the skin of

---

23 If the sole of a man'(s foot) continually hurts, thou shalt heat urine in an oven, hot and cold [2] (*Here is AM.* 15, 3, *reverse*)

---

24 If the under-part of a man's foot pricks him, black sulphur

---

25 If ditto, black sulphur, **Liquidambar*, kelp (?), in oil thou shalt mix [anoint] the under-part of his foot

---

26 If a man his foot or with anything either his foot or his finger festers[3] and it suppurates,[4] blood and pus coming forth a mash of roses, poppy, pig s fat, *Ú SA*-beer, bitumen thou shalt bind on and it will supp[urate] , dates, 3 grains of gum of **Galbanum* thou shalt bind on ,

[1] *Mala BIR AL LU L nari AL LU L alluttu* (see Landsberger, *Fauna* 121) but I prefer to see in it the tortoise rather than the crab, on the grounds that the star *mul AL LU L* as *Cancer* is represented on the boundary stones as a tortoise and not as a crab (see *JRAS* 1929, 804) (which Meissner had probably in mind in quoting *KMI* No 1, 5, 20, in his *Bab Ass.*, ii, 308) Just as *BAL GI ḪA* is ' tortoise rather than "crab" owing to the use of its *US* (penis) in medicine (*KAR* 186, r 18), the tortoise being endowed with a large copulatory organ in the tail, so here will *BIR* show that this *AL LU L* is tortoise ' rather than ' crab" *BIR* is the scrotum (*BIR birki*, lit ' the bag of the penis or copulatory organs", *RA* 1929, 63) *mala*, although unusual, must be the word in front of it (and not *ma* (and) *LA* (shell), paralleled by *mala libbi* " all the mind, heart "

[2] Urine applied to footsoles tender after marching is an old soldier's remedy

[3] *Imrud*, Heb *mārad* " fester ', different, of course, from the *tumarraṭ* of *KB* i, iii, 61

[4] *Išarrik*

. . .[1] *mint (?) thou shalt bind on ; . . . [as] a mash thou shalt bind on and he shall recover (?).[2] If ditto, a mash . . . ash of human skull[3] thou shall reduce, bray, [apply] . . *NAM GAR NAM* in fire thou shalt reduce, bray, [apply].

---

(33) (*Here is AM.* 100, 3, *reverse*). If a man . . . asses' dung . . .

---

(34) If a man's hand (?) . . . If ditto, flour (?) .

---

(36) If a man's nail . fat of the eye of a male sheep, *saḫlê*, horn . . . locust of the sea,[4] gum of **Galbanum* . .

---

(39) If a man's nail either falls off [or] . fat of the kidney of a male sheep, fat of the eye of a male sheep . thou shalt reduce, belemnite (?)[5] gum of [**Galbanum*] . . ., fresh *saḫlê*, . . .

---

(43) If a man's nail either falls off [or] . . fat of the eye of a male sheep, *saḫlê* . . gum of **Galbanum*, . . .

. . . . .

(*KAR.* 192, *r* 2, continues, in the main, differently from the above. The following are the sections not included above)
(l 6 mentions " nine cataplasms ".)

---

7. Fat of the kidney of a male sheep, wax (?) . . ., fir-turpentine, gum of **Andropogon* . , oil of myrtle, gum of *Aleppo pine . . .

---

10. Fir-turpentine, pine-turpentine, myrrh . ., gum of

[1] *I-ba-šal(rak)*
[2] *NI.NIŠ*, perhaps *i-niš* (= *ina-eš*)
[3] A mystical name for tamarisk, *JRAS* 1924, 456
[4] Cf *AM.* 93, 2, 1 (*JRAS* 1929, 802), Landsberger, *Fauna*, 123.
[5] *aBuṣur atani*, *DACG.* 109

[**Galbanum* ?], gum of *Aleppo pine, cedar-"blood", . . . -**plant, drugs** for cataplasms for blains . .

---

13. **Dross** of an oven,[1] "gum" of barley,[2] **husk** (?) of barley . . . fine-ground flour thou shalt mix, in rose-water boil, bind it on (as) a cataplasm for .

---

15 flour of husk (?) of barley, powder of fresh (*BÍL*^pl) roses, dross [of an oven] in thou shalt bray, bind it on (as) a cataplasm for "heat"[3]

---

17 Powder of fruit of pomegranate, powder of fruit of ?, powder of seed of ?, powder of **Arnoglosson*-seed, these four powders on the sickness

---

(19 22, *see Col III*, 31, *of main text*)

---

23 Flour of roast corn, powder of roses, fine-ground flour in oil thou shalt boil, three cataplasms

---

(25 32 *mutilated*)

---

33 *Saḫlê* in [rose-water (?)] thou shalt mash, flour of roast corn aromatics, **Calendula* on the place thou shalt sprinkle bind it on, a cataplasm for sickness

---

36 in rose-water thou shalt mash, fine-ground flour, powder of roses on the place [thou shalt spr]inkle (?)

---

38 (*mutilated, mentioning* "*gum of *Galbanum*" *and* "*old* (*or roasted*) *fat*")

---

[1] Text bad here, but read *ḫa ḫu u ša utuni*, like *ḫa-ḫi-e ša utuni*, I 51 (cf I 15) *ḫa ḫa a ša utuni*, *KAR* 186, 6 *alikkakimma ḫaḫâ ša utuni umminu ša dikari*, *Maklû* III, 116 (*BIL* = *ḫa-ḫu u*, *CT* XIX, 1, K 55, 22) It is some form of ash (see *DACG* 265)

[2] *Ira ša ŠE* + *BAR* + *ŠE*

[3] *Sirhi*

40. Fir-turpentine, . . hellebore, myrrh, gum of **Galbanum*, . . ., *KANKAL* of dates, . . ., wax of honey, suet of the kidney of a male sheep, . ., cedar-" blood ", . . . on the fire thou shalt parch.

---

43. (*Practically dup of AM*. 32, 5, 4 93, 2, *r* 6 *see RA*. 1930, 132, 10.)

---

46 Corn-flour,[1] flour of husks (?) of barley, flour of . . . *arsuppu*-[flour], *šigušu*-flour, *IN NU ḪA*-flour, *kibatu*-wheat-flour, *Lathyrus*-flour, [fenugreek]-flour, vetch-flour, flour of roast corn, flour of *saḫi* . . . corn, wheat-flour, powder of dung,[2] doves' (?) dung, linseed-flour, flour of . . ., " aromatics " . . . dry . . ., gypsum-powder, powder of dry mucilage (?) of sesame, powder . . ., . of the top of an old wall, powder of ash of an old oven, . ., dross of an old oven, powder of the ash from a dome(d furnace),[3] powder of . . , powder of *Artemisia*, powder of *balsam, powder of **Sagapenum*,[4] flour of *lidruše*-plant, . . ., flour of manna,[5] flour of cedar, flour of cypress, flour of juniper, flour of fir-turpentine, flour of pi[ne-turpentine (?)], flour of oleander (?), flour of myrrh, flour of myrtle, flour of . . , flour of *opopanax, [flour] of *Acorus Calamus*, flour of *suadu*, total fifty-six (kinds of) flour . . . a "great ointment," [6] a cataplasm . . (ll 58–9 broken) . . . either cold in beer (?) . . . thou shalt rub in *ḫimetu*-ghee, bind on . .

---

[1] *Kim šibri*, see Torczyner, *DKAWW* lv, 1913, *s v*, 130

[2] *Putri* see No 202, col I, l (52), note

[3] See *DACG* xxv.

[4] *išuḪUM ḪA* = *baniratu*, *AH* 172 (e g, cf *KAR* 191, 18, and *AM*. 70, 7, 6)

[5] See my forthcoming article in *AJSL*.

[6] *Siku rabû(u)* *Sâku*, *BBR* 26, i, 24, " anoint " cf *AM*. 23, 10, 6, *ina ZAL LU sa-a-ki ta-zak* and 8, 7, 4, *ina ZAL LU sa-a-ki* . *KAR* 182, *r*. 2, *ZAL.LU sa-a-ki*, perhaps connected with *siktu* " powder ", for which see *JRAS* 1931, 17

KAR. 192, Col. IV.

(The first six lines are mutilated or doubtful, except in l. 5, "Ea who soweth the land.")

. . . the lamb by its hair,[1] the Euphrates by its bank . . . may he provide its alleviation, and set its barrier [against that which seizeth on] me, So-and-so, son of So-and-so.

[2] Its name is [*šû*], the *parkadu*-sickness (rheumatism, or similar) is its nature (?), its nature (?) is not *pakadu* its name is *šû*, from a star of heaven it has come down, it has come down from a star of heaven, half the poison of the snake it has taken, half the poison of the scorpion it has taken Mouth it has not, (but) it has a tooth, a tooth it has, it seizes on the muscles, fingers it has not, (but) it seizes on the *kappaltu* (of the foot), like hair it is peeled off, not known (i e. felt) on the flesh, it has no face (?) , it has seized on the hip, the knee, the loins, the "middle", the shoulders and the back, the "hump", all the muscles, that which has seized on So-and-so, the son of So-and-so, the whole of all of them, is *Saqal[lu]* ("swollen muscle"), ever since the day he was born the hand of his god

[3] [It is the charm of Ea and] Marduk [the charm] of Damu and [Gula], the charm of Nin-aḫa-kuddu, [the mistress of charm] it is they who have told me, and I have adopted . above let not ascend, the evil tongue .

Prayer against

---

29 Ritual for this a hair of a male and female lamb, the male lamb . . thou shalt spin, male and female pumice-stone, cornelian, white coral (?), green vitriol, vitriol (alumen), *zibit*-stone, *abarummu*-stone, lime, magnetic iron ore, pounded chalk (?), geodes of the r[iver (?)] thou shalt thread, *curcuma*

[1] See l 27
[2] See *DACG* 190, *E*, xiii, 133 ff
[3] See *PRSM* 1924, 30

on red wool thou shalt fold in [seven] folds, bind on . . . and he shall recover.

. . . shall go forth outside.

328

Appended for information of readers, by direction of the Council of the R.A S, is a list of works by the same author on similar subjects —

CUNEIFORM TEXTS

Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets (British Museum publications), parts XVI, XVII, XXIII

Assyrian Medical Texts, a volume

TRANSLATIONS

The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia, 2 vols

TRANSLATIONS IN VARIOUS JOURNALS OF MEDICAL TEXTS

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society

"Assyrian Prescriptions for Diseases of the Ears," 1931, 1

"Assyrian Prescriptions for the Hand of a Ghost," 1929, 801

Monographs on *KUR GI ḪU*, *Šikku*, and *Kamunu*, 1929, 339

—— On *garidu*, 1926, 723

—— On *ᵈKUR KUR*, 1924, 669

—— Some Notes on Modern Babylonia, 1923, 233

—— On Mandrake and Tragacanth, 1926, 100.

—— On some Minerals, 1933, 885

—— On "Whetstone" and "Corundum", 1934, 343

—— On the *Allalu* bird, 1924, 258

—— A Babylonian Explanatory text, Medical, 1924, 452

—— An Assyrian Chemist's Vade Mecum, 1934, 771

Journal of the Society of Oriental Research, 1931, 53

"Assyrian Prescription for Ulcers"

American Journal of Semitic Languages

"Assyrian Prescription for Diseases of the Head," 1907 Re-edited and much enlarged under the title "The Series 'If a man's Cranium holds Inflammation'," in same periodical, 1937

"Assyrian Prescription for treating Bruises or Swellings," 1930

Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine

"Assyrian Medical Texts (Head, Eyes)," 1924

"Assyrian Medical Texts (Head, Eyes)," 1926

Revue d'Assyriologie

"Assyr Med Prescription against *Šimmatu* 'Poison'," 1930

"Assyr Med Prescription for Diseases of the Stomach," 1929.

"Assyr Med Prescriptions for Diseases of the Chest and Lungs," 1934

Babyloniaca, XIV, 1934

"Assyrian Prescriptions for the Urine"

Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology

"The Folklore of Mossoul"

"An Assyrian Incantation against Ghosts," 1906, 219

"An Assyrian Incantation against Rheumatism," 1908, 63

Short article in *Man*, 1928, 13 (on *Abnu Šadanu sabitu*)

Archiv f Keilschriftforschung, xi, 336 Assyrian Prescriptions for Stone, etc

VOLUMES ON ALLIED SUBJECTS.

Semitic Magic

The Assyrian Herbal

On the Chemistry of the Ancient Assyrians

A Dictionary of Assyrian Chemistry and Geology

Notice of an unknown Anthology of Ancient Arabic Poetry, "Muntaha 'l-Ṭalab min Ash'âr-i 'l-'Arab," by Muḥammad b. al-Mubârak b. Muḥammad b. Maimûn

BY S M HUSAIN, M A, D PHIL (OXON)

AT Oxford, in 1927, while hunting up references to the verses of an unknown anthology of ancient Arabic poetry, which I hope to present shortly to the students of Arabic, I came to find mention of another unknown anthology of Ancient Arabic poetry *Muntaha 'l-Ṭalab min Ash'âr-i 'l-'Arab* [1] by Muhammad b al-Mubârak b. Muhammad b Maimûn,[2] said to contain one thousand Arabic odes [3] Although the anthologist, Muhammad b al-Mubârak b Muhammad b. Maimûn, was no familiar figure in Arabic literary history, the name of the anthology and the note about its enormous extent at once struck me and led me to think that it was a very valuable work So I at once consulted the well-known expert, Mr. (now Dr) F Krenkow about it. Mr Krenkow informed me that he also had come across the name of this anthology, most probably in the catalogue of the books in the late De Slane's library Afterwards, when I visited Germany and met Dr Hommel of Munich, he felt immensely interested in this anthology, and suggested to me to be on the look-out for it in my intended Near East tour especially in the libraries of Istanbul and Damascus As a matter of fact, in Istanbul I came upon a codex of this work in the library of Laleli, where it is numbered 1941 But this codex, 2·1 c m × 1 5 c m , containing 164 folios, was only a small part—one-sixth—of the whole work Again in Cairo I found two manuscripts of the *Muntaha 'l-Ṭalab* in the

[1] *Khizânat-u 'l-Adab*, vol i, pp 10, 366, 448, and 405 , and vol iv, p 233.
[2] Ibid , vol ii, pp 421, 467 , vol iii, p 164 , and vol iv, pp 40, 373 .
[3] Ibid , vol. i, p 10.

Royal library One of them is identical with the **Istanbul** codex and the other contains only a single **fasciculus** of the entire work. The Istanbul codex gives no provenance or date, and is apparently older than its Cairene counterpart, which bears at its end the date of transcription—the 11th Jumâdâ 'l-Ulâ, A H. 995

It would appear that both these copies were transcripts of a copy made from Muhammad b. al-Mubârak's own manuscript The Istanbul manuscript has lost the fly-leaf, which in the Royal manuscript supplies the title of the work and the name of the compiler منتهى الطلب من أشعار العرب تاليف الإمام الأديب محمد بن المبارك بن محمد بن ميمون

On the second page of both the manuscripts is found a note on the contents of the whole work, followed by a note and a table of the contents of the present volume, with which the copyist from the compiler s manuscript may be credited. The great work is thus said to comprise from its beginning to its end divided into six volumes—the compositions of 264 poets, 1,051 full odes with 29 fragments 39,990 verses The present volume, which, apparently, and as also mentioned in the last page of the Royal copy, is the first of the six volumes into which the work is divided, contains the compositions of 58 poets, 219 odes with two fragments 7,264 verses. This note is followed by the preface of the anthologist, Muhammad b al-Mubârak b Muhammad b Muhammad b Maimûn, who is reported to have said, after the usual doxology and homage to the Prophet and his family, as follows —

"I have collected in this book one thousand odes which I selected from the composition of those Arabic poets whose verses are often cited as authoritative and have named it *Muntaha 'l-Talab min Ash ār-i 'l-Arab* I have divided the collection into ten parts and collected in each part one hundred odes, writing on the margin the meanings of the rare words occurring in them I included in the Anthology from the Mufaḍḍalian poems and the selections of al-Asma'î, the

Naqâ'iḍ of Jarîr and al-Farazdaq and the poems which Abû Bakr b. Duraid mentioned in his book, called *al-Shawârid*, the best of the Hudhalian poems, and from the poetry of those whom Ibn Sallâm al-Jumaḥî mentioned in the *Kitâb al-Ṭabaqât*. I did not exclude any of the Pagan and Islamic poets whose verses are cited in *belles-lettres*, unless it were for the fact that I had not come upon the collection of his poetry and did not find it in *waqf* and other libraries. Of course, I took from the compositions of each of the poets whom I included in my Collection, the choicest and most elegant of his compositions, if a critic closely examines my selections, he will recognize the truth of my assertion. I made these selections, having spent sixty years, after my boyhood, in the perusal of poetry I got many of them by rote from my masters, Abû Muhammad 'Abdullāh b Ahmad b. Ahmad b Ahmad al-Khashshâb and Abu 'l-Faḍl b Nâsir and others whom I met, and wrote down most of the *dîwâns* containing these poems I wanted to compile this work according to an arrangement of the poets, some of them taking precedence over others But it was not possible as I could not find out any such arrangement, for which I must offer my apology I put Ka'b b Zuhair first and concluded the work with the *Hâshimîyât* of al-Kumait in order to take blessings from the panegyric on the Apostle of Allâh (May Allâh bless him and grant him peace) in the ode of Ka'b and from the mention of the Prophet (May Allâh bless him and his family) in the *Hâshimîyât* with which I have concluded the book The compilation of this book was made at Baghdâd during the months of the two years A H 588 and 589 I became acquainted with many works of poetry that I collected and I did not see anybody who had acquired as many of these books as I did. Now, I beseech Allâh to send His blessings on Muhammad and his family and to bless this book and lend His help to those who apply themselves to it"

From this preface it will be found that the anthologist divided his book into ten parts, each part containing 100

lengthy odes The note on the contents of the work, as found in both the Istanbul and Cairene codices, however, mentions that the work is divided into six parts But it must be due to a redaction made by some transcriber from the author's manuscript, who divided the work into six volumes, of which the manuscripts in question contain the first volume, comprising a little more than two parts of Muhammad b. al-Mubârak's collection For, in both these manuscripts is found after the 104th poem [1] the note "End of the first part in the original manuscript", and this is what the compiler wrote at the end of the first part "Here end the hundred selected odes and with these is ended the first part of the thousand odes in the book which I named *Muntaha 'l-Ṭalab min Ash'âr-i 'l-'Arab*" Again, after the 194th poem [2] we find "End of the second part in the original manuscript," and at the end of the second part in the original was found in the hand-writing of Ibn Maimûn "This is the end of the second part of the book which I named *Muntaha 'l-Ṭalab min Ash'âr-i 'l-'Arab* and I included in this part one hundred poems selected from the well-known *dîwâns*." Thus both in the preface and at the end of the first and second parts of the work Ibn Maimûn mentioned that he put together 100 odes in each part In our manuscripts the first part is found to contain 104 poems, four of which must be additional pieces. For poem No 62 is mentioned in the manuscript [3] as besides the thousand selected odes, and poem No 85 [4] is said not to be included amongst the selected poems Similarly in the second part also we find a note by the Compiler on poem No 147 [5]

I put down this piece on account of its exquisite beauty but it does not come under the number of my selections" Hence we can account for the additional fifty-one odes and twenty-nine fragments over and above 1,000 odes, as mentioned in the note on the contents of the entire work The second

[1] Folio 80r
[2] Folio 150r
[3] Folio 51r
[4] Folio 67v
[5] Folio 119v

part, however, is found to contain only ninety poems. It must be due to the redaction I have referred to above.

In the Royal library of Cairo I also came across a codex of a collection containing the *Dîwân* of Laqîṭ al-Iyâdî[1] and of al-Ḥâdirah[2] and the commentary on the *Dîwân* of Abu Mihjan al-Thaqafî[3] and on the *Dîwân* on ʻAlqamah al-Fahl.[4] As stated in the colophon,[5] it was transcribed by a scribe, named Ismâʻil Ḥaqqî, who came originally from Africa and was domiciled in Syrian Tripoli The scribe betrays his *Maghribî* origin by writing sometimes ق with one dot and putting the dot of ف underneath The first part of this codex— which contains thirty-three poems by Jarîr, thirty by al-Farazdaq, nine by al-Akhtal, three by Qais b. al-Khatîm, one poem by Ka'b b. Sa'd al-Ghanawî, one by al-Shanfarâ and one by Ta'abbata Sharran and three poems by al-Ahwas Muhammad b ʻÂsim b Thâbit al-Ansârî— claims to be a part of the *Muntaha al-Ṭalab min Ash'âr-i 'l-ʻArab* by (Muhammad b) al-Mubârak b Maimûn al-Baghdâdî, although it thus contains only eighty-one poems The author of the *Khizânah* has quoted from seven poems in this part, viz from three poems by al-Farazdaq,[6] two poems by Jarîr,[7] one poem by Qais b. al-Khaṭîm,[8] and one by Ka'b b. Sa'd al-Ghanawî,[9] and mentioned them as selected by Muhammad b al-Mubârak in his *Muntaha 'l-Ṭalab min Ash'âr-i 'l-ʻArab.* No poem in the first two parts, as contained in the Istanbul codex, is found quoted in the *Khizânah,* which mentions three other poems by Muslim b Ma'bad al-Wâlibî,[10] Muzâhim al-Uqailî,[11] and Kuthaiyir ʻAzzah[12] as belonging to this anthology.

[1] Folios 248–256
[2] Folios 258–270
[3] Folios 272–291
[4] Folios 292–318
[5] Folio 347v
[6] *Khizânat-u 'l-Adab,* i, 463, ii, 467, and iv, 40
[7] Ibid, i, 448 and 463
[8] Ibid, iii, 164
[9] Ibid, iv, 373
[10] Ibid, i, 366
[11] Ibid, iv, 255
[12] Ibid., ii, 421

That the *Muntaha 'l-Ṭalab min Ash'âr-i 'l-'Arab* is an anthology of the best compositions of all those pagan and Islamic poets who are often quoted in *belles lettres*, as mentioned by the anthologist in his preface, may be accepted on the authority of a litterateur like 'Abdu'l-Qâdir al-Baghdâdî (d A H. 1093), whose *Khizânat-u 'l-Adab* is, as we know, an exposition of the citations in the commentary of the *Kâfiyah*, containing biographical sketches of the poets and scholars of the pagan and early Islamic periods who are oft-quoted as authorities [1]

But nothing can be known about the anthologist, Muhammad b al-Mubârak b Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Maimûn from our sources of biographical reference The second manuscript of the Royal library gives the name as al-Mubârak b Maimûn al-Baghdâdî and the redactionist in his notes in the other MSS often calls him simply Ibn Maimûn. That he was a native of Baghdâd may also be gathered from the preface in which he says that he made his compilation at Madînat-u 'l Salâm Thus, probably, the work came to be known to 'Abdu'l-Qâdir al-Baghdâdî, the author of the *Khizânah* Al-Khatîb al-Baghdâdî, however, does not mention him in his history of Baghdâd Yâqût mentions in his *Mu'jam-u 'l-Udabâ'* [2] one Muhammad b Maimûn, of Cordova, a skilled grammarian and well-known scholar, who wrote a commentary on the *Maqâmât* of al-Ḥarîrî, but we have no chronological data from which we could suppose that our anthologist's father or grandfather came to Baghdâd from Cordova From the preface of the book, which mentions the years 588 and 589 as the date of its compilation, we learn that the anthologist spent sixty years in the study of Arabic poetry before beginning to compile his work This gives the sixth century as the age in which he flourished, being born within its first quarter We further learn from this preface that he read most of the poems of his selections with his masters,

[1] J Zaidân, *Ta'rîkh u Âdâb-i l Lughat-i 'l-'Arabîyah*, vol iii, 288
[2] Vol vii, p 112

Abū Muḥammad 'Abdullah b. Aḥmad b. Ahmad b. Ahmad al-Khashshâb and Abu 'l-Faḍl b. Nâṣir The former was a pupil of al-Jawâlîqī, who died at Baghdâd in A.H. 539,[1] and the name of the latter, whom Yâqût mentions in his *Mu'jam al-Udabâ'*,[2] is Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Nâṣir al-Sulamî.

Muhammad b al-Mubârak often mentions the occasion of the poems of his collection, and sometimes traces his sources as far back as could be ascertained For instance, on the first poem in the anthology he notes "A panegyric on the Prophet by Ka'b b Zuhair I read it in the year A.H 542 with my master Ahmad b. 'Alî b al-Samîn, who delivered it to me, having got it from Abū Zakarīyâ Yahyâ b 'Alî al-Khatîb, who got it from Abū 'Amr Muhammad b al-'Abbâs b. Hayawayah al-Jazzâr, who got it from Abu Bakr Muhammad b al-Qâsim al-Anbârî, who got it from his father, who got it from 'Abdullāh b 'Amr who got it from al-Ḥajjâj b. Dhu 'l-Ruqaibah b. 'Abd-u 'l-Rahmân b. Ka'b b Zuhair al-Muzainî, who got it from his father, who got it from his grandfather, who got it from Ka'b.

The anthologist also sometimes makes interesting remarks and important observations Thus, regarding a poem of Jarîr,[3] he observes that it is the last of three best poems by Jarîr, which the poet uttered satirizing al-Farazdaq, but yet it does not occur in the *Naqâ'id* The author of the *Khizânah* quotes verbatim this criticism of Ibn Maimûn Again about 'Ubaidullāh b al-Ḥurr [4] the anthologist says that al-Sukkarî reckons him amongst the Lusûs, but he was not a bandit, although he gathered a rabble for leading expeditions From al-Sukkarî's *Kitâb al-Lusûs*, which, unfortunately, has been irretrievably lost, six other poets and, in all, nineteen poems are found included in the second part of the *Muntaha*

[1] Suyûṭî, *Bughyât-u 'l-Wu'ât*
[2] Vol i, p 217, and vol vii, pp 209, 286, and 289
[3] Folio 47r
[4] Folio 129r

'l-Ṭalab four poems by 'Ubaid b Ayyûb al-Anbârî, three by al-Khaṭîm al-Muhrizî, two by Jahdar b Mu'âwiyah b. Ja'dah al 'Ukali, one poem by al-Samharî b Bishr al-'Ukalî, one by Ṭahmân b 'Amr al-Kilâbî, four poems by the above-mentioned 'Ubaidullāh b al-Ḥurr and four by al-Qattâl, whose name is given as 'Abdullāh b Mujib al-Kilâbî In the other parts of our anthology which are yet unknown, we could probably find far more materials for the reconstruction of al-Sukkarî's interesting work, on which one of our research students has been engaged Similarly from the *Mufaddalîyât* fourteen poems are found in the first part,[1] twenty in the second part,[2] and two [3]—one by Ta'abbata Sharran and one by al-Shanfarâ in the unknown part of the second Cairene manuscript In the other seven parts of the work we could not only expect to find some more selections from these two collections, but we could also have got a large number of selections from the *Asma'îyât* As I have shown elsewhere, the collections of al-Asma'î have come down to us very incomplete in Ahlwardt's edition of the Vienna codex of the *Asma'îyât* If the selections made from the *Asma'îyât* in the *Muntaha l-Ṭalab*, as mentioned in its preface, were before us, we might have in them some valuable additions to Ahlwardt's edition

In this short paper I just draw the attention of Arabists to this anthology of vast extent, interest, and importance, of which I could discover only one-third or a little more than three out of its ten parts Several scholars from Europe and India have made inquiries of me about its contents I therefore give below a list of the poems included in these parts, arranged in the alphabetical order of the names of the poets, with the first hemistichs, numbers of verses, and

[1] *Mufaddalîyât*, ed Sir Charles Lyall, Nos ix, xviii, xxi, xxii, xxiv, xxv, xxx xliv xcvi xcix and cxxiv

[2] Ibid, Nos v vi, x, xv, xvii, xxvii xxix, xxxi, xxxiv–xxxvi, xli, xlii, xlvii lxvii lxxvi, lxxxix xci, and cv

[3] Ibid, Nos i and xx

numbers of the folios in the Laleli and the Royal manuscripts.

In the first two parts of the *Muntaha 'l-Ṭalab* will be found notices of the *dîwâns* of several poets that are yet unknown to us I may mention the poets Bishr b. Abî Khâzim, 'Urwah b. Udhainah, al-Aswad b. Ya'fur, al-Shamardal, al-Mutawakkil b. 'Abdullah al-Laithî, Tamîm b Ubaiy b Muqbil, Kuthaiyir 'Azzah,[1] and Jamîl. From the number of their poems included, it is evident that the anthologist had access to the *dîwâns* of these poets Not a few of these and other selections in the first two parts of our anthology are insufficiently known, and some are altogether unknown [2] How much more could we expect to find like these poems in the remaining seven parts, if they came to light !

Folio	*No of Verses*	*First hemistich*	*No of Poems*	*Name of Poet*
104v	48	أفوت رواوة من أسماء فالسد	3	الأحوص (محمد بن عاصم بن ثابت) الأنصارى
105v	42	يا بيت عاتكة الدى اتعرل		
106v	53	أ فى كل يوم حنة القلب تقرع		
87v	38	ألا يا اسْلمِى يا أم بشر على الهجر	9	الأخطل
88v	67	عفا واسط من آل رضوى فنبتل		
90r	47	كذ بتك عينك أم رأيت بواسط (لا)		
91r	55	لمن الديار بحائل فوعال		
92v	54	هل تعرف اليوم من ماوية الطللا		
93v	47	تغير الرسم من سلمى بأحفار		
95r	49	عفا الحوف من سلمى فادت رسومها		
96r	47	ألا يا اسْلَمِى يا هند هند بنى بدر		
97r	84	خفّ القطينُ فراحوا منك أو بكروا		

[1] Kuthaiyir's *Dîwân*, with the commentary of Abû 'Abdullāh al-Rashîdî, is known to exist in a manuscript of the Escurial library

[2] For example, out of the thirteen poems by 'Abîd b al-Abraṣ five will not be found in the Poet's *Dîwân*, edited by Sir Charles Lyall

Folio	*No of Verses*	*First hemistich*	*No of Poems*	*Name of Poet*
130v	27	لِابنة حطان بن عوف منازل	1	الأخنس بن شهاب التغلبى
42r	36	نام الخلىُّ وما أحس رقادى	6	الأسود بن يعفر
43v	34	هل بالمنازل إن كلمتها حرس		
43v	30	أ بيت رسم الدار لم تتس		
44v	28	ألا حى سلمى فى الخليط المفارق		
45r	23	هل الشب فات من مطلب		
45v	16	أجارتنا عصى من السر أو قفى		
66r	20	ودِّع لَميس وداع الصارم اللاحى (ح)	8	أوس بن حجر التيمى
68r	26	عبىّ لابد من سكت وتهمال		
69r	13	أيتها النفس اجْملى جزعا		
69r	26	هل عاجل من متاع الحى منظور		
70r	24	حلت تماصر بعدنا ربنا		
70v	52	سلا قلبه عن سكره فأملا		
71v	57	تنكر بعدي من أميمة صائف		
73r	41	تنكرت ما بعد معرفة لمى		
149v	21	حلبنا الخيل من حسى أريك (م)	1	أوس بن علفاء الهجيمى
88v	37	هجرت أمامة هجرا جميلا	1	بشامة بن عمرو
41v	17	لمن الديار عفون بالجرع	1	بشامة بن الغدير
74r	38	أحقٌّ ما رأيت أم احتلام	9	بشر بن ابى خازم
74v	27	لمن الديار عشيتها بالأنعم		
75v	17	هل أنت عن أطلال مية رابع		
75v	16	هل لعيش إذا مضى لزوال		
76r	20	تغيرت المنازل بالكثيب		
76v	50	ألا بان الخليط ولم يزاروا		
77v	21	عفت من سلمى رامة فكثيبها		
78r	20	أ سائلة عميرة عن أبيها (ما)		
78v	24	كفى بالنأى من أسماء كاف		

Folio	No. of Verses	First hemistich	No of Poems	Name of Poet
104r	26	ياهيدَ ما لك من شوق وايراق	1	تابط شرا
28v	42	سل الدار من حسى حتّر مواهب	11	تميم بن أبى س مقبل
29v	23	دعتنا تكهف من كمايس دعوة . . (ح)		
30r	46	اماطر الوصل أم عاد فصروم . . (لا)		
31r	41	دعتنا عتيبة من عالج . . (لا)		
32r	53	هل أنت محيى الربع أم انت سائله		
33r	28	شطت بوى من يحلُّ السر فالشرفا		
33v	32	هل القلب عن دهماء سالٍ فسمح		
34v	39	للمارية مصطاف ومرتبع		
36r	22	يا صاحبى انطرانى لا عد متكما . . (ر)		
36r	35	طاف الخيال سا ركنا يمانيا		
36v	50	تأمل حليلى هل ترى صؤ بارق . (را)		
20v	41	نأتك بليلى دارها لا بزورها	3	توبة بن الحمير
21r	13	ألا هل فؤادى من صبا اليومَ صامح		
21v	19	رمانى بليلى الأحيلية قومها		
94r	24	هل عند عَمْرة من نبات مسافر	1	ثعلبة بن صعير
46r	25	ألا يا لقوم للحديد المصرّم	1	حابر بن حنى التغلبى
25r	21	تاوبنى هتّ لها . (ن)	2	جحدر بن معاوية بن جعدة العكلى
25v	26	إنى أرقت لبرق صامى سارى		
46r	27	بان الخليط فهالتك التهاويل	5	حران العود
46v	48	ألا لا يغرن امرأ بوفلية . . (ح)		
47v	72	ذكرت الصبى فانهلت العين تذرف		
50r	45	بان الأنيس فما للقلب معقول		
50v	32	طربنا حين راجعنا ادّكار		

Folio.	No. of Verses.	First hemistich	No of Poems	Name of Poet.
1v	39	حتّى الهد ملة من دات المواعيس	33	جرير بن عطية
2v	63	لمن الديار رسومهن بوال		
4r	42	ما هاج شوقا من رسوم ديار		
5r	79	ألا حى ربع المىرل المتقادم		
7r	105	أقلى اللوم عادل و العتاما		
9r	65	أحد رواح البين أم لا تروح		
11r	69	أ زرتَ ديار الحى أم لا تزورها		
12v	74	ألا أيها القلب الطروب المكلف		
14v	95	ألم تراں الحمل أقصر ناطله		
16v	67	دكرت وصال السص والشيب شائع		
18v	29	أمن دى عهد تعيص مد امعى . (ل)		
19r	64	لا خير ى مستعجلات الملاوم		
20v	34	تعللنا أمامة مالعرات		
21v	36	ألا بكرت سلمى فجر بكورها		
22v	53	لمن طلل هاج الفؤاد المتيما		
23v	41	ألا حى مالرديں دارا لا أرى (مها)		
24v	65	عوجى علينا واربعى ربة البغل		
26r	55	ألا حى رهمى ثم حى المطالنا		
27v	62	لمن الديار كأنها لم تحلل		
29r	25	سمت لى نطرة فرأيت برقا . . (ر)		
29v	32	ألا حى الديار سعد إنى (را)		
30v	26	سرت الهموم فبتن غير نيام		
31r	35	زار الفرزدق أهل الحجاز (د)		
32r	19	لست بمعطى الحكم من شف منصب		
32v	82	أقنا وربتنا الديار ولا أرى (عا)		
34v	115	لولا الحياء حرى لنا استعبار		
37r	92	لمن الديار ببرقة الروحان		
39v	37	فإن أمير المؤمنين حَباكم . (د)		
40v	106	أ من ربع دارهم أن يتغيرا		
43r	54	عرفت الدار بعد بلى الخيام		
44r	53	ألا حى المنازل بالحساب		

Folio	*No. of Verses*	*First hemistich*	*No of Poems*	*Name of Poet*
45v	69	ألا زارت وأهل مبى هجود		
47r	57	أهوى أراك برامتيں وقودا		
80v	39	ألم تسأل الربع القواء فينطق	10	جميـل
81r	36	ألا ليت أيام الصفاء حديد		
82r	17	لقد لامبى فيها أح دو قرابة . . (د)		
82r	17	حلت نثية من قلبى عبرلة . . (د)		
82v	28	طرت وهاح الشوق مبى رعا . (ف)		
84v	58	عفا برد من أم عمرو فلعلف		
85r	23	عاودت من حمل قديم صبابتى . (يا)		
85v	24	لقد أورثت قلبى وكاں مصححا (وها)		
86v	31	وغر الثنايا من ربيعة أعرصت . . (ں)		
87v	39	أ من ليلى تغتدى أم تروح		
56v	83	آذنتنا ببينها أسماء	2	الحارث ں حلزة
57r	14	لمن الديار عفوں بالحبس		
144r	23	بأت سلمى وأمست ى عدو . . (با)	1	الحارث ں ظالم المرى
61v	39	حزى الله أفناء العشيرة كلها . (ما)	1	الحصيں بں الحمام
121r	63	أبت لى سعد أں أصام ومالك (ر)	3	الخطيم المحررى
122v	60	وقائلة يوما و قد حئت رائرا (دا)		
124r	26	بلنا نحشى الردى آحى الصرى (ل)		
10v	38	ألا طرقت أسماء مں غير مطرق	5	خفاف ں عمير
11r	28	ألا تلك عرسى إد أمعرت		
11v	18	أوحش الدحل من نعامل فالروصات (د)		
12r	25	ما هاحك اليوم من رسم وأطلال		
12v	18	ألا صرمت مں سلمى الرماما		
12r	30	أرث حديد الحبل مں أم معبد	5	دريد ں الصمة

Folio.	No of Verses	First hemistich	No of Poems	Name of Poet.
122r	24	هل مثل قلبك ى الهوى معدور		
122v	15 (د)	إن يك رأسى كالثغامة سله .		
122v	18 (س)	وقاك الله يا امة آل عمرو		
123r	16	عشيت برابع طللا مُحيلا		
94r	32	إنكما صاحبى لى تدعا	2	ذو الإصبع
95r	30	يا من اقلب شديد الهم محزون		
51r	32 (ر)	اقول لأصحابى الرواح فقربوا	1	الرحال ىں محدوح السبرى
52v	23	أ من آل سلمى دا الخيال المؤرق	1	رهير ىں حىاب
16r	33	أودى الشباب حمدا دو التعاحب	2	سلامة ىں حىدل
16v	38	لمں طلل مثل الكتاب المىمق		
88r	16 (ر)	إدا عدوتم عامديں لأرضا	2	سلمة ىں الحرشب الأىمارى
88r	16 (م)	تأوىه خيال من سليمى .		
124v	19	الا حى ليلى قد الم لمامها	1	السمهرى ىں ىشر العكلى
129r	21 (ح)	الم تر اں الحى فرق بينهم	1	شبيب ىں الرصاء المرى
123v	32	ماں الخليط فأدلجوا بسواد	6	الشمردل
124r	66	طربت و د و الحلم قد يطرب		
125v	42 (ط)	لعمرى لئں عالت أخى دار فرقة		
126v	29	إں الخليط أحد منك بكورا		
127v	47	ماں الخليط بحبل الود فانطلقوا		
128v	21 (ق)	أ أنكرت أطلال الرسوم وقد ترى		
103r	33	ارى أم عمرو ازمعت فاستقلت	1	الشنفرى
126r	32 (ق)	سقى دار ليلى بالرقاشيں مسبل	1	طهماں ىں عمرو الكلابى
14fv	29 (ما)	من مبلغ سعد ىں ذبياں مالكا	1	عامر الخصفى

Folio	*No of Verses*	*First hemistich.*	*No of Poems*	*Name of Poet*
24r	19	تاوسنى بعارمة الهموم	1	عبد الله بن الحمير
24v	17	ألا صرمت حائلّنا حَتوب	1	عد الله بن سليمة
79v	18	ألا لا تلومانى كفى اللوم ما بيا	1	عبد يغوث بن وقاص
92r	80	هل حبل خولة بعد الهجر موصول	2	عبدة بن الطبيب
93v	28 (ع)	أ بنى إنى قد كبرت و راسى .		
61v	17	أمن منزل عاف ومن رسم أطلال	13	عبيد بن الأبرص
62r	18	تغيرت الديار بذى الدفين		
62r	25	يا ذا المخوِّفنا بقتل ابيه إذلالاً وحَيْنا		
63r	18 (ل)	يا خليلى قفا و استخبرا . .		
63v	23	لمن الديار بصاحة فحروس		
64r	18	يا دار هند عفاها كل هطال		
64r	20	تحاول رسما من سليما دكادكا		
64v	14	أ من أم سلم تلك لا تستريح		
65r	22	أ من رسوم آيها ناحل		
65v	24	أقفر من أهله ملحوب		
66v	36	أ من دمنة أقوت بحوة سرعد		
67r	14	لمن جمال قُبيل الصبح مزمومَهْ		
67v	7	سقى الرباب مُجلجِل الأكناف لمّاع بروقُهْ		
19v	3 (ر)	لقد خفت حتى لو تمر حمامة	4	عبيد بن أيوب العنبرى
19v	24 (ر)	أرانى وذئب القفر خدنين بعدما		
20r	32 (ه)	كأن لم اقد سجانك الله فتية		
21r	24 (ر)	ليت الذى سخرت منى ومن جملى		
19r	20 (ود)	أ لم تعلمى يا أم توبة أننى .	4	عبيد الله بن الحر
20r	20 (ح)	أ لم تعلمى يا أم توبة أننى		
20r	19 (ه)	من مبلغ الفتيان أن أخاهم		
20v	21 (ل)	لنعم ابن اخت القوم يسجن مصعب .		

Folio.	No. of Verses	First hemistich	No of Poems	Name of Poet.
95v	45	أ عرصة الدار أم توهمها	11	عروة بن أذينة
96v	35	يا ديار الحى مالأحه		
97v	37	أ فى رسوم محل عير مسكون		
98v	40	أما قتلت ديار الحى عرقانا		
99r	86	صرمت سعيدة ودها وحلالها		
101r	42	نحلت رقاش بودها ونوالها (شا)		
102r	51	يا حبدا الدار مالروحاء من دار		
103r	41	أ من حب سعدى و تذكارها		
104r	69	سرى لك طيف زار من أم عاصم		
105v	76	أ هاجتك دار الحى وحشا حمامها		
107r	38	صرمت سعيدة صرما حانا		
117v	16	أرقت وصحبتى بمضيق عمق (ر)	5	عروة بن الورد
118r	29	أقلى علىّ اللوم يا ابنة منذر		
118v	15	أ فى ناب منحناها فقرا . (ت)		
119r	11	أ ليس ورائى أن أدب على العصا (ل)		
119r	11	أ لم تعرف منازل أم عمرو (ن)		
17v	98	هل ما علمت و ما استودعت مكتوم	3	علقمة بن عبدة
18v	34	طحا بك قلب فى الحسان طروب		
19v	43	ذهبت من الهجران فى غير مذهب		
13r	28	أرى جارتى خفت وخف نصيحها	5	عمرو بن قمئة
14r	14	إن اك قد أقصرت عن طول رحلة (ه)		
14r	19	هلا يهيج شوقك الطلل		
14v	28	مأتك أمامة إلا سؤالا		
15r	29	مأتك أمامة إلا سؤالا		
57v	91	ألا هبى بصحنك فأصبحينا	1	عمرو بن كلثوم التغلبى
52v	75	هل غادر الشعراء من متردم	5	عنترة بن عمرو بن شداد العبسي

Folio.	*No of Verses*	*First hemistich*	*No of Poems*	*Name of Poet.*
54r	17	طال الوقوف علي رسوم المنزل		
54v	25	ماتك رقاش إلا عن لمام		
55r	43	عفا الرسوم و ماقى الأطلال		
56r	18 (ها)	يا عل أين من المنية مهرى . .		
129v	20 (آ.)	هدمت الحياض فلم يعادر	2	عوف بن الأحوص
130r	17 (رها)	ومستنبح يخشى القواء و دونه		
40v	40	أ من آل ليلى عرفت الديارا	1	عوف بن عطية
48v	95 (ل)	لا قوم أ كرم من تميم إذ غدت	30	الفرزدق
51r	39 (ر)	نحن بزوراء المدينة ناقتى .		
52r	147 (ر)	يا ابن المراغة إنما جاريتنى		
55v	69 (ما)	أنا ابن العاصمين بنى تميم		
57r	97 (رها)	عرفت بأعلى الرس إلفا بعدما .		
59v	115	عرفت بأعشاش و ما كدت تعرف		
62r	80	سمونا لنجران اليمانى و أهله		
64r	45 (ع)	منا الذى اختير الرجال سماحة		
65r	28 (ل)	أ تنسى بنو سعد حدود التى بها		
66r	40 (م)	ود جرير اللوم لو كان عانيا .		
67r	39 (ت)	حلفت برب مكة و المصلى .		
68r	15 (ق)	إن تك كلبا من كليب فإننى		
68v	26 (ل)	ألا استهزأت منى هنيدة أن رأت		
69r	28 (يا)	أ لم ترأنى يوم جو سويقة		
69v	99 (ل)	إن الذى سمك السماء بنى لنا		
72r	23 (ر)	اقول لصاحبى من التعرى		
72v	37 (را)	جر المخزيات على كليب		
73v	24	عفا المنازل آخر الأيام		
74r	42	عرفت المنازل من مهدد		
75r	19 (ب)	تقول كليب حين مثت سبالها .		
76r	17 (عا)	عجبت لتماديننا المقحم سيره		

Folio	No. of Verses	First hemistich	No of Poems	Name of Poet
76r	86	أ عرفت بين رويتين و حنبل . (ر)		
68r	25	يا ابن المراغة والهجاء إذا التقت . (ن)		
70r	86	محت الديار فأدهت عرصاتها (ر)		
80v	43	بنى نهشل أبقوا عليكم و لم تروا (ر)		
81v	12	بين إذا رلت عليك محاشع (ع)		
81v	22	ألا من لمعتاد من الهم عائد		
82v	85	أ لستم عائجين بنا لعنّا (م)		
85r	17	احال الناهلى بطن أبى (ب)		
85v	27	هذا الذي تعرف البطحاء وطأته (م)		
127r	22	نظرت وقد حلى الدجى طاسم الصوى (ل)	4	القتال الكلابى
127r	29	صرمت شميلة وجهة مخلد		
128r	23	لطيبة ربع بالكلبيين دارس		
128v	25	طعنت قطاة فما نقولك صائما		
99r	18	تذكر ليلى حسنها وصفاءها	5	قيس بن الخطيم
99v	19	أجد بعمرة غنيانها		
100r	38	أ تعرف رسما كالطراد المذاهب		
101r	7	رد الخليط الجمال فانصرفوا		
101r	12	إذا المرء لم يشه أباه و جده		
150r	78	خليلى إن أم الحكم تحملت (لها)	16	كثير بن عبد الرحمان الخزاعى
152r	23	ألا يا لقوم للنوى و انتقالها .		
152v	48	ألا حبذا ليلى أجد رحيلى		
153v	38	خليلى هذا ربع عزة فاعقلا (ث)		
154v	55	أ لم تربع فتخبرك الطلول		
155v	29	لعزة من أيام ذى الغصن هاجنى (•)		
56v	53	لعزة أطلال أبت أن تكلما		
57v	53	عفت غيقة من أهلها فحريمها		
58v	31	أ شاقك برق آخر الليل واصب		

Folio.	No. of Verses	First hemistich	No of Poems	Name of Poet
159r	30	عفا السفح من أم الوليد فكبكب		
160r	46	الا طرقت بعد العشاء جنوب		
161r	26	أ بائنة سعدى نعم ستبين		
161v	30 (بها)	لقد كنت للمظلوم عزا وناصرا		
162r	46	لعزة هاج الشوق فالدمع سافح		
163r	21	ألم يحزنك يوم غدت حدوج		
163v	30	ألا ان نأت سلمى فأنت عميد		
6r	56	بانت سعاد فقلبى اليوم متبول	5	كعب بن زهير
7v	31 (ر)	من سره كرم الحياة فلا يزل		
8r	41	لمن دمنة الدار أقوت سنينا		
9r	30	أ من أم شداد رسوم المنازل		
9v	28	هل حبل رملة قبل البين مبتور		
101r	45 (ب)	تقول سليمى ما لجسمك شاحبا	1	كعب بن سعد الغنوى
22r	35	طربت وما هذا ساعة مطرب	3	ليلى الأخيلية
23r	45 (ر)	نظرت و دونى من عماية منكب		
24r	17	يا عين بكى توبة ابن الحمير		
108r	72	للغانيات بذى المجاز رسوم	7	المتوكل الليثى
110r	62	قفى قبل التفرق يا أماما		
110r	61	أجد اليوم جيرانك احتمالا		
112v	71	صرمتك ربطة بعد طول وصال		
114r	47	خليلَىّ عوجا اليوم وانتظرانى		
115r	44	نام الخلى فنوم العين تسهيد		
116r	56	يا ربط هل لى عندكم نائل		
132r	29	ألا إن هندا أمس رث جديدها	3	المثقب العبدى
133r	45	أ فاطم قبل بينك متعينى		
144r	16	لا تقولن إذا ما لم ترد		

Folio	No of Verses	First hemistich	No. of Poems	Name of Poet.
38r	45	دكر الرباب و دكرها سقم	3	المخبل
40r	49	أ عرفت من سلمى رسوم ديار		
40v	41	عفا العرص بعدى من سلمى فحائله		
148r	19	أ من رسم دار ماء عينك يسفح	3	المرقش الأصغر
148v	22	ألا يا اسلمى لا صرم لى اليوم فاطما		
149r	19	لابنة عجلان بالجو رسوم		
146v	18	أ من آل أسماء الطلول الدوارس	3	المرقش الأكبر
147r	17	ألا بان جيراني ولست بعائف		
147v	35	هل بالديار إن تجيب صمم		
89v	32 (د)	ألا يا لقوم و السفاهة كاسمها	2	مزرد بن ضرار
90r	74	صحا القلب عن سلمى و مل العواذل		
145v	25	أجد القلب من سلمى اجتنابا	1	معاوية بن مالك
132r	50	عفا وخلا ممن عهدت به خم	1	معن بن أوس
25v	26	صرمتك جمرة واستبد بدارها	5	النمر بن تولب
26r	41	تأبد من أطلال جمرة مأسل		
27r	22 (ب)	ألم تصحنى و هم هجود		
27v	18	شطت بجمرة دار بعد إلمام		
28r	24	سلا عن تذكره تكتما		



A LUTE PLAYER AT THE COURT OF SHĀH SAFĪ (1629–42)
BY RIZĀ ʿABBĀSĪ (?)

(Reproduced by the courtesy of Messrs Bernard Quaritch, Ltd.)

To face p. 453.

Was the Arabian and Persian Lute Fretted?

By HENRY GEORGE FARMER

(PLATE I)

"The [Islamic] legacy to western Europe in musical instruments was of the greatest importance There were many distinctly novel Arabian types introduced With these instruments came several material benefits European minstrels, prior to the Arabian contact, only had the cithara and harp among stringed instruments, and they only had their ears to guide them when tuning The Arabs brought to Europe their lutes, pandores, and guitars, with the places of the notes fixed on the finger-board by means of frets which were determined by measurement This alone was a noteworthy advance"—H G Farmer in *The Legacy of Islām* (1931), pp 373–4

IT was in reference to this claim that I was once asked by the author of *Musik des Orients* (1929), Dr Robert Lachmann, now the director of the Department of Extra European Music at the University of Jerusalem, whether I had actual evidence in regard to frets on the Arabian and Persian lute in the Middle Ages He asked the question because a German writer, Karl Geiringer,[1] had searched Arabic and Persian manuscripts which gave delineations of the lute without finding a solitary example which revealed the presence of frets on the instrument

In 1932, whilst I was at Cairo at the Congress of Arabian Music, the question arose officially At the plenary session of the Commission of Musical Instruments the well-known Egyptian musicologist Ahmad Amīn al-Dīk Efendī, the author of the *Qānūn atwāl al-awtār wa taṭbīqa 'alā al-'ūd* (Cairo, 1926) and other works, suggested that frets should be adopted on the modern Egyptian lute (*'ūd*) as in days of old Dr Curt Sachs, late Professor of Musikwissenschaft at the University of Berlin, and the author of the *Real-lexikon der Musikinstrumente* (Berlin, 1913), who was President of the

[1] Karl Geiringer, "Vorgeschichte und Geschichte der europ Laute" in *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, x (1927–8), p 570

Commission, replied that the Arabian lute in days of old *was not fretted.*

Several Egyptian savants and musicians questioned me privately at the time about Dr Sachs's statement I pointed out that Dr Lachmann had made a similar statement to me, and I suggested that both of these musicographers were, apparently, rather unduly influenced by the opinions of Karl Geiringer [1] I promised that I would deal with the question at length not only for its own sake, but in defence of my own thesis that Europe was influenced by the introduction of musical instruments with frets during the early Arabian culture contact

§ 1

Frets on the neck or fingerboard of the Arabian and Persian lute, mandore, and pandore were known as *dasātīn* or *dastānāt* (sing *dastān*), a Persian word In the *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm* of Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Khwārizmī (*fl* 976–997) we are informed in the section on the lute (*'ūd*), that "*dasātīn* are the tied places (*ribāṭāt*) upon which the fingers are placed" [2] This definition is in itself quite sufficient to settle the question at issue These "tied places" were made by means of gut or string tied around the neck of the instrument

It is unfortunate, however, that the generality of Arabic lexicographers ignore the word, whilst Occidental lexicographers of Arabic are simply bewildering in their definitions J G Hava, for instance, in his *Arabic-English Dictionary* (Beyrout, 1921), says that a *dastān* is a "key of a keyboard" Yet Golius, the Father of Occidental lexicographers of Arabic, had given the correct definition in 1653 as "ligatura in collo instrumenti musici" Steingass is no better in his *Persian Dictionary* (London, 1892), although Vullers, quoting the *Bahār-i 'ajam*, makes its meaning quite clear by citing from the *Durrat al-tāj* of Al-Shīrāzī (d 1310) [3]

[1] Dr Lachmann has since repudiated reliance on Geiringer's argument See *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Musikwissenschaft*, ii (1934), p 60.

[2] *Mafātīḥ al-ulūm*, ed G Van Vloten, p 238

[3] *Lexicon Persico Latinum* (Bonn, 1855–1864)

The reason why Arabic lexicographers generally have ignored the word *dastān* is due to the fact that it was an exotic word and that they already had its Arabic equivalent in *'ataba*. This belief, in spite of the authority of the lexicographers, is erroneous. The point is worth explicating before dealing with *dastān*

The term *'ataba* is defined by a very important Arabic writer, Al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salama (d *ca* 903), in an interesting work entitled the *Kitāb al-'ūd wa'l-malāhī*, the solitary exemplar of which is preserved in the Tōp Qapū Serāi Library at Constantinople. The treatise is not mentioned by Dr C Brockelmann in his monumental *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (1898–1902), nor in the *Supplementband* (1936), although this manuscript is doubly interesting because it is in the handwriting of the celebrated calligraphist Yāqūt al-Musta'simī (d 1298) In this work Al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salama says that "those things which the Persians call *dasātīn* are called [in Arabic] *'atab*" [1] He also quotes a line from Al-A'shā Maimūn (d *ca* 629) as follows —

"And he placed the hand over the *'atab*,
To sound the note of the treble string"

This definition is confirmed by the lexicographer Al-Ṣaghānī (d 1275), who states that the *'atab* or *dastānāt* are "what are tied upon the neck (*'umūd*) of the lute (*'ūd*)" These writers appear to be mistaken in this definition since the *'ataba* (plur *'atab*) [2] was not a fret or *dastān* but rather what is known in English as the "nut" or what the Arabs more generally term the *anf* (nose),[3] a small piece of wood between the end of the neck and the pegbox, which is raised higher than the plane of the fingerboard and serves to cut off one end of the vibrating string, the other end being at the bridge-tailpiece (Arab. *musht*). It was given the name *'ataba* because it was the "threshold" of fingering the lute.

[1] Al-Mufaddal ibn Salama, ff 31, 33
[2] Strictly speaking a collective
[3] *Mafatīḥ al-'ulūm*, p 239

Strange to say there is a secondary definition of *'atab* by Al-Ṣaghānī, later supported by Al-Fīrūzābādī (d 1414), which is nearer the truth He tells us that the *'atab* are "transverse pieces of wood upon the face of the *'ūd* from which the strings are extended to the end of the *'ūd* ". By the term "face" (*wajh*) he means the front of the lute, and by the term "end" (*tarf*) is meant the bridge-tailpiece

Yet Muḥammad ibn Ziyād ibn al-'Arabī (d 864), as quoted in the *Tāj al-'arūs*, seems to "hit the mark", as the Arabs say, in defining the *'atabat al-'ūd* as "that which is upon the extremities of the strings in the forepart [of the lute]" By the term "forepart" (*muqaddima*) is meant the extremity of the fingerboard, i e the 'nut"

The *'atab* and the *dasātīn* do not, strictly speaking, refer to the same thing, although probably at the time of Al-A'shā Maimūn the term *'ataba* was used indifferently for both "nut" and "fret"

§ 2

Frets (*dasātīn*) are frequently mentioned in the *Kitāb al-aghānī* of Al-Iṣfahānī (d 967) and in an unmistakable way. For example, see the passage in which Ibn Jāmi' (d *ca* 803) tells a lutanist to finger a certain *dastān* [1] Again there is the account of the lute playing of Isḥāq al-Mauṣilī (d 850), where the "fingering" of the instrument, up and down the *dasātīn*, is clearly described [2]

As for the Arabic theorists of music, their treatises prove conclusively that the lute (*'ūd*) as well as the pandore (*tunbūr*) had these frets or *dasātīn* tied around the neck of the instrument Al-Kindī (d *ca* 874) shows in speaking of the *dasātīn* that they must have been frets [3] Yaḥyā ibn 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā (d 912) explains "the place of every note (*naghma*) upon every fret (*dastān*) ." [4] In describing the essentials of the

[1] *Kitāb al-aghānī*, Bulak ed, v, 57–8
[2] Ibid, vi, 78–80
[3] British Museum MS, Or 2361, fol 165, v
[4] Ibid, fol 236, v

lute (*'ūd*) Al-Fārābī (d. *ca* 950) says that the *dasātīn* (frets) were tied (*shadda*) on the neck (*mutadaqq*) of the instrument, and that they were fixed parallel with the bridge-tailpiece [1] Al-Mas'ūdī (d *ca.* 957) directs that the *dastān* next to the nut (*anf*) was to be placed (*mauḍū'*) on the fingerboard at one-ninth of the vibrating string-length, and the *dastān* nearest the bridge-tailpiece (*musht*) was to be placed at one-fourth of the vibrating string-length [2] The Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (tenth century),[3] Ibn Sīnā (d 1037),[4] Ibn Zaila (d 1048),[5] Ṣafī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min (d 1294),[6] and others, all confirm the view that *dasātīn* were gut or string frets tied on the neck of the lute or pandore

If further proof were necessary one might quote from the *Hawī al-funūn wa salwat al-maḥzūn* of Abū'l-Ḥasan Muhammad ibn al-Ḥasan, better known as Ibn al-Ṭahān (fourteenth century ?), the only copy of which is in the Dār al-kutub at Cairo Ibn al-Ṭahan, himself a musician, recommends the use of a pair of compasses when fixing the places of the *dasātīn* on the neck of the lute He tells us, however, that *he* did not need *dasātīn* on his lute because he knew the place of every note on the fingerboard without *dasātīn* He says, further, that four rolls of gut string were required to "fret" a lute, and he recommends that several thicknesses ought to be used [7]

§ 3

Although it is quite clear from literary sources that the lute of the Arabs and Persians was fretted in the early Middle

[1] Leyden University MS, No 1427, fol 52, v Kosegarten, *Lib Cant*, pp 77, 79 R D'Erlanger, *La musique arabe*, i, 166 Land, "Recherches sur l'histoire de la gamme arabe," in *Actes du Sixième congrès Inter des Orientalistes*, 1883, pt i, pp 100, 133

[2] *Les prairies d'or*, viii, 99 The text has دستنان but دستان is intended

[3] Bombay ed, 1887–8, i, 98

[4] India Office MS, No 1811, fol 173 See *JRAS*, 1937, pp 251–5

[5] British Museum MS, Or 2361, fol. 235, v.

[6] British Museum MS, Or 136, fol 3, v

[7] Cairo National Library MS, *funūn jamīla*, 539, fol. 89

Ages, it has to be admitted that our iconographical sources do not support this, although frets may be seen on the pandore How can this seemingly conflicting evidence be adjusted ?

Our iconographic sources must be divided into two periods : (a) the tenth–thirteenth century, and (b) the thirteenth–twentieth century

That no example of a fretted lute is to be found in the first period is due, probably, to the fact that the iconographic sources of the period are confined entirely to industrial art, a medium which does not lend itself to the delineation of such relatively minute details as the frets on a musical instrument. Indeed, in some instances, even the strings are omitted

That hundreds of pictures of the lute during the second period do not reveal the slightest trace of frets must be explained differently Our sources from this period are of painting or other design on paper or parchment, in which the artist had plenty of scope for registering such details as frets, although occasionally we find even strings omitted The absence of frets from iconographic sources during this period can only be explained by recognizing that by the thirteenth century the use of frets on the lute had already started to fall into neglect, although the Persian writers, Qutb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d 1310), Muhammad al-Āmulī (fourteenth century), the author of the *Kanz al-tuhaf* (fourteenth century), and Ibn Ghaibī (d 1435) all refer to *dasātīn* (frets) That they were sometimes used by the Arabs is definitely stated and explained by Ibn al Tahan (fourteenth century ?), and that they were still favoured in Persia is evident from a painting (*ca* 1630) in the possession of Messrs Bernard Quaritch, in which there is a beautiful scene at the court of Shāh Ṣafī, where a musician playing a fretted lute is clearly delineated [1]

[1] Part of this scene is reproduced here by the courtesy of Messrs Bernard Quaritch The artist has delineated the frets on the instrument with such care that I have been prompted to take measurements of them We may safely suppose that a string vibrating between the nut (*anf*) and the

Nowadays in Egypt, 'Iraq, Syria, Turkey, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco, neither the classical lute (*'ūd*) nor the smaller lute (*kuwītra, lauṭa*) has frets. At the same time nearly all the long-necked pandores (*ṭunbūr, tār, dūtār, sitār, chūgūr*) of the Near and Middle East are furnished with gut or string frets after the mediaeval fashion.

§ 4

Clearly, iconography is an uncertain guide The facts of Karl Geiringer are legitimate enough, but his deductions, and those of Dr Curt Sachs, are fallacious. We see another instance of the folly of placing too much reliance on iconography in the veteran Arabist Baron Carra de Vaux, who has argued that the lute of the time of Ṣafī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min (d 1294) had five *double* strings His authority for this was the manuscript used by him in his masterly version of the *Risālat al-sharafiyya* of Ṣafī al-Dīn, in which the table dealing with the frets of the lute showed double lines for the strings [1] Yet I feel sure that these double lines are merely a licence of the copyist so as to conform with the other double lines which he uses in the frame of his table Indeed, every other manuscript of the *Risālat al-sharafiyya* and *Kitāb al-adwār* of Ṣafī al-Dīn which I have examined contains a single line for each string [2]

In Baron Carra de Vaux's manuscript the lines representing the strings are parallel, as they are also delineated in other manuscripts, but we must not assume from this fact that they were strung parallel on the lute On the contrary, as several

bridge tailpiece (*musht*) measures 80 mm The *khinsir* (4th finger fret) would therefore be at 20 mm These measurements allow for seven frets from the *sabbāba* (1st finger fret) to the *khinsir* (4th finger fret) inclusive. This, together with the five tuning pegs, shows that the system of Ṣafī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min (d 1294) was still in vogue

[1] *Le traité de rapports musicaux par Safi ed-Din 'Abd el-Mumin* par M le Baron Carra de Vaux, Paris, 1891, pp 53–4

[2] British Museum MSS, Or 136, Or 2361 Berlin MS, Landberg, 11, Paris Bibl. Nat, MS., Arabe 2865 Bodleian MSS, Marsh, 115, Marsh, 161, Marsh, 521

manuscripts reveal,[1] the strings converged from the bridge-tailpiece (*mushṭ*) to the nut (*anf*), as Al-Fārābī specifically points out [2]

Even in treatises on music, where one naturally expects to find correct delineations and complete details, the most chimerical forms are introduced and the most essential factors are omitted In some manuscripts of the Persian *Kanz al-tuhaf* (fourteenth century) almost every instrument is out of proportion whilst the strings are entirely omitted.[3] In the *Sharh Maulānā Mubarrak Shāh* the lute, which is delineated, has a fingerboard so wide that performance on it would be impossible [4] In short, whilst iconography has an undoubted value in recording the existence of classes of musical instruments of which no literary evidence has come down to us, we must always be critical before accepting the forms and details of such instruments

[1] British Museum MS, Or 136 Paris MS, Arabe, 2865

[2] Leyden MS, No 1427, fol 52, v Kosegarten, *Lib Cant*, p 77 Land, op cit, p 100

[3] Cambridge, King's College, No 211 India Office MS, No 2763

[4] British Museum MS, Or 2361

Did Sulamī Plagiarize Sarrāj ?

By A. J. ARBERRY

SULAMĪ'S tractate on the Malāmatīs (*Risālat al-Malāmatīya*), as preserved in the Berlin manuscript,[1] has been fully and scientifically analysed and described by Professor R. Hartmann in *Der Islam*, vol viii, pp. 157–203.[2] There remains nothing to be added to the conclusions reached there It is, however, to be remarked that Hartmann's article takes no account of the Cairo manuscript of the tract[3] this, indeed, could hardly have been available at the time the article was written. The Cairo manuscript has been noted and utilized by Massignon[4] a striking feature of this copy, however, which distinguishes it from that preserved at Berlin, appears to have escaped attention, and the purpose of the present note is to call attention to this peculiarity.

The title of Sulamī's treatise as given in the Cairo manuscript is *Uṣūl al-Malāmatīya wa-ghalaṭāt al-Ṣūfīya*. Its text agrees perfectly with the Berlin copy, so far as the latter goes, but after the point at which the Berlin copy ends, a new section is added in the Cairo manuscript, with the heading *Faṣl fī ghalaṭāt al-Ṣūfīya*. The author then proceeds to enumerate the various errors into which certain "schools" of the Ṣūfīs had fallen. What a valuable new source on a highly interesting subject, says the expectant reader! But, alas, this is no new source at all, as the extracts published below will amply demonstrate. This section is, in fact, nothing more than a brief précis of *Kitāb al-Luma'* of al-Sarrāj, pp 409–435 (Nicholson's edition) The précis is not even a particularly intelligent one it is rather to be described as a wholesale

[1] Ahlwardt 3388

[2] Brockelmann (*Erster Supplementband*, p 362) is, of course, mistaken in describing this article as a *translation* of *Kitāb 'Uyūb al-nafs*, an entirely different work

[3] Old catalogue, vii, p 228

[4] *Bibliographie Hallagienne* (suppl to *Passion*), p 12

plagiarism of Sarrāj's text, committed without the slightest acknowledgment or excuse

Plagiarism is, of course, a well-known vice of less reputable Arabic authors, and even to this day is freely enough indulged, as could be demonstrated by numerous examples.[1] Sulamī has, however, generally been conceded to be an honest and valuable authority, and if the present charge is really to be laid at his door his reputation must in consequence suffer. But is it he, in fact, who is guilty ? The Cairo manuscript is not very old, undated but probably of the eleventh–seventeenth century, and as the Berlin copy lacks this concluding section it would be permissible to argue that it is an excrescence on Sulamī's text, added by a late and undiscriminating admirer If this is the case, then the section naturally has no value whatsoever If, however, Sulamī really is guilty, then the section is of the utmost importance for it constitutes the earliest testimony now extant to the text of *Kitāb al-Luma'* It shows us the text of Sarrāj differing little if at all from what we know it to be Sulamī died in 412/1021, Sarrāj in 378/988 Sulamī is thus almost a contemporary witness to the text of Sarrāj [2]

The selections from the "précis" given below, compared with the corresponding passages in *Kitāb al-Luma'*, amply prove the charge of plagiarism

SARRĀJ	SULAMĪ
قال الشيخ رحمه الله سمعت	قال المؤلّف أبو عبد الرحمن
احمد ن على الكرخى يقول	سلمى رضى الله عنه الشطح

[1] See, for example, H A R Gibb s remarks in *BSOS*, vii, p 11 (n 3), 20 (n 2)

[2] Qushairi in his *Risala* (437/1045) is otherwise the earliest authority for the text, see Nicholson's edition of Sarrāj, introd, p xl The relevant section in *Kitab al Luma'* is based on a single MS, though the Bankipore copy, as Maulavi Abdul Hamid remarks, is the oldest known to exist (Bankipore 825), and this contains that section

Sarrāj	Sulamī
سمعت ابا على الروذبارى رحمه الله يقول قد بلغنا فى هذا الامر الى مكان مثل حدّ السيف فان قلنا كذى ففى النار وان قلنا كذى ففى النار يعنى ان غلطنا فيما نحن فيه بدقيقة فنصير من اهل النار لأن الغلط فى كلّ شئ أهون من الغلط فى التصوّف وفى علمه لأنها مقامات واحوال وإرادات ومراتب وإشارات... ولم يحكم اساسه على ثلثة اشياء ...وهذه الثلثة اشياء اوّلها اجتناب جميع المحارم كبيرها وصغيرها والثانى اداء جميع الفرايض عسيرها ويسيرها والثالث ترك الدنيا على اهل الدنيا قليلها وكثيرها...	للخراسانيّين لأنهم يتكلّمون عن أحوالهم وعن الحقائق وأهل العراق يصفون أحوال غيرهم وليس الواصف بشاطح فالغلط الذى وقع للقوم وذلك لبلوغهم الى محلّ من العلم والحال ودرجة سقطوا عنها بالتفاته كما قال أبو على الروذبارى رحمه الله بلغنا فى هذا الأمر الى مكان مثل حدّ السيف فإن قلنا كذا ففى النار ودلك لدقّة المقام ودقّة الحال وإنّما بنى هذا الأمر وأسّس على ثلاثة أشياء أوّلها اجتناب المحارم والثانى اداء الفرائض والثالث ترك الدنيا لأهلها

Sarrāj	Sulamī
قال الشيخ رحمه الله ثم انّى	والغلط وقع فى ثلاثة أوجه
نظرت الى الفرق الذين غلطوا	طبقة غلطت فى الأصول لقلّة
فوجدتهم على ثلث طبقات	إحكامهم أصول الشرع وضعف
فطبقة منهم غلطوا فى الاصول	فهمهم وإخلاصهم كما قال الجنيد
من قلّة إحكامهم لأصول	رحمة الله عليه انما منعوا من
الشريعة وضعف دعايمهم فى	الوصول لتضييع الأصول وطبقة
الصدق والاخلاص وقلّة	غلطت فى الفروع من الآداب
معرفتهم بذلك كما قال بعض	والأخلاق والمقامات وذلك لقلّة
المشايخ حيث يقول انّما حرموا	معرفتهم بالأصول واتّباعهم
الوصول لتضييع الاصول وطبقة	حظوظ النفس والدنيا ولم
ثانية منهم غلطوا فى الفروع	يتأدّبوا بمن يروضهم ويجرعهم
وهى الآداب والاخلاق	المرارات ويدلّهم على المناهج
والمقامات والاحوال والاعمال	ويعرّفهم النفس وعيوبها فتسقط
والاقوال فكان ذلك من قلّة	عنهم حظوظهم فمثل هولآء مثل
معرفتهم بالاصول ومتابعتهم	من يدخل بيتا مظلما بغير
لحظوظ النفوس ومزاج الطبع	سراج يريد أن يطلب فيه شيئا
لأنهم لم يدنوا ممّن يروضهم	فمتى يجد ما يطلب ويفسد فى

SARRĀJ

ويجرّعهم المرارات ويوقفهم على
المنهج الذى يؤدّيهم الى مطلوبهم
فمثلهم فى ذلك كمثل من يدخل
بيتا مظلما بلا سراج فالذى
يفسده اكثر ممّا يصلحه...
والطبقة الثالثة كان غلطهم فيما
غلطوا فيه زلّة وهفوة لا علّة
وجفوة فاذا تبيّن ذلك عادوا
الى مكارم الاخلاق ومعالى
الامور فسدّوا الخلل ولمّوا
الشعث وتركوا العناد وأذعنوا
للحقّ وأقرّوا بالعجز فعادوا الى
الاحوال الرضيّة والافعال
السنيّة والدرجات الرفيعة فلم
تنقص مراتبهم هفوتهم...الخ

347

SULAMĪ

تلك الظلمة أكثر ممّا يصلح
وطبقة غلطهم زلّة او هفوة
فاذا تبيّن لهم ذلك عادوا الى
سبيل الرشد ومكارم الأخلاق
ومعالى الأحوال وقبلوا النصح
وتركوا العناد وأذعنوا للحقّ
فلا تنقص تلك الهفوة من
مراتبهم شيئا الخ

The same argument applies, to a certain extent, to the Arab traders, they made excellent glass, and still use glass beads of their own manufacture, and if they brought them it would be natural to find Arab beads among them But we find Indian stone beads and gem stones instead. Were they brought in the time of the Chola kings? They were a strong sea-power, about A D 1026 they conquered the Nicobar and Andaman Islands, and probably Kĕdah In a Chinese work, the *Sung shih*, are mentioned the names of two Chola kings who sent embassies to China with tribute, which was a way of trading, viz, in 1033 Shih-li-lo-ch'a-yin-to-lo, i e Śrī Rājendra Chola, and in 1077 Ti-wa-ka-lo, i e Kulottunga (*circa* 1077 1118)

The Malay annals and folk-tales are full of the wars and disputes between the Malays and these Indian kings, Rajah Kling and Rajah Chulan Kĕling is the Malay name for all South Indians, and means the people of Kalinga, the coast of Orissa, while Raja Chulan was, according to Winstedt, Raja Chola, i e the Chola king The Malay annals tell us that Raja Chulan had a city, Kota Batu Itam, on the upper waters of the Johore River In 1928 a man was alive who had seen it and offered to take people there, but this offer was not accepted, and in 1932 he was dead It is quite possible that the Chola people brought these beads In the light of our present knowledge I am inclined to dismiss this indication, but if anyone will explore the upper waters of the Johore River, and find Kota Batu Itam or the Hindu Temple, Chandi Bombom, said by Malays to be there, the missing evidence may be found

Goods are usually traded in the period of their manufacture, and there is a mass of evidence bearing on Roman trade with India and the East, which it is needless to repeat here It is, however, worthy of especial note that traders from the Roman Empire took glass, among other things, into India, and the *Periplus* mentions the import of crude glass into Malabar and the export of tortoiseshell obtained both from the Isle of Chryse and from the islands along the coast of Damirica



INDIAN BEADS.



ROMAN BEADS FROM THE JOHORE RIVER No 1 is Hittite, No 2 are Phœnician or Cypriot



EARLY TYPE OF SHIP THAT TRADED BETWEEN INDIA AND JAVA. MODEL MADE BY THE AUTHOR FOR SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM.

(the Tamil country).[1] The *Periplus* also refers to the native vessels sailing to and from Damirica which put in at Camara, Poduca, and Sopatma, " and other very large vessels made of single logs bound together, called *sangara* ; but those which make the voyage to Chryse and to the Ganges are called *colandia*, and are very large " [2] The same traveller writes · " Sailng with the ocean to the right and the shore remaining beyond to the left, Ganges comes into view, and near it the very last land towards the east, Chryse ... And just opposite this river (Ganges) there is an island in the ocean, the last part of the inhabited world toward the east, under the rising sun itself ; it is called Chryse." [3] If a mariner should follow these directions he would find Chryse in Johore, the Malay name for which is *Hujong Tanah*, " The End of Land "

That there was intercourse between South India and the Malay Archipelago by sea in early days is also certain from other sources Javanese historians tell of the various settlements of South Indians in Java from A.D. 70 onwards, and these settlers are always said to have come by sea The bas-reliefs at Barabuḍur in Java show a type[4] of vessel that may have made the voyage—possibly the kind of ship referred to in the *Periplus*

The Malay States have always been famous for their gums, incense, and spices, and the Roman demand would encourage this trade, presumably through Indian middlemen, who would have gems, stones, and Roman products, including beads among other things, to send in return Thus the Roman beads found by me on the Johore river, in conjunction with ancient gem stones or stone beads, were probably part of this early overseas traffic between Malaya and India, and thence to the Roman Empire. Whether the single Hittite bead or the early Italian eye-bead are traces of an earlier connection is a question for which we have at present no evidence

[1] See *The Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, translated by W H Schoff, p. 45

[2] Ibid, p 46 [3] Ibid, p 47 f

[4] See Plate III This model reproduces the type in question

I may conclude by saying that my excavations were preliminary and exploratory only, and that many extensive and untouched sites in Johore, including Kota Batu Itam, while associated in legend with the Chola kings, may well prove to have been founded at a much earlier date. All these ancient sites would repay proper excavation, and might throw an entirely new light on the ancient history of these regions

338 G B GARDNER

TEMPLE RECORDS FROM UMMA

The six tablets here published were purchased by me from a dealer in Beyrouth in April, 1936 They all belong to the time of the Ur dynasty, and have been arranged according to their dates in chronological order I am indebted to Professor Langdon for help in the interpretation

1 Barley and spelt (emmer) from the granary (*é šu-ib*) received from Arad by Šu- Cf Contenau, *Umma sous la Dynastie d'Ur*, No 14 Of lines 4–5, to which I know no parallel, the following interpretation is suggested *ki (?)-enim-dŠul-gi-ra* [*1]0 + 6 KA sag-bi gíd-da*, "on behalf of Enim-Šulgi, [x + ?] 16 KA, its capital, has been subtracted," this capital being the original seed-corn which Arad borrowed from Enim-Šulgi and of which he has now reaped the harvest However, a harvest between the months *šu-numun* and *mìn-èš*, which were at Umma the sixth and seventh months of a year beginning with Adar,[1] is at least unexpected Year Šulgi 47

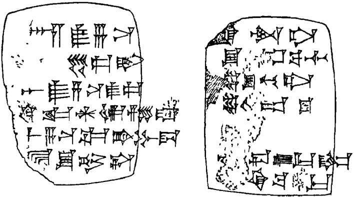
2 Three men for twelve days, stationed at the *a-da*, at the *guruma* Foreman, Lugal-mumag, commissioner,[2] Ir-dingir From month 2 to month 6 (an unusual method of dating cf de Genouillac, *Textes Économiques*, pl x) Year Bur-Sin 1

[1] See Deimel *Šum Lex*, p 98, Langdon, *Menologies*, p 97, n 1 and p 119 n 3

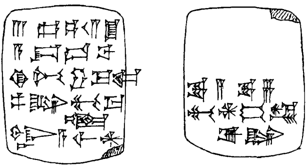
[2] See Deimel *Reallex d Ass*, i 18b, and *Šum Lex*, No 208 (8)

3. Spelt (for) Ur-^{giš}gigir, son of Ḫabalul, the chief of the *ú-bil* men. Month Adar, year Gimil-Sin 1. Seal of Lú-^{d}Ḫani, the scribe, son of Ur-dul (?)-du[-e].
4. Ur-lamušša, the " lord of the seal of the house ", has taken

Obv. 1 *Rev.*



Obv 2 *Rev*

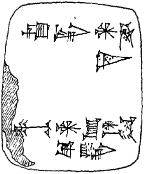


charge of forty-six bundles of reeds Month *šu-numun*, year not stated Cf Contenau, op. cit, No. 75
5. Allowance of barley for Duggi and others, at the granary of A-KA-ḲA, issued by Gududu Month *šu-numun*, year Gimil-Sin 3. Seal of ^{d}*Šara-ereš*, scribe

6. Allowance of barley for the ox-herds (*šà-gud* = *kullizu*, cf Kraus, *Briefe*, ii, p 217), to the total of 2 *gur* (for *gur-lugal* ? 10 × 60 = 600 KA), issued by Gududu. Month of ^{d}*Ne-gún* (the ninth month · Langdon,

Obv 3 *Rev.*

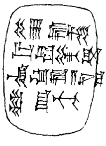




IMPRESSION OF SEAL



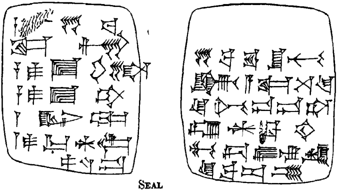
Obv 4 *Rev*



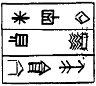
Seal impression only, identical with that shown in Contenau, *Umma sous la dynastie d'Ur*, p 54, fig. 12.

Menologies, p. 115, n. 5), year Gimil-Sin 3. Seal of Enim-^{d}Šara.

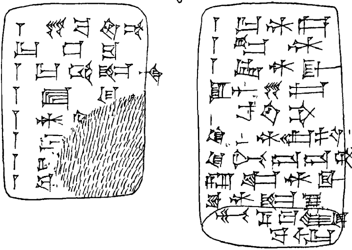
Obv. 5 *Rev.*



SEAL



Obv 6 *Rev.*



O. R. GURNEY.

MAGDALEN COLLEGE,
OXFORD
July, 1937

THE SOURCE OF A STORY IN THE MATHNAWĪ, AND A PERSIAN PARALLEL TO *GRIMM'S FAIRY TALES*

I

In the preface to *Tales of Mystic Meaning*, selected from the Mathnawī, Professor Nicholson briefly refers to the sources of the stories told in that poem, and enumerates a number of Arabic and Persian works to which certain tales can be traced. The whole subject, he adds, is still open to investigation; and it is thought that the following contribution may be of interest:—

The story entitled "The Man who flew to Hindustān" (Book i, v. 956 ff., of the Persian text) relates how a man threatened by Azrael the Angel of Death implored Solomon to order the wind to transport him to India, in the hope of thus escaping death; Solomon complied with the request.

"On the morrow, when the king in audience sate,
He said to Azrael, 'wherefore didst thou look
Upon that Musulmān so wrathfully,
His home knew him no more?' 'Nay, not in wrath,'
Replied the Angel, 'did I look on him;
But seeing him pass by, I stared in wonder,
For God had bidden me take his soul that day
In Hindustān. I stood there marvelling.
Methought, even if he had a hundred wings,
'Twas far for him to fly to Hindustān.'"

The ultimate source of the story here related is an Agada told in the Palestinian Talmūd in the following form—I quote from the extract given in J. T. Marshall's *Manual of the Aramaic Language*, pp. 60 and 145; the reference is to Kilaim, ix, 4, 32 (*c*). "Elihoreph and Ahijah were two secretaries of Solomon. He saw the angel of Death looking at them and gnashing with his teeth. Solomon spake the word and placed them in a cavern. The angel went and took them from there. He then came and stood opposite the king, laughing. Solomon said: 'A little while ago thou wast gnashing with thy teeth and now thou art laughing at them.' He replied: 'The Merciful One bade me remove Elihoreph and Aḥijah from the

cavern; I said: "Who will put these men in the place whence I am sent to take them?" He put it into thy heart to do so, in order that I might accomplish my errand.' He went and joined himself to them from there." Maulānā Rūmī, in his usual manner, adds an allegorical interpretation. It is not to be assumed, of course, that he derived the tale directly from the Talmūd, and it would be of some interest to trace the channels through which it reached him.

II

In a volume of short stories descriptive of modern Persian life by a contemporary author (*Sih Qaṭrah Khūn* by Ṣādiq Hidāyat, Teheran, 1311) there is contained a story entitled *Changāl*, which deals with the unhappy life and tragic death of two young people, brother and sister, who are ill-treated by an unkind stepmother and a worthless father. The girl is represented as singing the following song "one of the songs they used to sing together in the old days" —

"منم، منم، بلبل سر گشته
از کوه وکمر بر گشته
مادر نابکار، مرا کشته
پدر نامرد، مرا خورده
خواهر دلسوز: —
استخوانهای مرا با هفتا گلاب شسته
زیر درخت گل چال کرده،
منم شدم یه بلبل
—— ——
پر پر"

"I am, I am a *bulbul* that's got lost;
From the hills and rocks I've come back.
My wicked mother killed me,
My inhuman father ate me,
My heartbroken sister
Washed my bones seven times with rose water,
She buried me under a rose tree,
I became a *bulbul* .
Fly away, fly away"

The connection of the song with the wicked stepmother motif is obvious, and there is little doubt that it belongs to a Persian folk-story, of which the Brothers Grimm have a Low-German version under the title Van den Machandelboom A boy is killed by a wicked stepmother, who serves him up to his father to eat His sister collects the bones in a silk kerchief and places them under a juniper tree The boy is turned into a bird, in which shape he sings the following song —

"Mein Mutter der (*sic*) mich schlacht,
mein Vater der mich ass,
mein Schwester der (*sic*) Marlenichen
sucht alle meine Benichen,
bindt sie in ein seiden Tuch,
legts unter den Machandelbaum
Kywitt, kywitt, wat vor'n schon Vagel bun ik!"[1]

The bird duly punishes the stepmother, and rewards the sister and the innocent father, and in the end he is turned into a boy again

Versions of the tale are found in most European languages; and the learned authors of the *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (J Bolte and G Polivka, Leipzig, 1913) also refer to the occurrence of the motif in Egypt and amongst the Kurds

P S—After going to press I came across the "Persian Tales" translated by D L R and E O Lorimer (London,

[1] A somewhat different version of the song is found in the Prison Scene at the end of the first part of Goethe's *Faust*.

1919), which contain our story under the title "The story of the boy who became a Bulbul". It gives the song in a somewhat fuller version.

343. S. HILLELSON.

THE ZAMZAMAH: AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY GUN

In the opening chapter of *Kim*, Kipling says: "Who hold Zamzamah, that fire-breathing dragon, hold the Punjab, for the great green-bronze piece is always first of the conqueror's loot."

It would be interesting to follow the history of this remarkable gun, which is to be seen at the Central Museum, Lahore, facing the Sadr Bazaar, in which position it was placed on the occasion of the Duke of Edinburgh's visit to Lahore in 1870. But when, where, by whom, and for whom was this great gun cast?

In the old Armenian cemetery at Agra, opened in A D 1611, there is the grave of an Armenian, who, according to the inscription in Armenian and Persian on his tombstone, was an expert in the art of casting cannons, and it was that Armenian expert who, in 1761, cast the famous gun, called Zamzamah,[1] for Ahmad Shah Durrani, the Afghan invader of the Punjab, after Nadir Shah, in the second half of the eighteenth century

The Armenian inscription on the slab which covers the mortal remains of the Armenian Krupp in India is as follows —

ԱՅՍ Է ՏԱՊԱՆ ԳԱՅՐԳՈՒԿԵՑԻ ԸԼԱՅՎԷՐԴԻ:
ՈՐԴԻ ՎԱՐԳԵՍ ԹՕՓՃՕՂ ՈՒՍՏԱՅ ՃԱՆԱՉԱՐ
ԽԱՆԵՓՆ ՈՐ ԲԱՐԻ ՄԱՀՈՒԱՄԲ ՓՈԽԵՑԱՒ ԱՌ
ՏԷՐ ԹՎԻՆ 1784 ԱՊՐԻԼԻ 25

[1] Zamzamah means humming or thundering. It also means a lion's roar

It can be translated thus. "This is the tomb of Ostad [master] Shah Nazar Khan, the son of Allaverdy of Qaiquli, who was an expert in the casting of cannons. He departed to the Lord with a good death on the 25th April in the year 1784"

And on a perpendicular white marble slab, fixed at the head of the grave, there is an inscription in beautiful Persian verse, of which the following is a copy —

شاه نظر خان آنکه نامش شهرهٔ آفاق بود
صنعتش در توپ ریزی عرت لقمان فرود
چونکه اورا با مسیحا بود حسن اعتقاد
رفته در پهر سجودش جانب چرخ کبود
هاتف غیب از سر حسرت پی تاریخ او
گفت پابوسی جناب حضرت عیسا نمود

It can be rendered into English thus "Shah Nazar Khan, he whose name was world-famed and in the craft of casting cannons, he even added to the excellence of Loqman.[1] Since he was a believer in the Messiah, he went for obeisance to the blue sky [heaven] A voice from the unknown mournfully said the following, giving the date of his death. 'He has kissed the feet of Jesus'"

According to the *abjad* system of reckoning, the date of the death of Shah Nazar Khan is to be found in the words "pā bosī-i-janāb Hazrat 'Īsā namūd", which when calculated gives the year A D. 1784, corresponding to the year given in the Armenian inscription

There is an inscription round the muzzle of the gun as under —

بامر دُر دوران شه ولی خان وزیر
ساخت توپ زمزمه نام قلعه گیر
عمل شاه نظر خان

[1] According to the Persians, Loqman is supposed to be the inventor of cannons

It can be translated thus: "By order of the Emperor, Durr-a-Durran, Shah Wali Khan, the Vazir, made this gun, named Zamzamah, the capturer of strongholds. The work of Shah Nazar Khan."

For a fuller account of the gun and the long Persian inscription engraved upon it, see Syed Muhammad Latif's *History of Lahore*, 1892.

And about the same time that Shah Nazar Khan was casting terrible guns for his master, Ahmad Shah Durrani, his equally famous countryman, Gorgin Khan, the Armenian Minister and Commander-in-Chief of Nawab Mir Qasim of Bengal (1760–3), was casting equally formidable guns for his master at Monghyr, the then capital of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, which clearly shows that the Armenians, apart from being eminent merchants in India, have in the past achieved success in the art of war and in the manufacture of large and unique pieces of ordnance, like the "Zamzamah". This shows that the martial spirit of the race was still alive in them, despite the terrible persecutions which they had suffered in the land of their ancestors (Armenia) at the hands of the bloodthirsty Tartars, Saracens, Arabs, Persians, and Turks since the fall of their political independence in A.D. 1375.

Of the many big guns cast at Lahore and Agra by Shah Nazar Khan, the "Master Workman", as he is called, the only one in existence at the present day is the "Zamzamah", which, according to the long and interesting Persian inscription on the back of the gun, was "terrible as a dragon", "huge as a mountain", "a fire-raining dragon", and "a destroyer even of the strongholds of heaven". Kipling seems to have been quite impressed with that eighteenth-century gun, for he has used an illustration of it as a frontispiece to his *Kim*.

CALCUTTA
9th April, 1937

319. MESROVB J. SETH.

A CORRECTION TO "MIRABILIA DESCRIPTA" (THE WONDERS OF THE EAST) By FRIAR JORDANUS, circa 1330 [1]

In speaking of Armenia, Friar Jordanus says: "In this same Armenia the Greater a certain glorious Virgin suffered martyrdom The daughter of a King and Scala by name." (p. 5)

Colonel Sir Henry Yule in his notes in this book wrote: "The Virgin must be Rhipsime .. etc" (p 5)

Sir Henry Yule was mistaken in his identification of the "Glorious Virgin Scala by name" mentioned by Friar Jordanus as having suffered martyrdom, for she was not Virgin Rhipsime, but a Virgin named Santukht, the daughter of the Armenian King Sanadrug She was converted to Christianity by Judas-Thaddeus the Apostle, who, after the death of Christ, was sent to preach Christianity to the Armenians.

The Martyrdom of Santukht, as well as the historical reality of the Armenian King Sanadrug, is enveloped in so much darkness and the narrations about them are so old that they have almost become legendary Although Sanadrug has no place in *de facto* Armenian History, nevertheless he has quite an important place in the history of the Christian Religion in Armenia Incidentally, Santukht was not only the first female martyr in Armenia, but the first in the whole of Christendom, being killed by the order of her father Sanadrug, the King of Armenia, about the middle of the first century

The Virgin Rhipsime, or, as the Armenians spell it, Hrripsime, mentioned by Sir Henry Yule, was not the daughter of a king, as Friar Jordanus tells us the Glorious Virgin Scala's father was Hrripsime was martyred in Armenia in the third century

The name of the martyred Virgin is given by Friar Jordanus as Scala, which in Latin as well as Italian means *scale,* and for which Webster's *Unabridged Dictionary* gives *scale* (scala) "A ladder, series of steps" In Armenian, scale is translated *santukh* (a ladder), which makes it seem that

[1] Printed by Hakluyt Society, Old or First Series, No 31, 1863

whoever told Friar Jordanus the story of this Armenian Virgin's martyrdom also gave the name *Santukht*, but to make it more easily remembered by Friar Jordanus, he tried to translate the name and called it scala (= scale = *santukh* = ladder), the original Santukht being a personal name, much used among Armenians to this day, and the second a word, *santukh*, which in Latin is *scala* and in English *scale*, a ladder.

The fact that these two words are so nearly alike, makes it easy for a person unfamiliar with the Armenian language to get them confused, even though they have no connection.

351. H. KURDIAN.

AN UNKNOWN WORK ON ZOOLOGY

Lieut.-Col J. Stephenson, in the introduction of his very useful edition of the zoological section of Ḥamdullāh Mustaufī's *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*,[1] states that "Arabic works on natural history were few, and Persian works non-existent, before the time of Mustaufī There appears to be no systematic zoological treatise before the *Nuzhat* except the *Kitābu-l-Hayawān* of Jāhiz (d A H 255, A D 869) which, however (like that of ad-Damīrī later), is for the most part of philological and literary interest"[2] This statement is supported by the words of Dr. Max Meyerhof, "The only important Muslim work on *Zoology* is the *Life of Animals* by Muhammad ad-Damīrī"[3] In view of these judgments, it is of interest to record that there exists in the India Office Library[4] a large fragment of what is evidently a scientific treatise on zoology written, most probably in Persia by a Persian, in the first half of the sixth

[1] Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, vol xxx

[2] pp x–xi.

[3] *Legacy of Islam*, p 341 Cf A. S G Jayakar's remarks in his translation of *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān* (Bombay, 1906), vol i, p xiv

[4] Delhi Arabic, 1949 Foll 217, 31 × 18 cm (script 22 × 13 cm), ll 12. Seals on the first and last folios attest that its present state of imperfection dates back at least two or three centuries

century A.H.[1] This manuscript, though defective at both beginning and end, and therefore lacking all information as to authorship and correct title, has fortunately escaped the more serious depredations of ants, worms, and rodents which have worked havoc with so many valuable manuscripts housed at one time in Indian palaces

As it is the intention of the present writer subsequently to make a more detailed study of the work, it will be sufficient here to state its general contents, which are given in the hope that some other scholar, seeing them, may be able to throw light on the important question of authorship The book is divided into two main parts called *maqālāt*, so far at least as is preserved in this copy The first *maqāla* treats of man, the human races, and the character and characteristics of man in enumerating the various nations the author treats of the Persians first, and the Arabs last but two (he reserves the Abyssinians for the last place) The second *maqāla* deals with the animals, of which the first to be described, curiously enough, is the elephant[2] The author's interest in animals is not philological, as is the case with Jāhiz, and to some extent with Damīrī, but scientific In some passages he records his own observations Many names of animals occur which I have not seen in any other Islamic authority

The copy itself is very old, probably of the twelfth century, possibly an autograph The scribe has given diacritical points and some vocalizations for about the first third of the whole, but thereafter generally omits both points and vowels,

[1] A note in a late hand on the wrapper attributes the work (which it calls *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*) to Sharaf al-Zamān (sc al-Dīn) Muḥammad al-Īlāqī, the well-known pupil of Avicenna This ascription is, of course, incorrect On fol 210*b* the author relates an event of his own lifetime which he dates 514 A H.

[2] It may be noted that in the zoological section of 'Awfī's *Jawāmi' al ḥikāyāt* the first animal to be described is also the elephant This raises the possibility, though difficult to reconcile with certain historical data, that the present work is to be identified with the lost *Ṭabā'i' al-ḥayawānāt* of Sharaf al Zamān Ṭāhir al Marwazī See M Niẓāmu'd-Dīn, *Introduction to the Jawāmi'u' l-Ḥikāyat*, pp 88 f

except that he invariably writes the names of animals carefully. The author's general outlook on life is illustrated by a remark on fol. 9*b*. "Among the characteristics of the (human) soul are generosity and miserliness. As for generosity, this is in our day like the *'anqā* of the west . . . one hears say of it, but no sign of it is ever seen; while as for miserliness, this is the common characteristic of all the people of this age, and more especially women."

A. J. Arberry.

335.

THE YEZIDI VILLAGES IN NORTHERN 'IRĀQ

Up till now we did not know the names of all the villages of Northern 'Irāq inhabited by the Yezidis or the so-called, although quite wrongly, Devil-worshippers This gap in our knowledge about the sect has been filled up now by the Mesopotamian scholar 'Abbās al-'Azzāwī, who, in his valuable book published recently in Bagdād about the history, customs, manners and doctrines of the sect,[1] gives us a nearly complete list of the Yezidi villages in Ğebel Singār and in the surroundings of Mossul. Most of the names of those villages belong to the Kurdish language and only few of them are Arabic As the text of al-'Azzāwī is not vocalized, it is not easy to determine in every case the right pronunciation of the Kurdish names. I therefore asked al-'Azzāwī to be so kind as to send me a vocalized list of the names of the villages published in his book He very promptly acceded to my request, and was so kind as to send me immediately the vocalized names I had asked him for. It is a pleasure for me to be able to tender to him my hearty thanks for his kindness.

[1] The Arabic title runs as follows *Ta'rīḫ al-Yazīdiyyah wa asl 'aqīdatihim* The year of its publication is 1354 of the Hiğrah and 1935 of the Christian era The book has also a French title *Histoire des Yezidis. Leur doctrine, leurs pays, leurs chefs d'après des documents inédits*, Baghdad, 1935. I have written on this book in "Nuovi documenti sui Yezidi", *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni*, xii (1936), 150–165.

There are some slight discrepancies between the list published in his book, to which I refer as A, and the vocalized one sent to me, B. Some differences may be due to misprint and some to scribal error

The sources of the list of al-'Azzāwī are written or oral.

Only a few of the villages quoted in the list were known till now, to scholars who have written about the Yezidis It is therefore worth while to publish a transliteration of the list and an English translation of the notes appended by the author to some of the names

YEZIDI VILLAGES IN THE REGION OF SINǦĀR [1]

1 Bāǧass-sī or Bāǧass. There are some of the Mandakān [2] Yezidis and with them dwell some Muhammadans

2 Bārah Inhabited by the tribe of the Samūqah or Samūgah [3] This village lies on the summit of the mountain and in its neighbourhood lies the village of al-Ḫātūniyyah which now belongs to the French. There are no Yezidis in it In it are only Arabs who are called al-Ḫawātinah

3 Bāšūk Inhabited by Mandakān and some Muhammadans

4 Bardahlī On the slope of the mountain towards the north, in the direction of Nisībīn and Mārdīn

5 Bakrān [4] The majority of its inhabitants are Yezidis and few of them are Muslims On the slope of the mountain as the preceding

6 Bahbul or Gahbul (B) Also a village of which the inhabitants are Yezidis

7 Tappah or Tabbah (B) An important village Its inhabitants are mostly Yezidis, few are Muslims

8. Tall Qaṣab Its inhabitants are Mandakān, and among them there are Yezidis and Muslims

[1] al-'Azzāwī, loc cit, p ٩٩-١٠٥

[2] On the villages of this Kurdish tribe see al-'Azzāwī, loc. cit, ٩٧.

[3] al-'Azzāwī, loc cit, ٩٦

[4] [illegible]

9. Ğaddālah. They say that this village belongs to a Muslim and that Ḥamū Šarū moved from it.[1]
10. Ğafriyyah.[2] Lies on the slope of the mountain towards the north, in the direction of Niṣībīn and Mārdīn. Its inhabitants are Yezidis with a few Muslims.
11. Čal'ān. Also called Kūrkūrgah, but known by the name of Čal'ān.
12. Ḥānamiyyah or Ḥātamiyyah (B). Its inhabitants are Mandakān, and there are also Muslims and Yezidis.
13. Ḥallīqiyyah.[3] Another of the villages on the northern slope of the mountain, facing the direction of Nisībīn and Mārdīn
14. al-Ḫān or Ḫān (B). The inhabitants are Mandakān and there are also Yezidis and Muslims in it
15. Dīlūḫān In it there are Mandakān and among them there are Muslims and Yezidis In this village there is the family of the 'Izzah with the Mandakān and the Šahwān[4]. so Šeyḫ Ilyās ibn Šeyḫ Ḫiḍr[5] has told me
16. Rambūsiyyah A village in the west of Balad Singār; its inhabitants are Yezidis
17. Zīrwān On the slope of the mountain Inhabitants are mostly Yezidis with a few Muslims It lies towards the north.
18. Sakīnī or Sakīniyyah[6] One of the villages on the south of Balad Singār, inhabited by the *'ašīrah* of the Qīrān[7]

[1] On Hamū Šarū or Hamū Šīrū see the passages of al-'Azzāwī quoted on p. ٢١٨, and Ismā'īl Beg Chol, *The Yazīdīs Past and present*, Beirut, 1934, p ١٢٣ On the table facing p ٥٤ is to be seen a picture of Hamū Šarū, "chief of the Yezidis in Ğebel Singār"

[2] On this tribe see al-'Azzāwī, loc. cit, ٩٨.

[3] al-'Azzāwī, loc cit., ٩٨.

[4] According to al-'Azzāwī, loc cit, ٩٦, this tribe is of Arabic origin

[5] This *šeyḫ* is the chief of the *'ašīrah* Hakkāriyyah and has furnished to our author much information about the Yezidis. The tribe is Kurdish, but the *šeyḫ* speaks also Arabic, al-'Azzāwī, loc. cit., ٩٧.

[6] al-'Azzāwī, loc. cit, ٩٦.

[7] al-'Azzāwī, loc. cit, ٩٦.

19. **Sanūnī** or Sanūn One of the villages on the northern slope of the mountain The majority of its inhabitants are Yezidis and few of them are Muslims
20. **Šikuftah** or Iškuftah One of the southern villages. Inhabitants are Yezidis and only a few are Muslims.
21. Ṭaraf On the northern slope of the mountain. Inhabitants are Yezidis and few of them are Muslims.
22. 'Āl Dīnah or Dīnā (B) or 'Alī Dīnah or 'Aldīnah. The same
23. 'Ayn Fathī One of the southern villages Inhabitants are Mandakān with a few Muslims and Yezidis
24. Qartāg 'Ulyā.
25. Qartāg Suflā Both these villages are to the south The inhabitants are Mandakān but among them there are Muslims and Yezidis
26. Qizil Kand On the west of Singār City
27. Qasirkī The same
28. Quwaysī or Quways On the northern slope of the mountain facing Mārdīn and Nisībīn
29. Kursī The seat of the Amīr[1] On the slope of the mountain In it dwells the *mudīr* of the *nāhyah*
30. Kūlgān (B), Kūlkān (A) On the slope north of the town of Mossul
31. Garay (B), Karay (A) 'Arbah Towards the north Inhabitants are Yezidis few of them are Muslims
32. Gandah (B), Kandah (A) Gilī In the northern direction Inhabitants are Yezidis few of them are Muslims.
33. Mağnūniyyah Here dwells the chief of the followers, *awlād*, of the Šeyḫ 'Abd al-Qādir.[2] The village lies on the west of Balad Singār It was formerly called Ḥiyāl, but nowadays it is called by the name Mağnūniyyah or Mağnūnah, and its inhabitants know it by either name

[1] That is to say, of the Yezidi Amīr of Ğebel Singār There is also a Yezidi Amīr of Šeyḫān

[2] Šeyḫ 'Abd al-Qādir was one of the brothers of Šeyḫ 'Adī, Furlani, *Testi religiosi dei Yezidi*, Bologna, 1930, 17 and 38

34. Maharkān.[1] One of the villages south of Balad Sinǧār. Inhabitants are Yezidis: few of them are Muslims. This village lies on the side of the mountain Ǧalī Bīrīn.
35. Nugrī. Its inhabitants are Yezidis and few of them are Muslims. On the slope of the mountain in the northern district.
36. Nāranǧūk. Here dwell the tribes Danādiyyah[2] and Ṣū'ān.[3] It is one of the northern villages.
37. Yūsifān. In it dwell the tribes Danādiyyah and Ṣū'ān. It is one of the northern villages.
38. Yūsifkah or Tall Yūsifkā. One of the villages to the north. All are Yezidis and the Muslims among them are few.
39. Kānī Sārik.
40. Ačmā
41. Rambūsī or Rambūsiyyah. A village on the west of Balad Singār Its inhabitants are Yezidis.
42. Gābārah (B), Kābārah (A).
43. Wardiyyah
44. Māmīs.
45. Malag.
46. Adīkā.
47. Paštgīr (B), Paštkīr (A)
48. Barānā.
49. 'Ayn Gazāl.
50. Šārūk.
51. Šag'ū.
52. Šihābiyyah
53. Namīl.
54. Hamdān

al-'Azzāwī first gives a list of those of the above quoted villages which lie on the western side of Ǧebel Singār, on p. ١٠٣, then another, of the villages lying on the northern

[1] al-'Azzāwī, loc. cit, ١٥.
[2] al-'Azzāwī, loc cit, ١٤.
[3] al-'Azzāwī, loc cit., ١٦

slope, on pp. ١٠٣-١٠٤, and finally a list of the villages lying on the northern side from the west to the east. After a few remarks about the Muslims living on Ǧebel Sinǧār, he gives us the second of his lists of Yezidi villages in northern ʿIrāq.

YEZIDI VILLAGES IN THE REGION OF MOSSUL

1 Baʿšīqah [1] Yezidis, Muslims, and Christians The Yezidis who inhabit it are called Ṭāžiyyah (B)
2 Bahzānī [2] Yezidis, Muslims, and Christians The majority are Yezidis It is near Baʿšīqah The same
3 Mahad or Mahat Yezidis
4 Īsyān (A) or Īsbān (B) [3] Yezidis
5 ʿAyn Sufnī or Sifnī (B) [4] The centre of a *qāʾimma-qāmiyyah* Yezidis and few Muslims and Christians. It is the centre of a *qaḍāʾ*
6 Bāʿadrā Yezidis The village of the Amīr [5]
7. Būzān Yezidis
8 Ḫūrzah or Ḫūrzān Yezidis [6]
9 Mahmūdān Yezidis
10 Taftiyān or Taftiyān (B) Yezidis
11 Hatārā [7] Yezidis To be distinguished from Ḥatārā aṣ-Ṣugrà, which has only Muslims
12 Baybān [8] Yezidis
13 Ǧarrāhiyyah Yezidis

[1] There is a tribe called Baʿšīqah, its chief is Sādiq ibn Rašīd This tribe speaks Arabic, al ʿAzzāwī, loc cit, ٩٨

[2] The chief of the tribe Bahzānī is a certain Ḫidr Āgā ibn ʿAbdāl. This tribe, too, speaks Arabic, al-ʿAzzāwī, loc cit, ٩٨

[3] Īsbān seems to be the right spelling, and the first one, Īsyān, is very likely a misprint

[4] This village is mentioned in the subscriptions of the document presented by the Yezidis in the year 1872 to the Ottoman Government, Joseph, *AJSL*, xxv (1908), 156 and 247

[5] Of the Yezidi Amīr of Šeyḫān

[6] In the above-quoted document the name is spelled Huzrān, Joseph, loc cit, 155 and 247

[7] al-ʿAzzāwī, loc cit, ٩٧, it is a Kurdish tribe, Joseph, loc cit, 155 and 247

[8] Joseph, loc cit, 155 and 247

14. Bāpīrah or Bābīrā.[1] Yezidis.
15. Garay Pahan or Giray Pa'an (B) or Garaypān (A).[2] Its meaning is "the wide hill". Yezidis and with them are a few Nestorians.
16. Kabartū.[3] Yezidis Some houses belong to Nestorians.
17. Rubaybī. Yezidis. There are some Nestorian houses.
18. Mām Šabān, Mām Šībān (A). (Meaning) "our uncle the shepherd". Yezidis.
19. Ṣūrkah Yezidis.
20. Gutbah or Kūdbā Yezidis
21 Zaymiyyāt Yezidis.
22. Čambarkāt. Yezidis.
23 Ḫānik Yezidis.
24 Qabaq or Qabag. Yezidis. B says that this village and the preceding are *one* village[4]
25. Dihkān Yezidis[5]
26. Ḫuzšanah or Ḫuršanah (B)[6] Yezidis mixed with Nestorians.
27 Rakkābah. Yezidis.
28. Sīnah or Sīnā[7] Yezidis
29 Šeyḫ Ḫudrī or Ḫuḍrī Yezidis.
30. Šārī, Šāriyyah (A) Yezidis
31 Dūgāt Yezidis.
32 Sarīškah or Sarīčkā. Yezidis.
33 Baqqāq There are Tayyāriyyah, Muslims, and Yezidis.
34 Baybānī[8] Its inhabitants are Yezidis
35. Kays Qal'ah or Ğays Qalā To the east of Mossul
36 Ḥasaniyyah To the east of Mossul

[1] In this village there is a *šaḫs* of the Yezidi saint, Bāṭī Furlani, "I santi dei Yezidi," *Orientalia*, v, 70

[2] Joseph, loc cit, 155 and 247

[3] Joseph, loc cit, 156 and 247

[4] A makes a distinction between them

[5] Joseph, loc cit, 155 and 247

[6] Joseph, loc cit, 155 and 247 Huzrān is not the same name

[7] Joseph, loc cit, 156 and 247

[8] This village is omitted by B, Joseph, loc cit, 155 and 247

37 Ḥūšābah [1]
38. Ḥarāb Kūlk
39. Dūgātā or Dūgāt or Dūgayt [2] Its inhabitants are Yezidis
40 Sandānak Yezidi, but now its inhabitants are Muslims.
41 Šaraf Mīrān (A) One of the villages of the (Gebel) Maqlūb Its inhabitants are Muslims B has Šaraf Ḥayrān [3]
42 Šaraf Ǧabrān (B)
43 'Ayn Baqarah
44 Gar Ḥālis
45 Mirgay, Magārah (A), Mirgah (B)
46 Mūškān [4]

From the Villages in Šeyḥān

1 Bīrastak (B), Biristak (A)
2 Kābārā (A), Gābārah (B) [4]
3 Ǧagānah or Ǧagān
4 Ḥirbah Sālih
5 Qasir Yazdīn
6 Summayl There are now no Yezidis (B)
7 Bāqasrā.[4]
8 Ǧardānā (A), Ǧarwānā (B)
9 Muqbil
10 Kandālā
11 Dūšiqān With the meaning "two valleys" (B).
12 Milāčah Parā (A), Mil Čaparā (B)
13 Nusayriyyah (A), Nusayrī (B)
14 al-Mamān (A), Mamān (B)
15 Mašurfah or Mašurfī (B) or Mašurf (A)

[1] Joseph, loc cit, 155 and 247, Furlani, loc cit, 74
[2] This name is omitted by B
[3] In Joseph, loc cit, 156 and 247, we read Ḥayrū, but it is not the same name
[4] Joseph, loc cit, 155 and 247

Formerly Yezidi Villages

Names of some villages in which there were, in former times, Yezidis, but in which there are no more nowadays.

1. Šeyḫ Šiblī.
2. Sayfdīnān (B), Š.q.d.n.y.ān (A), on the Ḫāzir, which is a river that flows into the Upper Zāb
3. Šeyḫ Ḫāluk or Šeyḫukā.
4. Muḥammad Rašān. This is the right pronunciation of Mām Rašā.[1]
5. Šeyḫ Bizaynī
6. Mammūzayn
7. Qaryah 'Abd al-'Azīz (B)[2]

The list of Yezidi villages gives us also the names of some Yezidi saints which can be added to the list we have made for *Orientalia*, v, under the title " I santi dei Yezidi "

Finally we wish to point out that the list of al-'Azzāwī is not exhaustive and omits the names of some Yezidi villages.

GIUSEPPE FURLANI

[1] Joseph, loc cit, 155 and 247, Furlani, loc cit, 65, and note 2

[2] 'Abd al-'Azīz was one of the brothers of Šeyḫ 'Adī Furlani, *Testi*, 38

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Near East

ARABS OF CENTRAL IRAQ: THEIR HISTORY, ETHNOLOGY, AND PHYSICAL CHARACTERS. By HENRY FIELD, with Introduction by SIR ARTHUR KEITH. $12\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 474, pls 156, figs 48, maps 3. Anthropological Memoirs, Vol. IV. Chicago Field Museum of Natural History, 1935.

Mr Henry Field here brings the sheaves from his 1928 harvesting in the Middle Euphrates with calipers, anthropometer, and camera, and very welcome they are to the physical anthropologist whose Arab barn is comparatively empty The Arabs of his measurings are shown to be "a highly differentiated race" displaying "tendency to variability in a marked degree". The explanation is in part due, perhaps, to Iraq's mixed racial inheritance—Sumerian, Babylonian, Cassite, Persian, Mongol, yet the variability is of a nature which Sir Arthur Keith, in the introduction, regards as representing an evolutionary factor of importance Mr Field's early researches under Dr. L. H. Dudley Buxton at Kish in 1926 are here continued in his own extensive field work His subjects fall into three groups, (*a*) 398 Kish settled Arabs, (*b*) 38 Ba'ij beduin who roam the *jazīra* between the Two Rivers, and (*c*) 231 Iraqi soldiers recruited from up and down the land. For each individual, three measurements were made relating to stature, eleven to head features, and twenty-three other observations were noted. If pigmentation was left to eye-estimation rather than obtained by the regular standard colour-test, it is a single omission which serves to emphasize the meticulous care and exhaustiveness of the work as a whole. No less than nine indices are calculated for each individual—a stupendous task.

Mr Field's analysis of his data follows his tabulated statistics (these take up the bulk of the monograph), and is clearly illustrated by excellent graphs showing comparative

indices of his three groups Sir Arthur Keith's introduction, extending to 74 illuminating pages, is, in part, an empirical survey of the physical characters shown by the portraits (these consist of a beautiful series of 156 plates at the back of the book, a full-face and profile photograph of each individual measured, numbered to correspond with its particular table of statistics), and, in part, a synthesis of the data. In a series of charts, each important feature of one or other of Mr. Field's groups is taken in turn and correlated with its corresponding feature in groups of neighbouring peoples—Egyptians, Somalis, South Arabians, Armenoids, Chatris (United Provinces), and Pathans (Punjab)

Mr Field, whose investigations were continued in 1934 in other areas and extended to pre-historic researches, holds the opinion that the Arabs of Central Iraq are predominantly Mediterraneans The earliest known inhabitants of the North Arabian desert, he postulates, were dolicho-cephalic proto-Mediterraneans Desiccation drove those not content with a nomadic existence east and west, the former to settle in the Euphrates valley, where, in the fifth millennium B.C. they were overcome by Sumerians, presumably a brachy-cephalic people, these latter, in turn, to be overrun by later waves of longheads—a theory he considers to fit in best with ancient skulls excavated by the archæologists (long-headed from Kish and Ur, round-headed as well from the former place) and ascribed to the fourth millennium B C The cranial capacity of these ancient skulls, it is of interest to note, is 100 c c bigger than that of the modern Arab

Round headedness among his living Arabs—rare in Kish, with a tendency to increase in soldiers recruited from the Mosul area—is Armenoid in form (i.e a characteristic flattened occiput and short post-auricular dimension) and thought to be intrusive In this connection it has been noticed that the heads of rulers depicted on ancient South Arabian coins suggest that the intrusion was early and went deep (coast-wise ?). On the other hand, the reviewer found the brachy-

cephaly of modern South Arabia to be not purely Armenoid in form, generally lacking the characteristic heavy and convex Caucasoid nose, and being curiously linked with frizzy hair (not negritic), deep pigmentation, and other Hamitic features. As the survivals of the ancient South Semitic tongues are to be found exclusively among this group of round-headed tribes, so different from Mr. Field's dolicho-cephalic Mediterranean man, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that in the south there survives a residue of Arabia's ancient stock. and hence the problem of evolution of variant types within the peninsula is fraught with complexities.

Mr Field is to be warmly congratulated on this very notable contribution to the ethnology of Iraq—the word "history" seems to have got into the sub-title of this volume IV by mistake—and those interested in the problem of racial evolution of west Asiatic peoples will look forward, eagerly, to the publication of the results of his later field work (1934)

A 755. BERTRAM THOMAS

Far East

TRAVELS OF A CHINESE POET. TU FU, GUEST OF RIVERS AND LAKES, A D 712–770. Vol. II, A D 759–770 By FLORENCE AYSCOUGH. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 350, ills 17. London. Jonathan Cape, 1934 £1 1*s*

In this, the second and concluding volume of Tu Fu's autobiography, Mrs Ayscough has selected and translated those poems which most vividly tell the life-story of this famous poet-official of the Tang Dynasty. The first volume covered the periods of childhood, youth, and middle-age, and gave us a description of the brilliant court life at Chang An, where Tu Fu took part in affairs of state under Ming Hwang, the Bright Emperor. But in the volume under review the shadows begin to lengthen, and we see, as in a horizontal scroll, a tired traveller nearing the end of his journey through mist, rain, and storm.

Tu Fu, while holding office as Imperial Censor, had given offence to the Emperor Su Tsung, who caused him to be sent to far distant Hwa Chou as a minor official. He was only forty-seven years of age when he was finally driven from this last humble appointment by drought, famine, and rebellion He compares himself to drifting thistledown and writes:

" For the remains of my life I will tarry by rivers and streams
Living familiar among woodcutters and fisherfolk."

Eleven years spent as a " Guest of Rivers and Lakes " were productive of a large collection of poems Pleasures of his earlier life reappear in such lines as

" Again leading lovely ladies we embark
In boats festooned with bright silk hangings."

And there were occasions when the poet was fêted by high officials and enjoyed once more the reflected glory of the " Son of Heaven ", but most of the poems describe the simpler joys and sorrows of a wanderer seeking only shelter and food, and peace for himself and his little family.

" In mid-moon of Summer much water flows,
At bright hour of dawn I visit small garden
Little boat slides across breadth of jade-grey stream,
On branches shine masses of scarlet fruit
I come because hills and streams are peaceful,
Am driven, to avoid clamour from market well

Fifty *mou* of vegetable fields wind round my thatched dwelling,
For ourselves there is enough to gladden the evening platter "

Tu Fu died in A D 770 in poverty and exile, but, on the site of his small thatched dwelling by Washing Flowers Stream near Cheng Tu, there now stands a temple, a national memorial to honour the man who was not only an outstanding example of the incorruptible official, but a poet who ranks with Li Po

as one of the chief writers of the Tang Dynasty, the greatest period of Chinese literature.

The poems were translated from the *Tu Hsih Ching Ch'uan* —"Mirror which Reflects the knowledge and Estimates the Quality of Tu Fu's Poems." The task confronting the translator who attempts to render into English a Chinese poem can only be appreciated by a careful reading of the original text. The monosyllabic form of the language, the tones and rhythmic balance, the terse idiom and repetition of characters, together with the concentration of meaning and allusion in a single phrase, produce an effect which cannot be brought over into an alien tongue. Referring to some of these difficulties Mrs Ayscough compares her work with the decoding of a modern cablegram and believes that "the translator should cling to the form, text, and idiom of the original as closely as possible". To accomplish this she has frequently omitted articles, conjunctions, and other "empty words" which do not appear in the Chinese text The result in English is sometimes disturbing, but in this volume of word pictures, vivid and sincere, the reader must feel something of the emotion which inspired the poet when he wrote of rivers and streams, beside which, Confucius said, the wise man lives.

Mrs. Ayscough has rendered a real service in placing before us this large collection of eighth century poems The book is well produced and attractively illustrated by Lucille Douglas.

A. 255. HILDA ARTHURS STRONG.

ESSAI SUR LES GAMMES JAPONAISES. Par NOEL PERI. Bibliothèque Musicale du Musée Guimet. Deuxième Série, Tome I 11 × 9, pp. v + 70. Paris Paul Geuthner, 1934. 25 Fr.

This is a work of importance. Although printed from an unfinished manuscript of the author, it contains a considerable amount of new material which enables us to apprehend the

theory and structure of Japanese music with greater ease than has hitherto been the case.

Until the appearance of this work, the most trustworthy analysis of Japanese music was Sir Francis Piggott's *Music and Musical Instruments of Japan* (2nd edit, 1909), and the earlier *Einige Notizen uber die japanische Musik* of Dr. Muller which appeared in the *Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft fur Natur-und Volkerkunde Ostasiens* (1874–6) Not that the present work displaces either of these valuable books, which are still indispensable to students of the subject, but rather that it must be considered a necessary supplement to them

The author, the late Noel Peri (1865–1922), was a French Roman Catholic missionary who spent sixteen years (1890–1906) in Japan Being a trained musician possessing a thorough knowledge of Japanese he was invited to teach Western music at the Tokio Conservatory of Music, a position which he held for ten years (1896-1906) Although his missionary work and teaching must have left him with little leisure he seems to have found time to make an examination of the bases of Japanese music, the most important contribution to which is the present essay

Noel Peri divides his essay into four parts (1) Le *Gagaku*, (2) Le *Ritsu* populaire ou plagal; (3) Le *Zoku-gaku*; and (4) *Zoku-gaku* populaire, the last two parts being left unfinished by the author Several fragments, also unfinished, have been introduced by the editors as appendices

The book has been edited by M Philippe Stern, the Assistant Director of the Musée Guimet, who has also added a table of the Japanese modes following the classification of Noel Peri. One feels, however, that the editing might have been improved by the addition of footnotes in many cases where the author's opinion is in conflict with other writers

A short biography of the author has been contributed by M Serge Elisseev and there is an excellent Bibliography. In the latter one misses the contribution of M Maurice Courant

on Japanese Music to Lavignac's *Encyclopédie de la musique* (Paris, 1913), and there is also the omission of Hirosi Endo's *Bibliography of Oriental and Primitive Music* (Tokio, 1929). Neither the bibliographer nor the biographer mentions Noël Peri's *Études sur le drame lyrique japonais* which appeared in the *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême Orient*, 1909.

A 630. HENRY GEORGE FARMER.

THE LAST OF THE EMPRESSES. By DANIELE VARÈ. 8¾ × 6¼, pp xiii + 258, ills. 13. London: John Murray, 1936. 15s.

The personality of the Old Buddha exercises a fascination over all who have written on the history of China in the nineteenth century The writer of the present volume belongs, quite unashamedly, to judge from his preface, to the romantic group of biographers His book gives a delightful and easily read picture of the part played by the great Dowager Empress. We are still too near the events to estimate exactly her historical position, but we have on the other hand still the advantage of the presence amongst us of so many survivors of the old Peking. Those who wish for a pleasant account of Yehonala, to give the great lady yet another name, will enjoy reading a very carefully written book, which throws quite a lot of light on many controversial problems.

A 635 L. H. D. BUXTON.

India

RECHERCHES ARCHÉOLOGIQUES AU COL DE KHAIR KHANEH PRÈS DE KĀBUL. Par J. HACKIN, avec la collaboration de J. CARL. Tome VII. Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan. pp. 38, pl. xxiv, ills. 14, map 1. Paris: Les Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1936. Frs 80.

This short but admirable Memoir contains an account of the excavation, during 1934, of a small group of remains on the hill-side above the Khair Khaneh Pass, some twelve

kilometres north-west of Kābul The remains, which date from the fourth or fifth century A.D., comprise a shrine with three separate chambers surrounded by a *pradakshiṇā patha* under one roof, a few subsidiary buildings, and what is thought to have been an open-air altar with an enclosure approximately semicircular in plan, on one side of it Among other objects found in the ruins of the shrine were a fine seated image of white marble representing Sūrya with two attendants and the pedestal of another statue of the same material, of which only the feet and the figure of the donor have survived The unusual plan of this shrine has suggested to the authors a comparison with the small Śiva temple at Bhumara in Nāgod State, Central India, and with two other temples at Nachna-Kuthara and Deoguna respectively, in the same neighbourhood, but, so far as the first two temples are concerned, it is to be noted that the similarity extends only to the presence of a *pradakshinā-patha* around the *garbha-griha*, not to the presence of three separate chambers; and the *pradakshinā patha* is a feature which is common enough among Indian temples of the medieval period On the strength of its peculiar tunic and head-dress, resembling the fashions of Shāpur II, Ardashir II, and Shāpur III (A D 309–388), the Sūrya statue is assigned by the authors, and no doubt rightly, to the fifth century A D *À propos* of it, they devote a most interesting chapter to a discussion of various Sūrya images and show how there were two distinct types in India an earlier one of Indian (or should we rather say "Indo-Greek"?) origin, in which the Sun God is depicted in his chariot either alone or attended by his two women archers—as, for example, in the well-known relief of the first century B C. at Bodh-Gayā, the other—a later Iranian type—in which he appears accompanied by his two male acolytes, Pingala and Daṇḍa—the one a bearded scribe, the other a beardless warrior. As to these acolytes, MM Hackin and Carl also show—that had not previously been suspected—that they are directly traceable to a western origin, having their prototypes in Azizos and

Monimos (= Phosphoros and Hesperos), who stood beside the Sun God in his famous temple at Edessa, in the Dioscuri and in the Kabiri, who like Pingala and Daṇḍa are sometimes represented, the one bearded, the other beardless. The marble figure of a donor is clearly in the same style as some of the fifth century clay figures at Jauliāñ, near Taxila, and is no doubt a product of the same Indo-Afghān School. Judging by many similar articles of the first century A.D. from Sirkap, the toilet dish figured in pl. xxiii, 31, may be somewhat earlier than the date (second to third century A D.) assigned to it by the authors Like all its fellows in the same series, the Memoir is beautifully printed and illustrated

A. 703. JOHN MARSHALL.

BṚHADĀRAṆYAKA-UPANIṢAD. Translated by ÉMILE SENART. Collection ÉMILE SENART, vol iii. 8 × 5¼, pp. xxviii + 137. Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres", 1934

The present translation of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-upaniṣad* is published as a posthumous work A short analysis, less detailed than that devoted to Senart's rendering of the *Chāndogya-upaniṣad*, is added by A. Foucher, the editor, assisted by L. Renou and N Stchoupak , and the editors have wisely printed the text and translation on opposite pages, so that the two may be readily compared. As is usual with this Upanisad, Senart had based his rendering on the Kānva recension of the text

As all translations are interpretations, especially if they deal with the ambiguous language of Upanisadic Sanskrit, we are deeply interested in the many explanatory notes added by Senart himself. Most of his doubts about the subject matter and its adequate rendering fall inevitably under the common head that he, like all Western thinkers, has difficulty in following Indian logic, which is fundamentally based on a different mode of thought. Speaking roughly, it is physical

(ontological) logic, not the purely rational logic of Western tradition, for, as the editors suggest (p. xv), Indian thought is polar The *neti-neti* definition of *brahman* (the "not-only-this" and the "not-only-that', i e. the "all-in-one-being") is elucidated by the saying of Scotus Erigena, so strange to the general run of Western logic, that "Deus propter *excellentiam* non immerito *nihil* vocatur" India has on the whole an aversion to limits, definitions, separations, and thus to the importance of single facts and personalities, and sees the basic value in all that is not narrowed down to a definite size—the zero is the no-thing as well as indefiniteness or both in one (*ex-cellens* and *nihil*, cf *abhvam* and *śūnya* "void", which cannot be dissociated from "*śūna*", "swollen", "immense") See for further details of this interpretation my arguments in the *Proceedings of the XIX International Congress of Orientalists*, Rome, 1935

In India's physical logic must be sought the explanation of facts such as the strange ambiguity of the term *satya*, the primary and predominant meaning of which is "existent", and as such is ontologically "true" (cf. Senart's notes, pp 29, 67, and 94), the same interpretation is suggested by the whole sixth *prapāthaka* of the *Chāndogya-upanisad.* Senart hints again that the Indian basis of thought is not merely formal logic, when on p 2 he translates *arkatvam* not as the abstract *idea* of *arka*, but as "the name *arka*", that is, name as the concrete and magical essence of the thing expressed

His doubts as to the correct rendering of *upās* also tend to prove India's synopsis of functions and modes of thought which Western logic keeps carefully apart. Not accepting the translation of it by Boethlingk, Deussen, and others as merely "spiritual adoration", Senart renders it in most passages (cf pp 12, 16, 92) by "consider", because this term is also applied to the act of sexual intercourse (p 112). Since then St Schayer and J Przyluski have taken this interpretation further, the latter rendering *upās* as "pay homage"

and "recognize" ("know"), while Schayer, stressing the magical and not the logical meaning of the word, interprets it as "gain for oneself". The literal translation of *upa-ās* is "sit towards" a thing, that is to insist on sharing in a thing in thought and thus in reality, to get hold of the thing in order to attain participation in it. In *Chānd. Up.*, VI, *upa-sad* (cf *upa-ni-ṣad*) is similarly used to express the magical desire which, as in sacrifice, compels the realization of its aim as a result of the poured-out energy of mental concentration, an activity therefore (not merely passive adoration) which is bound to obtain the reaction it seeks. In this point, too, Indian thought is not confined to merely rational knowledge, but comprehends the vital forces as well.

Another crux for the Western mind lies in the manifold view which Indian thought takes of the relationship between various things. Similarity in quantity, or proximity in time or space may supply the basis for identifications in India, equally with logical or psychological connections. Hence the doubts expressed by Senart, pp 92 and 110, as well as the difficulties which confront Western thinkers when they try to account for the manifold linkings of the Buddhist *pratītya-samutpāda* This manner of identification becomes clear in some cases to Western interpreters as soon they realize India's different presuppositions with respect to the theory of perception. For according to Indian dogma it is, as a rule, not the sense-organ that grasps the thing, but the object that obtains physical and after that logical possession of the organ of reception. This explains the "strange" identification (Senart, p. 33) between the ocean as receptacle of all streams that flow into it and the skin, the organ of touch, the receptacle of all contacts. The activity does not arise from the organ (the *graha*), but from the object (the *ati-graha*, p 44), as such, the *arthas* are treated in *Ka. Up.*, III, 10, as higher in rank than the merely receptive organs.

A most useful attempt has been made by Senart to trace the connections between the Upaniṣads and the later systems.

Thus he points out (p 49) that the basic ideas of the *Sāṁkhya* system are already contained in the speculations on the *tantus*, i e. *guṇas* (add the three *dhātus*, *rūpas*, *bījas*); and he sees the conception of the *mahābhūtas* in the early *bhūtas* of *Chānd. Up* (pp 78 and 88). We may add further indications of later *Sāmkhya* ideas in *Chānd. Up.*, vi. The conception of the *sat* there is parallel to the later conceptions of the *pradhānam* or *avyaktam* (cf Śankara's explanation of *avyaktam* in *Ka Up*, III, 11, for which he employs the very simile of the *sat* of *Chānd Up*, VI *avyaktam* is *śakti* i e the potential productive power of the fig-tree (which is latent already in its kernel), furthermore, the emanation of the psychic organs from primeval matter is already conceived in *Chānd. Up*, VI, and its idea of the threefold mixture of all manifested things anticipates the *Sāmkhya* doctrine of the three *guṇas* as constituents of all forms, etc The old Upanisads in fact laid the foundations of all the later systems, as may be seen when on p 6 Senart finds the later Buddhist pessimism (not towards life, but towards its passing into death) in *Bṛ. Up*, or when on p xviii S or his editors emphasize that "as early as the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-upaniṣad* the *karma* theory was not a mystery to be lightly touched on in passing, but a fully developed dogma" A further anticipation of later systematics may be found in the use of the term *mīmāmsaka* here, as well as in other early Upanisads

It goes without saying that on some occasions it is not unreasonable to adopt a mode of translation (or interpretation) other than that followed by Senart For instance his rendering of *pratirūpam* as "beau", "handsome", p 25, seems less adequate than the simple and literal translation, "counter-form." The image in the waters may be compared with a son, both are "facsimiles" of the original form, the latter being a reflection of qualities inherited from his parents

To sum up, India's polar view and consequent ambiguity will never admit of a definite and clear-cut Western interpretation, though Senart's translation may be considered the relatively most adequate P. H.

THE BIRTH OF INDIAN PSYCHOLOGY AND ITS DEVELOPMENT IN BUDDHISM. By Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$, pp. xii + 444. London: Luzac & Co., 1936.

In the twenty years that have elapsed since Mrs. Rhys Davids published her *Buddhist Psychology* in the Quest series, her views, as set out in a number of books and articles, have undergone substantial change, and the volume under review, as its title indicates, is an entirely rewritten version of the earlier work, enlarged by nine introductory chapters on psychology in earlier Indian literature. The first impression made by the book is the note of surprise running through it that her latest results have found so little acceptance among a younger generation of scholars, and, in view of the magnificent services she has rendered in the past to the cause of Buddhist research, she has surely earned the courtesy of an explanation, however brief, why this should be so

Psychology, as a separate science attempting to give a complete account of man on his mental and emotional side, was unknown in India during the period under discussion, but several aspects of it were explored with objects in view which differed entirely from those of the modern psychologist If the nature and extent of those inquiries are to be exactly appreciated, we must first form some conception of the historical order of development as well as of the purposes towards which they were directed. In these respects Mrs. Rhys Davids has this to her credit that she has been a pioneer in recognizing the existence of the problem and in attempting to find a solution, moreover she has collected many passages from the Pāli Canon and, in the present volume, from the Upaniṣads, which have not been adequately considered by others from this point of view. Yet the outcome to most of us is unconvincing. In part the love of the irregular in method, to which she admits, is to blame, and, as her treatment of the Upaniṣads is dependent on her views about Buddhism, my remarks are confined to the latter

We are perhaps all agreed nowadays that the Pāli Canon, though often preserved in an older state than such fragments of the canons of other schools as have come down to us, contains little early and much late matter, and most of us believe that the separation of the older from the newer can only be achieved by minute and laborious inquiries, based on the principles of the higher criticism and on comparison with all the sources, including the Tibetan and Chinese translations, which are not yet adequately available to us. Mrs Rhys Davids, however, whose detailed knowledge of the Pāli Canon is generally recognized to be unequalled, prefers to work by intuition, in order to determine the original teaching of the Buddha and the extent to which it was denatured by his followers, and thus she often believes herself able to distinguish in a sūtra those parts which represent old views from the later additions and to point out where the original text has been suppressed The picture she thus suggests of the process by which the canon took its present shape is in many respects directly opposed to what we know of the manner in which sacred texts in India have been inflated through interpolation and addition, but inevitably in most cases absolute disproof of her assertions is as much out of the question as absolute proof In one instance it is, however, possible to see to what mistaken results her methods can lead, namely in the remarks on pp 185–6 on the closing sutta of the *Majjhima* So far from its beginning being old and from its end being a later substitution for the original ending, the whole belongs to the same period and is one of the latest pieces in the collection, for, as I have pointed out elsewhere, the parallels in Brahmanical literature and the *Vibhāsā* show the real issue to be the difference between the views of the Hīnayāna Buddhists and of the earlier teachers of Yoga on a disputed point in the practical working of yoga. It is impossible not to suspect similar misconceptions in many other cases where equally cogent proof is lacking

This particular instance also contains its lesson for the

second aspect in which disagreement is often felt with Mrs. Rhys Davids' views. She looks on early Buddhism as a question of "Becoming", of "the More" and "the Less in Man", and denies, contrary to the general tendency of modern thought, that the practice of yoga was then an essential part of the system, thus she refuses, for instance, to see in the word *dhyāna* any technical significance till a much later age. It may be that she understands by yoga only the Yoga of the classical period, but I for one feel forced to hold, unless we are to deny all validity to the earliest, as well as to the latest parts of the canon, that some form of mystic meditation, to which no name but yoga can well be given, constituted an essential element of Buddhism from the start and was supposed to have certain effects that we should consider both psychical and physical. Thus her constructive formulation of the Buddha's doctrines appears to me to be at complete variance with all we know of Indian thought in the sixth century B C. and to be too impregnated with modern ideas to offer a satisfying solution of a singularly difficult problem

To sum up, this volume cannot be carefully studied without arousing in the reader admiration for Mrs Rhys Davids' knowledge of the canon, nor without profiting him by compelling him to ponder on the true bearing of the evidence she brings forward, but it will also leave most of us with the conviction that for the correct understanding of such psychological ideas as were developed in India during this period other and stricter methods must be employed Yet let me add that her book is not addressed solely to the captious race of scholars, and perhaps her teaching, however much it misrepresents the original significance of Buddhist thought, may prove an inspiration to Buddhists of the present day who seek to re-interpret the ancient tenets of their religion in the light of modern knowledge and modern conditions

A. 614. E. H JOHNSTON.

ENCYCLOPÆDIA MUNDARICA. By Rev. JOHN HOFFMANN, S.J., in collaboration with Rev. ARTHUR VAN EMELEN. Vols. VIII–X $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 2147–3173, letters K, L, M, N, and O. Patna Supdt Govt Printing, Bihar and Orissa, 1933–4. Rs 6, for each volume.

These volumes maintain the high standard of their predecessors It is very unfortunate that not long after the publication of the work commenced the Rev Fr Hoffmann, who was its principal author, passed away, and quite recently his collaborator, the Rev A van Emelen, also suddenly died of heart failure Fortunately, however, the materials had already been collected by the late Father Hoffmann with the help of his colleagues in the Catholic Mission of Chota Nagpur; and the compilation of all the Parts was completed before Father van Emelen's sad death What now remains to be done is only to see the remaining volumes through the press. We trust a competent hand will do this

In respect of the meaning and scope of Munḍārī words, and the descriptions of objects and customs, the information contained in these volumes is generally accurate. But some inferences and opinions of the authors will not command general assent Thus under the word "Kili", the authors give a list of clan-names, many of which, as the authors admit, are names of animals, birds, fishes, reptiles, insects, trees and plants, minerals, etc , and although mention is made of certain taboos still connected with some of these, yet they go on to say that "Taboos can exist without totemism, and the mere existence among the Munḍas of a partial number of taboos, and mitigated ones at that, does not make their clans totemic, does not even prove that they had been so" (pp 2429–2430) Later this statement is modified or explained as follows "Our conclusion is, it cannot be proved that the Munḍa clans ever were totemic, and it cannot be proved they never were" No ethnologist, we think, can endorse this opinion in the face of the facts set forth by the authors themselves In fact, when the authors go from facts to theories,

anthropologists cannot always see eye to eye with them. In the matter of facts, too, the authors' inquiries appear to have been limited to data obtainable in Chota Nagpur, or a part of it alone. Thus, under the word "Kharia", we are told that "there are two branches in the tribe, the elder and the younger . . . cow's flesh is taboo to the first, whilst the other may freely partake of it. Another tribe of aborigines, the Dhelkis, though speaking Kharia, are not, however, considered by the two branches as being true Kharias, for the reason that they tattoo their women". Here the Hill Kharia section of the tribe, whose principal centre is the Mayurbhanj State of Orissa, and who are also found in the Manbhum and Singbhum districts of Chota Nagpur, are altogether ignored. Nor is there sufficient reason for saying that the Dhelki section are not true Kharias Not only language, but close similarity and, in many cases, identity of customs point to their being different branches of the same tribe

Another defect is perhaps the prolixity of the discussions under a few words In spite of these shortcomings, these volumes form a standing monument to the authors' industry, their intimate knowledge of the Muṇḍa language and customs, history, and traditions, and, last but not least, their keen sympathy with the Mundas

A. 401 S C ROY

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA AN ETHNOLOGICAL STUDY By G. J. HELD $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. vii + 348. London Kegan Paul, 1935.

This volume is described as an ethnological study, its purpose then is in the first place to determine and define the form of human society represented in the Epic. Only after this has been done will it be profitable to examine in detail the Epic itself.

What then is the social organization described? The author stresses the fact that the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas

are represented as brothers; there was thus an intimate family relationship between the two contending parties.—

"The relation between the two parties is undoubtedly pictured by the poet as a phratry-relation . The Kauravas are the elder, the Pāṇḍavas the younger brothers The Asuras are on the side of the Kauravas, the Devas on the side of the Pāṇḍavas The Kauravas lose, the Pāṇḍavas gain in power During the actual battle the Kauravas are drawn up in the east, their faces turned to the west, so they fought with their faces backward (paśchāṅmukha) like the Daityas, the Pāṇḍavas fighting with their faces front (prāṅmukha) like the Devas. 'Śiva . lives with the Kurus' Krishna-Vishnu belongs to the Pāṇḍavas There is no mention of a succession of royal dynasties, but simply of two separate groups related to each other as are the twin phratries of a tribe"

The dice-playing episode, which is—as has been demonstrated by Mauss—nothing but an episode in a gigantic potlatch, is consistent with the idea of a group dualism These groups the author refers to as phratries, and this is well enough, provided that the term phratry is not used in too precise a sense If this be granted, the question arises whether a phratry relationship such as Dr Held argues existed between the contending parties in the Epic can be considered to fit the social structure of India during the period of creation of the Epic The author seems to have little doubt as to the answer, and without endorsing all that he writes about the potlatch it must be admitted that the following is very much to the point —

"In the [potlatch] opportunities present themselves of bringing about alterations in the social hierarchy On such occasions the rival parties encounter one another in ceremonial contests and even in hostile combat, . they attempt to outrival one another and to make one another 'feel small' by displaying an excessive liberality and revelling in a forced extravagance"

Moreover, Dr Held believes that there is evidence that in

relatively primitive societies characters inherent in clan-organization still continue to exist after exogamy has given way to endogamy, i.e. there are groups within the society which continue to behave in some respects as if they were clans. Thus the older social structure, characterized by a phratry-like dualism, persists functionally after the phratries themselves have ceased to exist.

The discussion in the first chapter concerning caste, exogamy, and hypergamy, is particularly interesting Caste is derived from the clan, one group (again the author uses the term phratry) is higher than the other. As exclusiveness becomes intensified, co-operation lessens, or at any rate assumes new forms, and this Dr Held takes to be the dynamic element in the formation of castes

As to the date of the Epic, Dr Held claims that in broad outline the poem must have existed simultaneously with the social system it illustrates, which he considers is probably the period of the Brāhmanas

A. 482 C G SELIGMAN.

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE THIRD DYNASTY OF VIJAYANAGAR By N VENKATA RAMANAYYA Madras University Historical Series, No 11 $10\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$, pp xxxvii + 537. Madras University of Madras, 1935

Of Tuluva history (the dynasty lasted but two generations) Dr Venkata Ramanayya concerns himself only with the fourteen years following the death of Krishna Rāya, in the course of which the ambitions of wicked uncles reduced the royal lineage to impotence. This limitation enables him to deal squarely with the mass of material with which the historian of Vijayanagar is apt to be snowed under

The reign of Krishna Rāya opens the "Augustan Age" of Telugu literature, the characteristic feature of which is the *prabandha*, a variety of *kāvya* enriched with allusions to contemporary political and socal life. In these poems, *inter*

alia, Dr. Venkata Ramanayya finds a valuable "source" for his main theme, the administrative, social, and religious aspects of South Indian civilization in the early sixteenth century; provided always that it is checked with the evidence of inscriptions and contemporary writers such as Paes, Nuniz, and Barbosa on which he freely draws

Of the weakness of his sources he is well aware, for only a fraction of the literary and epigraphic material has been critically edited, the "Mackenzie MSS." are still pathetically neglected, and the architecture, painting, and sculpture of the period have not yet been seriously studied He is discreet, however, in the selection of his facts, and orderly in their arrangement Perhaps his chapter on taxation is the best, but in a book so well balanced it is hard to discriminate. He writes with detachment, untainted with advocacy, and he mercifully spares his readers citations from the Sanskrit scriptures of Northern India His picture of Tuluva India is very like the South India of yesterday

In an appendix he identifies the "Catuir" of Nuniz with Kāyattār in Tinnevelly, in another he explodes the pretty story of the foundation of the Nāyaka dynasty of Madura A map of administrative divisions would be helpful, the publications listed under "abbreviations" ought to be dated. On pp 302, 382 the numbering of his "sections" has gone wrong

A 573

F. J. RICHARDS.

THE CENTRAL STRUCTURE OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE AND ITS PRACTICAL WORKING UP TO THE YEAR 1657 By (†) IBN HASAN $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp ix + 398, pls 4. London Oxford University Press, 1936. 18*s* net.

This substantial volume, a successful thesis for the London Ph D, contains much good work and the promise of better work to come, a promise frustrated by the author's untimely death Based on very wide reading, it reviews in succession

the activities of the emperor himself and of his principal ministers, as well as the judicial system of the time: the organization of the Imperial Service was reserved for separate treatment, but in other respects the survey is complete. With one exception the account of the various departments seems to me to be satisfactory, though the description of judicial procedure could have been strengthened by including the observations of the Dutch merchant Geleynssen de Jongh, of which I gave a version in the *Journal of Indian History* for April, 1925 The exception is the relation of the general with the revenue administration, where it seems to me that the author did not quite get to the root of the matter; but to explain this would require a lengthy disquisition, so I must content myself with a caveat and the suggestion that an examination of various passages containing the phrase *mulkī wa mālī* would have carried the discussion further

The author's attitude to his authorities is as a rule reasonable, but it seems to me that he overrated (p 27) the compilation of de Laet, which he placed next to Monserrate among the European records, while he depreciated Roe, Terry, and Pelsaert, who are de Laet's most important sources for the Mughal court the compiler is not above his sources except in the manner of presentation The statement (p 26) that Monserrate said jāgīrs were hereditary is based on the published translation, but I have shown in the *Journal of Indian History* for April, 1936, that it does not appear in the text A more general fault is the tendency to follow the original authorities too closely a good deal of superfluous matter is thus carried over into the thesis, while Chapter III on Farmāns is nearly as difficult as the crabbed original. Such defects do not, however, detract materially from the value of the work. The book is well printed, and the only slip I have noticed is the omission of two ciphers in the equivalent given for a kror of dāms on p. 282.

A 758. W. H. MORELAND.

LE DICT DE PADMA PADMA THANG YIG MS de Lithang. Traduit du Thibétain par GUSTAVE-CHARLES TOUSSAINT. Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises. Vol III, pp 540 Paris E. Leroux, 1933.

This work is a complete translation of the famous compilation in which the legend of Padmasambhava, the Guru Rin po c'e, as he is usually called in Tibet, has been set out at length The work of course is not unique. Round the celebrated figure of the so-called founder of Lamaism centred a vast literature which has not yet been properly studied, but which is likely to throw great light upon the traditions and religious development of Tibet M Toussaint is to be congratulated upon attempting a full translation of such an extensive and difficult work as the *Urgyan Guru Pad ma abyun gnas kyi rnam t'ar rgyas pa gser gyi p'ren pa t'ar lam gsal byed*

But, as I had occasion to point out when reviewing in this Journal the translation of the biography of Nāropā [1] by the late Professor Grunwedel, it must be admitted that very few translators of Tibetan works seem to have as yet realized that mere knowledge of the Tibetan language is not enough for arriving at the proper meaning of these difficult texts, which are, as a rule, permeated with mystic ideas and continually refer to tantric practices or to esoteric doctrines, without a knowledge of which any attempt at translation can hardly be successful

I quote the very beginning of the book M Toussaint translates —

La princesse Mandāravā
et Kālasiddhi de la ville Où-macère-la-Laine
et Çākyadevī la Nepālaise
et Mangalā meneuse de chiens l'Himālayenne
et encore Reine-de-la-Mer-de-Gnose
elles cinq qui vinrent au cœur du Maître
ayant en vue l'orientation de conquête

[1] Oct, 1935, pp 677–688, *À propos* the legend of Naropa

et la permanence des Trois Joyaux
et l'accord des deux doctrines dissemblables
ayant en vue les voies des Textes et des Formules et le dogme d'absolue sagesse,
la propitiation par les charmes d'approche
et l'intuition qui saisit les maximes de vérité,
ont fixé pour l'avenir pur, puis déposé mystérieusement
en dix mille neuf cents recensions, l'Histoire
de l'œuvre vaste où se donna corps, verbe, esprit,
le Maître d'Oḍḍiyāna Padmasambhava

The translation should be as follows —

The princess Mandāravā and Kālasiddhi of Bal-abans and Śākyadevī (printed text—*deva*) of Nepal and bkra šis k'ye adren [1] the Mon and the woman Ye šes mts'o rgyal, these five women entered the heart of the Master [2]; (then desiring) to be the leaders of men having the Karmic capacity of being converted, to establish (the supremacy) of the three jewels and to compose all disagreement between the two kinds of teachings,[3] and aiming at a proper understanding of the right meaning of the true revelation (contained) in the sūtra and the tantras (representing) the essential teaching of the gnosis (*prajñā*) and of the praxis (*upāya*) and in the appendices (formed) by the instructions concerning the secret *mantras* [4] they compiled 10,900 biographies of Padmasambhava, the Guru of Orgyan which expound fully his merits in the three

[1] All xylographs and manuscripts at my disposal read *k'ye ḍdren*, *K'ye* is the name of a disease *Mon* is the generical name for the non-Tibetan tribes of the frontier

[2] The five goddesses enter into Padmasambhava, here considered as the supreme reality, in order to be unified with his *vajrakāya* and to obtain from him the spiritual inspiration of the things which they will reveal This is the usual process of tantric revelation I may here refer to the beginning of the Guhyasamāja, where each of the five *tathāgatas* expounds his *vidyā* after entering the body of Mahāvajradhara and emanating again from him

[3] Viz the two *yānas*

[4] This passage refers to the tantric classification of Mahāyāna literature into three groups (*a*) Sūtras of the Prajñāpāramitā section, (*b*) *mantra* section, (*c*) *guhyamantra* section.

planes, the physical, the verbal, and the spiritual: adding to them the prophecies of the future, they hid them.[1]

Another example —

A celui-là le ciel occidental Disposé-en-Lotus.

Se déclatant au sol en damiers d'or,

Il cherche et il ne trouve plus le nom éteint du Meru terrestre

Étendant frondaisons et fleurs de l'arbre de l'Éveil,

il cherche et il ne trouve plus le nom éteint des plants fruitiers et des forêts

Plongeant au Gange de la concentration,

il cherche et il ne trouve plus le nom éteint des rus et des fleuves.

Dedans l'arc flamboyant de la sagesse comprise,

il cherche et il ne trouve plus le nom éteint du feu du monde.

This passage seems to me quite unintelligible, but the Tibetan text is quite clear and contains the description of the world in which the western Paradise is situated "There, in the western quarter there is a world called Padmavyūha · there with the exception of the golden surface appearing to the eyes even the name of (any other kind) of soil—mountains or rocks—is not known, and even if one searches for it one cannot find it With the exception of the ripe fruits of the tree of illumination even the name of (other) gardens and fruit-trees is unknown, and even if one searches for them one cannot find them With the exception of the flowing stream possessed of the eight qualities of meditation not even the name of (other) kind of water is known, and if one searches for it one cannot find it With the exception of the flames of that fire which is the gnosis, not even the name of mundane fire is known, and if one searches for it one cannot find it."[2]

I have chosen these two examples out of many which I could easily find on every page The conclusion is that the *Padma t'an yig* still awaits a translator

N R 41 GIUSEPPE TUCCI.

[1] And owing to this fact they are called *gter ma*

[2] This description is quite in accordance with that of the *Sukhāvatīvyuha*, pp 36 ff

THE BUDDHIST PHILOSOPHY OF UNIVERSAL FLUX. An exposition of the philosophy of critical realism as expounded by the school of Dignāga. By SATKARI MOOKERJEE. 10 × 6½, pp. xiv + 448. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1935.

This essay is a university thesis which the writer was sufficiently wise to withhold from publication for some three years of revision. Had he made these thrice three he had been yet wiser This is not to derogate from the merits of the work thus revised, it is but the suggestion, that a theme so ambitious as this in religion or philosophy or both, should largely be the outcome of at least a decade of spiritual (not merely of intellectual and physical) maturing. The hothouse growth, engendered in preparing such a thesis for a degree, needs to be tested by a span of less artificially forced manuring. Had this been done, it is possible that, say by the year 1944, he might have come to see things in truer perspective.

Thus, restricting wisely enough his exposition, with regard to the extraordinary breadth of title of his chair, he has aimed at giving "without the historical side" (p xxxvi) or "the purely idealistic side", the metaphysic and epistemology of Dignāga's Sautrantika philosophy, of about A.D 500. Of this study we are invited to read over 440 pages Now it will be perhaps called a Philistine view to say, that since there are not and probably never will be more than fifty persons in the whole world who are wanting to know what Dignāga, cross-legged, will have thought about these topics, it was not a profitable task to lay before us. The one thing it might be to our interest to know is just the *history* of Dignāga, how, if at all, and why, is he a link in the human thought that eventually has brought us from the Veda poet, from Yājña-valkya, from Kapila, from Gotama of the Śākyas to us of to-day We must, of course, know Dignāga's thought to answer this, but a tithe of the 440 pages had sufficed for that. In the brief introduction the author flings himself with zest into the *tabu*-ed history, and we read gladly.

But it is as historical critic that he most shows need of that extra decade. The chapters on Nirvana are by no means confined to his special topic (pp. 236 ff.). And here we read about the "clarion voice of the Lord Buddha" calling it the *summum bonum*, when some of us know that the beloved chief co-worker Sāriputta is shown saying nothing of the sort, but calling it a cathartic in the gradual purging of *rāga, dosa, moha*, and when too we can see, without much insight called for, in the First Utterance, that, sharing the *summum* with *three other rivals*, nirvana is shown as having *replaced the original term* for the highest aim: the *attha*, the *attha* called *samparāyika*, "of other worlds". It is worth any amount of time and eyesight to study what helpers of man like these two thought and taught. But at the academician pure and simple we draw the line.

A 588 C. A. F. Rhys Davids.

Uttararāmacarita. Traduit et annoté par Nadine Stchoupak. Collection Émile Senart, iv. 8 × 5, pp. lxxii + 167. Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres", 1935.

This is another of the admirable translations with text opposite, for which we are indebted to the Collection Émile Senart. Executed by a scholar who has made a special study of Bhavabhūti's works, the translation is sound and is accompanied by excellent notes with a number of parallels. A few minor points are open to criticism; thus should not *ussāredi* on p. 51, glossed by *ucchrāsayati*, be taken rather as standing for *ucchrāpayati*, presuming the text to be correct? The introduction has an interesting section on the dramatist's language and style, but, to the reviewer's regret, does not deal at length with the question of the authenticity of the last two acts, a point which has been discussed occasionally in India of recent years and on which no one is in a better position than a translator to form definite views.

A 616 E. H. Johnston.

BHĀRATĪYA ANUŚĪLANA. A Collection of Essays in Hindi, English, German, etc. Compiled and edited by the HINDĪ SĀHITYA SAMMELANA (Hindi Literary Conference). 12¾ × 10, pp xix + 536, pls 8. Allahabad Hindi Literary Conference, 1934.

The book contains a collection of some sixty treatises on historical, literary, philological, and other subjects appertaining to India and is dedicated to that distinguished scholar and historian Mahāmahopādhyāya Rai Bahādur Gaurīshankar Hīrāchand Ojhā A large number of the treatises are written in Hindī, the remainder in a variety of other languages, both European and Oriental, where the treatise is not in Hindī, a précis of the subject dealt with is given in that language.

The contributions are all of a scholarly and interesting nature and it would be invidious to single out any for particular comment Owing to the fact that the book had to be rushed through the press, and that there was therefore not time for all the proofs to be checked, a certain number of printing errors occur, these do not, however, detract greatly from the usefulness of the work

The book is a fitting tribute to a great scholar and cannot fail to be of value to those interested in Indian subjects.

A 639 E HARCOURT

TARKA TĀṆḌAVAM OF SRĪ VYĀSATĪRTHA with the commentary, NYĀYADĪPA OF SRĪ RĀGHAVÊNDRATĪRTHA Edited by D SRINIVASACHAR, VIDVAN V. MADHWACHAR, and VIDVAN A. VYASACHAR. 9 × 5½, vol i, pp xlvi + 506, 1932 Rs 3 Vol ii, pp. iv + 402, 1935 Rs 2 Mysore Government Branch Press.

Except for Dr Betty Heimann's able study of Mādhva in her edition of his commentary on the Katha Upanishad, his system of *dvaitavāda* has been almost wholly neglected in Europe The chief reason no doubt has been the lack of printed texts Yet as the most thorough-going of the Indian

opponents of Śankara and as a factor in the Vaishnava movement, Mādhva deserves notice. Sir S. Radhakrishnan even suggests the influence of Christianity One of his most important followers was Vyāsatīrtha or Vyāsarāja in the sixteenth century The work here edited deals with the nature of proof, the divine origin of the Veda, the doctrine of *īśvara*, etc , and should be of great value for the study of the logical and epistemological aspects of the system. It contains an introduction in Sanskrit giving biographical details and an analysis of the first volume The notes are confined to the record of variants, and a third volume will complete the work

A 652 E. J. THOMAS.

THE VAISHNAVAS OF GUJARAT Being a Study in Methods of Investigation of Social Phenomena By N A THOOTHI. Regional and Sociological Studies (Mainly Indian). 9 × 5½, pp xvi + 489 Calcutta Longmans, Green and Co , 1935

This is the first volume in a new series on sociology inaugurated by the Reader in that subject to the University of Bombay Though the survey is restricted, as indicated by the title, to the Vaisnavas, the latter form so large a proportion of the total population of Gujarāt that for practical purposes we can take the study as covering the entire Hindu community The book maintains a high standard throughout and the treatment is thorough, if at times erring a little on the side of discursiveness, Dr Thoothi appears in fact to have an occasional weakness for the use of scientific jargon to disguise those points in which he has not dug into his matter deep enough to arrive at bedrock. Subject to this minor defect, he gives an extremely interesting account of the Vaiṣṇavas, and is at his best in describing the effect of religious doctrines on their social organization. A novel point to me is his description of the actual manner in which

the legal principles of *strīdhana* work (pp. 151 ff.); students of the present position of women in India would be well advised to ponder on it. The excellence of the book on the religious side is due in great part to the manner in which the author, though a Pārsī, succeeds in identifying himself with the Vaiṣṇavas, even to the extent of absorbing their prejudices.

This preoccupation with the religious motif has, however, to some degree obscured his handling of the subject in its political and economic aspects, though his account of Gujarātī society as it was is not much damaged thereby, yet his hand does lose some sureness of touch, when he comes to deal with the revolutionary social changes now in progress. The organization of castes and urban guilds owed its peculiar toughness in part to the non-existence of governments which could ensure stable political and economic conditions for the people at large, and it is significant that Dr Toothi finds an earlier movement towards the reformation of the structure during the period when the Mughal government was able to guarantee some degree of such stability It would have been better, therefore, if he had studied in detail the effects of British rule on the social organization with regard to the Government's assumption of functions previously performed by the castes and to the action (or inaction) of the law courts where the enforcement of caste regulations is concerned But, though I find this part of his work somewhat inconclusive, I fully recognize the difficulty of ascertaining the facts and of interpreting them correctly, and trust that he will be successful in keeping the further volumes of the series up to the level he has attained.

A 736 E H JOHNSTON.

THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA, 1670–1677. By SIR CHARLES FAWCETT. Vol I (New Series) · The Western Presidency. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. xxviii + 389, pls. 10, map 1. Oxford Clarendon Press, 1936. 18*s*.

The continuation of the work of Sir William Foster, whose publications of the early records of the East India Company are well known to all students of Indian history, has now been entrusted to Sir Charles Fawcett, of the Indian Civil Service On retiring from the High Court in Bombay, this officer wrote a history of the origin and early days of that institution He has, therefore, special qualifications for the work now in hand

The present volume deals with the Western Presidency. Much of the material has already been utilized in previous works dealing with Bombay City and the Presidency of Bombay It will therefore be already familiar ground to the reader

It is interesting to note that, among many other points that arrest the student's attention, the compiler (see p 300, footnote) has not been able to establish the truth of the tradition to which Campbell, following Hamilton, gives currency regarding the destruction of the Bhatkal factory and all its members by an infuriated Hindu mob on account of an accident to a sacred cow for which the factory was held responsible Further research may yet reveal the facts which gave rise to this tradition.

These pages are full of interesting details, and yield an accurate picture of the struggles and vicissitudes of the company's representatives in its early days The notes are useful, and the illustrations, though few in number, excellent of their kind

Further volumes will be awaited with gratitude to the editor for the skilful way in which he is discharging his task.

A 749 R. E. ENTHOVEN.

THE GAIKWADS OF BARODA. Edited by J. H. GENSE and D. R. BANAJI. English Documents. Vol. i. Pilaji and Damaji Gaikwads (1720–1768) 10 × 7, pp. xxiv + 174, pl. 1 Bombay: D. B. Taraporewala, 1936. Rs. 4.

This is an important collection of English documents, and it will be useful to any writer dealing with particular events connected with the history of Surat and Gujarāt and the gradual growth of the Marāṭhā power in this part of India, or concerned with the beginnings of the present Gāikwāḍ dynasty of Baroda To the general student of Indian history it is of much less use, for it deals only with details which appear to have little bearing on the general development of main events These details can indeed hardly be understood without an extensive knowledge of surrounding circumstances, and the ordinary reader may be excused if he thinks that Messrs Gense and Banaji's compilation would have been improved if each section had contained a more detailed exposition of the historical conditions of the time The authors appear to recognize this, for they write in their rather flowery foreword that the study of their documents "will contribute towards the foundation of the historical edifice that some enthusiastic worker may be (at)tempted to erect" The book is, in fact, one for which a future historian of detailed Gujarāt history will be grateful One can easily imagine cases where doubtful points wil' be cleared up by these genuine contemporary documents, and their publication is a service to the cause of historical truth, for which we must be grateful

The section dealing with the capture of Surat Castle contains many interesting and important documents which were possibly not all available to the late Sir James Campbell when he compiled the volume of the *Bombay Gazetteer* dealing with the District of Surat But that distinguished writer certainly had access to some of these papers, for he refers to Surat Diaries and Surat Papers as his authority for certain descriptions. In the introduction to this section Messrs Gense

and Banaji refer to the part played by the Marāṭhās in frustrating the first plan to take Surat Castle. This is quite clearly recognized by Campbell, and by Grant Duff before him, and it, at least, is not one of the "new vistas, the very existence of which is not even hinted at in the *Gazetteer*". The *Gazetteer* necessarily avoids details, but we cannot conclude that such details could not have been given had there been room for them.

The Introduction gives an interesting account of the Gāikwāḍ family down to the accession of the present Mahāraja of Baroda in 1875 But the documents cited are almost wholely concerned with events occurring during the lifetime of Dāmājī Gāikwāḍ, who died more than a century before 1875, and it is not easy to see the relevancy of the material offered to the Gāikwād history subsequent to Dāmājī's death Even the extract from Duncan's valuable minute of 1798 only deals with Surat affairs down to the surrender of the castle in 1759

The book is well arranged and has been admirably printed The index is, perhaps, inadequate

A 751 C N SEDDON

EVEREST THE CHALLENGE By SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND. 9 × 6½, pp ix + 243, ills 16, maps 4 London Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1936 12*s* 6*d*

As long ago as 1907 Dr T G Longstaff, Brig.-Gen. the Hon C G Bruce, and the late A L Mumm sought permission to explore the approaches to Mount Everest and if possible attempt the summit, but it was not until after the War, when Sir Francis Younghusband succeeded to the Presidency of the Royal Geographical Society, that the idea took definite shape and the Mount Everest Committee was formed with Sir Francis as its first chairman Since 1921 there have been six expeditions, of which two were reconnaissances and four "full dress" attempts to reach the summit That so much has been done is largely due to the

original enthusiasm and support given to the project by Sir Francis, and there is, therefore, no one better qualified to write of one of the last great adventures left to mankind on the surface of this Earth.

In this book Sir Francis, although making Everest his principal theme, deals generally with Himalayan mountaineering and traces the development of a technique, mental as well as physical, that must one day lead to the conquest of the greatest Himalayan peaks, including as he confidently believes, Everest.

Among these expeditions are the attempts on Kangchenjunga and on Nanga Parbat by German expeditions, and various British expeditions including Shipton's and Tilman's exploration of the Nanda Devi basin, the Kamet expedition, the Marco Pallis expedition, and the second ascent of Trisul by Captain P R Oliver, all of which, and many others, have accumulated knowledge in the special technique of high altitude mountaineering and the problems of equipment and porterage which are equally vital to success on Everest

As this book abundantly shows, Sir Francis sees far more than a mere physical challenge in a lofty Himalayan peak, and in his chapter "Unity with Nature" he strives to define, not unsuccessfully, the explorer's spiritual relationship with his majestic environment, a relationship which finds a practical expression in the Hindu pilgrimages to the sources of the Ganges and the sacred peak of Kailas in Tibet From the Hindu sage who meditated on the Himalayas and wrote, "as the dew is dried up by the morning sun so are the sins of man by the sight of Himāchal," to the climber on Everest at his last gasp, cursing the weather, the cold, the food, and the discomfort, may seem a long journey for the human mind, but Sir Francis is at pains to prove that the connection is very real and the journey, in reality, very short Thus, his book may be divided into action and reflection, the two being inevitably associated in the Everest adventure, where "acclimatization of both mind and body" are necessary

The Himalayas in all their aspects, from the sterile slopes of Everest to the luxuriant valleys on the Indian side, with their teeming wild life, their flowerful alps, and happy contented peoples are revealed in the latter half of the book, and to cap all there is a delightful chapter on "Starry nights", which must bring to the minds of all Himalayan travellers memories of the glory of the firmament viewed through the moistureless atmosphere of great altitudes

The original edition, published in the spring of 1936, has been brought up to date with an account of the 1936 Everest Expedition Sir Francis treads debatable ground when he suggests a final camp on the final pyramid, as it would not be possible to retreat in the event of even a slight snowfall To what degree are climbers entitled to risk their lives *and* those of their porters? That Everest cannot be climbed without risk, goes without saying, but with the terrible tragedy of Nanga Parbat still fresh in memory, and the reckless throwing away of lives on the North Wall of the Eiger, it behoves British mountaineers to set an irreproachable standard of sanity and maintain their sense of responsibility towards the gallant Sherpas who so cheerfully entrust their lives to them It is the belief of Everest climbers that Everest can be climbed without descending to any degrading "do or die" methods, so sadly apparent in certain Continental climbing circles to-day It is often braver to turn back than go forward on a mountain

Many of the misprints in the original edition have been corrected, but there still remain a few

Sir Francis has had as his object "to attract the attention of the world to the Himalaya", and there is no doubt that many who read this book will feel themselves drawn towards the grandest and most beautiful region of the Earth.

A 764 F S SMYTHE.

NAGPUR UNIVERSITY JOURNAL. No 1, December, 1935. 10 × 7½, pp. 84. Nagpur: Bangalore Press, 1935, Rs 5.

Following the example set by several of the older universities in India, the Nagpur University has started a journal of its own, which it is proposed at present to publish annually. This first issue comprises an assemblage of seven papers on a wide range of subjects, from epigraphy, linguistics, and history to the yield and mineral composition of pasture grasses, and a detailed report of excavations at the Dorothy Deep Rock-shelter No 1 in the Mahadeo Hills

The format is convenient and the printing clear, and the personnel of the editorial board should guarantee efficient editing We wish the journal a successful future

A 724 C E A. W OLDHAM.

Art, Archaeology, Anthropology

THE MIRROR OF GESTURE. Being the *Abhinaya Darpana* of Nandikeśvara Translated by ANANDA K COOMARASWAMY and DUGGIRĀLA GOPĀLAKRISHNĀYYA 9½ × 6½, pp 81, pls 20 New York E Weyhe, 1936 $5 00

The first edition of this book appeared in 1917, and this, the second, edition differs from it by various minor improvements and additions which need not be particularized A useful, if somewhat dry, introduction to the subject for those who wish to study the technique of Indian dancing, it would have been far easier to consult if Dr. Coomaraswamy had added an index of the Sanskrit technical terms explained in it

A 759 E. H JOHNSTON.

THE BRITISH MUSEUM QUARTERLY Vols viii–xi, Part 1 10 × 7½, pp (average per part) 32, pls 16 London Published by the Trustees, 1933–6 Each part 2*s* 6*d*.

It is impossible to give any proportionate survey of this Quarterly which records the additions of greater or less importance that are continuously being made to the British Museum. It must suffice to say that it is admirably printed and illustrated, adequately indexed according to the different

Departments, and that it includes Recent Publications, Post Cards, and Appointments A new department was formed in 1933, combining portions of the existing Departments of Ceramics and Ethnography, and of Prints and Drawings; it is a step in the direction of a Central Museum of Asiatic Art and Antiquities and an independent Department or Museum of Ethnology (vol viii, p 60)

Out of the numerous items the following may be specially mentioned an account of the Codex Sinaiticus with plates (vol viii, No 77), the official pamphlet on it (ibid, p 163), the binding of the Codex (vol x, pp 180 sqq), and three letters of Tischendorf (vol ix, No 21) A remarkable fragment of what is regarded as a hitherto unknown Gospel, though one apparently related to the Fourth Gospel, is heralded in vol ix, No 49 In the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities may be noted an early painted vase (vol. viii, No 39), the Babylonian frog amulet (vol x, No 4), the account of the result of a fresh examination of one of the sculptures discovered long ago by Layard (vol x, No 29), and a summary of the British Museum excavations at Tall Chager Bazar, 1935 (ibid, No 67) Among Egyptian items may be mentioned an important addition to the collection of demotic papyri from the Saïte and Persian periods (vol ix, No 93), and a useful statement of the results of the application of infra-red photography to the decipherment of illegible leather MSS In the Department of Oriental MSS numerous additions of Persian MSS are recorded (especially vol viii, No 112, vol ix, Nos 23, 24), and a hitherto unknown commentary on the Mishnah is described (vol ix, No 43) Among the various "Commemorations" are included those of Firdausī (vol ix, p 65 sq) and Maimonides (vol x, pp 39 sqq).

With its clear print, its numerous plates and illustrations, and its almost unlimited range of contents this really fascinating Quarterly is indispensable to all who are at all seriously interested in any of the subjects covered by the Departments of the British Museum

A 774

S. A. Cook.

Biblical Archaeology

ABRAHAM. Recent Discoveries and Hebrew Origins. By SIR LEONARD WOOLLEY. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 299, map 1. London: Faber & Faber, 1936. 7*s.* 6*d.*

In this work the distinguished excavator of Ur seeks to show (*a*) what the Hebrews, through Abraham, owed to the Sumerian city, and (*b*) how the Biblical story of the patriarch might be read in the light of modern archæological discoveries.

Sir Leonard thinks that the Hebrews received a good deal of their most ancient cosmology and mythology from Ur, and that the influence of Sumeria can be detected in the early chapters of Genesis. In this part of his study he treads familiar ground, but adds many illuminating and arresting points to previous conclusions. Thus, a good point is made when it is observed that the narratives of Genesis cannot be contemporary with the events they record, since nobody wrote that kind of literature until a much later age. Similarly, Sir Leonard performs a valuable service in calling attention to the Horites (or Hurrians) as an important, but hitherto neglected, influence in the evolution of Hebrew culture. Following up earlier observations by Father Burrows, he shows that the story of Noah may well have come through a Horite medium, since in the Horite story of the Flood the hero is called by the similar name of Naḫ-mol-el.

There are some details in this part of the work, however, to which objection may be taken and which seem to depend upon errors of method. Thus, following eminent predecessors, Sir Leonard asserts that a trace of Sumerian origin may be detected in Genesis i, in the equation of the Hebrew word *tehom* (deep) with the Babylonian Tiamat—dragon of primeval chaos. To this it may at once be objected that because a word derives from a piece of ancient mythology this does not prove that every subsequent use of it is inspired thereby. Our English word "trivial", for instance, derives from a Roman superstition about the meeting of three ways, and our English word "tawdry" from the festival of St Audrey, yet who

would assert that every modern use of them is really inspired by these ancient connections? Moreover, the Ras Shamra texts, in which the word simply means "ocean", show that *tehom* had already lost any earlier mythological meaning by the fourteenth century B C

Again, in discussing the story of the Flood, Sir Leonard says that the mention of bitumen (Genesis xi, 3) and of Ararat (i e Armenia) alike evidence a Mesopotamian provenance, yet neither point is really conclusive Bituminous pits are mentioned in Genesis xiv, 10, as situated by the Dead Sea, whilst Ararat may have been mentioned merely to suggest remoteness, just as we speak of Timbuctoo In one of the Ras Shamra texts, far-away districts near the land of Na'iri seem to be mentioned with similar intent

Whilst his chapters make absorbing reading, Sir Leonard seems to have laid too much emphasis upon Ur and too little upon the later migration of Abraham to the south of Palestine It is in these southern traditions that we should doubtless see the origin of many a Biblical story, since the Israelite confederation, whose literature the Bible is, seems to have been composed in large measure from southern tribes The fact that Israelite saga had to bring the Sumerian-born patriarch to the south shows clearly that southern connections bulked largely in the popular consciousness This is somewhat illuminated by the Ras Shamra texts, one of which describes a war in the south between the Terachites (i e a moon-worshipping horde identical with the Abrahamic Hebrews ?) and the prince of Zidon

With regard to Abraham himself, Sir Leonard presents a novel solution of the difficulty that the patriarch is said to have lived for 175 years As Sir Leonard remarks, this unconscionable age is all right for older semi-mythological ancestors, but not for so historic a character as Abraham He therefore thinks that in an early list of ancestors, in which only the leading figure of each generation was named, an earlier Abram and a later Abraham had been telescoped

together, the sum total of the years of their two or more generations being then taken as the age of a single person! Analogies from Sumerian King-lists are adduced in support of this The solution is certainly novel, but it may be suggested alternatively that Abram and Abraham represent northern (i e Sumerian) and southern variations of the same name, and that since the traditions often conflicted in the matter of chronology it was necessary to make the patriarch live an extra long life in order to cover the discrepancies

Lastly, Sir Leonard has some illuminating remarks upon the possible sources of the Biblical stories in ancient legal records and similar documents That some of these sources were written in syllabic cuneiform has already been shown by Sayce (*JRAS*, 1931, p 785, n 1). Only thus can we account for such variants as, e g, *Mil*-cah and *Is*-cah in Genesis xi, 29 The present writer believes that the stories also contain distorted explanations of several ancient expressions and *termini technici*, the true meaning of which was lost to the more recent writers

Further, it is to be observed that several of the motifs attached to Abraham in the Israelitic story are attached to the chieftain Teraḥ in the Ras Shamra story of how the Terachids invaded the south of Palestine. This shows that in popular saga Abraham replaced some older hero, or rather some ideal hero of antiquity variously identified by the several tribes and caravans which went to make up Israel Thus, the Biblical story of Abraham is but an attempt to make connected history out of several duplicate and often overlapping tales, all derived from a common source

Despite the few points to which objection may be taken, this is an illuminating and fascinating book. The description of Ur is especially interesting, whilst the candour and frank approach to difficulties which characterize the entire volume will commend it both to serious students and to the general public Sir Leonard is to be thanked for a timely work.

A 644. THEODOR H. GASTER.

Die Zwolf Kleinen Propheten, Hosea bis Micha. By Theodore H. Robinson. Handbuch zum Alten Testament. Erste Reihe 14. 10 × 7 pp. 160. Tubingen. F C B. Mohr-Paul Siebeck, 1936

The appearance of the work of an English scholar in a commentary under German editorship is most welcome. This Lieferung (but for the last few pages) contains nothing but Professor Robinson's work. The difficulty of saying anything new in a commentary on the Old Testament is notorious therefore the reader will be the more interested in the discussion which the author devotes to the theory (first suggested by Dr Oesterley, I think), that there was a considerable migration of northern Israelites to Egypt in Hosea's day, and that these may have formed the nucleus of the Jewish community at Elephantine Again, the suggestion that Hosea vi, 1–3, and xiv, 2–8, were penitential liturgies is worthy of note

The plan of the series is to give a revised translation of the Hebrew text with critical and philological notes and a discussion of the meaning of paragraphs which appear to form a single context On the whole the author appears to take a more pessimistic view of the state of the Hebrew text of Hosea than is justified, and some of his emendations seem somewhat arbitrary For instance, it is sometimes the idiom of the Hebrew poets to write מצא without an object (cf Hosea v, 6), but the author breaks up the forceful ובקשתם ולא תמצא into ובקשה אותם ולא תמצאם Then in v, 8, where the prophet writes, "Behind thee, O Benjamin," i e Guard, or Look to, thy rear! the commentator proposes to read החרידו But אחריך is an exclamatory accusative like the Arabic وراءك and should be allowed to stand A reference to Arabic, too, would have rendered unnecessary the suggestion to alter the word זרקה in vii, 9, from the Qal to a Pual or a passive Qal, as the word does not mean *einsprengen*, but "to be white or grey". In ix, 1, אל תגיל is proposed, but the

form more commonly used is the jussive. Lastly, the proposal to read בלא כח for לא חכם in xiii, 13, seems to lack point, as the parallels cited in defence of the emendation refer to the mother, not to the offspring. On the other hand an interesting emendation for ix, 6, is suggested.

So far as Amos is concerned, Robertson Smith and Driver had a high opinion of his poetry, and it may be doubted whether many will be willing to follow Professor Robinson in applying the word *durftig* to the prophet's style However, mere details like the above will not obscure the expository and exegetical excellence of this work.

A 686. ALFRED GUILLAUME.

ERANOS JAHRBUCH 8 × 6. Zurich Rhein-Verlag, 1935

The Asiatic matter contained in this volume consists of (1) an article by Mrs Rhys Davids on *Der Mensch, die Suche und Nirvana*, (2) one by Erwin Rousselle on *Lau-dsi's Gang durch Seele, Geschichte und Welt*, and (3) a treatise by Robert Eisler on *das Rätsel des Johannesevangeliums* Some account of Dr Eisler's theory recently appeared in *The Times*, on which a correspondent advised the readers to suspend judgment till it had received the approval of at least two experts. According to Eisler the "disciple whom Jesus loved", and in consequence the author of a portion of the Gospel, is Lazarus, who is also to be identified with the possessor of great riches who asked what he should do to inherit eternal life, and whom according to Mark x, 21, "Jesus loved," as according to John x, 5, He loved "Martha and her sister and Lazarus" Since in John xiii, 1, it is stated that "having loved His own which were in the world He loved them to the end", this identification cannot be accepted. Next he is identified with an Eleazar mentioned by Josephus as a captain of brigands, who after plundering the land for twenty years was captured in A D. 60 by Felix The promised Paraclete is identified with Simon Magus, who according to Cyril of

Jerusalem assumed that among other titles His views were put forth in a Gospel by Cerinthus, some of which was combined with the Gospel of Lazarus to form the Fourth Gospel. In doing this (it would seem) Marcion had a hand

The printer would seem to have had no Greek type, whence the citations in that language are transliterated into Latin characters Hebrew type is used for the observation that the difficulties of vi, 51, "the bread which I shall give is my flesh," disappear like mist before the sun if we retranslate into Aramaic, in which בשרא "flesh" is indistinguishable from the same group meaning "gospel" The mists gather again when we suspect that the latter word has no existence, the Jewish form being בשורא, the Christian סברתא Biesenthal's suggestion that in Hebrews v, 7, "in the days of His flesh" is a mistranslation of a Hebrew "of His preaching" is decidedly more scholarly

This treatise is certainly *anregend*, but it is doubtful whether the expert advocates will put in an appearance

A 612 D S MARGOLIOUTH

BY LIGHT, LIGHT THE MYSTIC GOSPEL OF HELLENISTIC JUDAISM By ERWIN R GOODENOUGH xv + 436 pp. New Haven Yale University Press, 1935.

This is a remarkable book For the author, investigating anew the history of the mysteries, seeks to show that alongside the Greek, there ran Jewish tales also, seemingly parallel, but in reality divergent, and offering contrast, not comparison. For once the Biblical stories—like other ancient tales—had become material for esoteric reinterpretation, their heroes were turned into priests-of-mystery, able to guide the souls of the initiated to the Higher Plane, by means of the light-ray emanating from the Fountain of Life, God Himself

Professor Goodenough regards Philo as the best exponent of these Jewish mysteries, and his treatment of the philosopher's work is entirely new Hitherto, Philonic study was

limited to source-investigation, and to the tracing of "parallels" in the writings of Plato, Pythagoras, and the later Neo-Pythagoreans. Very suggestive is this treatment, and many, doubtless, will be encouraged to read their Philo in a new "light". He represents, of course, a higher stage in the development of Græco-Jewish mysteries, the beginnings of which, though hard to determine with exactitude, can scarcely be later than the early growth of Hellenism itself Illustrative fragments have been preserved by Polyhistor and by Eusebius

In several chapters our author exhibits Moses and the Patriarchs, transformed in mysterious light Another section of his work is devoted to liturgical study—on similar lines Yet another to the consideration of literary fragments in the same spirit. But the present volume, we are told, is but one of a series, all designed to facilitate the ultimate inquiry, a mystic's search into New Testament Truth

Individual judgments aside, Professor Goodenough must be credited with profound knowledge of Philo's work, as indeed of many movements of the Spirit among Jews of the Hellenic era

A 441 M GASTER

Cuneiform

ALTBABYLONISCHE PERSONENMIETE UND ERNTEARBEITER-VERTRAGE By JULIUS GEORG LAUTNER Studia et Documenta ad Jura Orientis Antiqui Pertinentia Vol 1, $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp xx + 262, fig 1 Leiden E J Brill 1936 Guilders 10

With this worthy beginning is inaugurated a new series of studies and documents bearing upon the jurisprudence of the ancient Near East, and the distinction of the editors warrants confidence that succeeding volumes will be of no less scientific value and interest than the first In another sense, however, this book is only the last of a number of recent treatises, mostly German, which have of late years

transformed the study of the laws and legal documents of Western Asia into a highly organized and minutely surveyed discipline, in much the same way as other workers have simultaneously explored the resources of ancient Babylonian mathematics. Indeed, this book furnishes a curious instance of contact between these two branches of learning, for if, before completing pp 62 and 63, the author had inquired in the mathematical classroom (its address, for the present purpose, is *R.A*, xxxii, 188), he would have been spared some perplexity, a wilful emendation, and an unconvincing conjecture As being in the direct line of the studies above mentioned this book has all their merits of exhaustive command of the material and professional awareness of the legal issues involved, while it is probably no defect that it does not make much use of modern comparisons, which can be misleading

It must be admitted, however, that Dr Lautner's work is not exempt from some of the disadvantages which attend so elaborate a treatment of a single sub-division of what is itself only a single class of cuneiform texts Some 250 closely-printed pages on such a subject bespeak an attention to detail which is almost microscopic, and nearly all of them are copiously fringed (some, indeed, principally occupied) with learned footnotes, to the sad confusion of the reader who is thus set the impossible task of reading as it were two books at once, and that on an occasion when the main theme is itself of a nature to require his close application The result is that a clear understanding either of the general course or the detail of the argument can be obtained only by constantly turning back from innumerable byways and retracing each time a few of the preceding steps along the main road, in a familiar phrase, it is unusually hard to see the wood for the trees Even if it may be assumed that the number and length of the 680 footnotes are never superfluous (and an early example on page 8 might suggest a doubt about this) it seems evident that much clarity would have been gained by some other

arrangement, even were it only the mechanical device of grouping them all together at the end of the book so as to be withdrawn from their distracting competition with the text. And a few summaries, comprising the various sections and the whole discussion, would have been most helpful. Since, therefore, by its arrangement the book seems destined to be a quarry of details rather than the exposition of an argument we must be grateful for a *Sachregister* while perhaps regretting that it does not include more Babylonian words

The criticisms of which this notice has up to here mainly consisted should not be allowed to suggest that the author's encyclopædic knowledge of his subject and the justice of his conclusions are not appreciated, neither the one nor the other can be called in question. I would not venture, where he has not thought fit, to outline the divisions of the subject as he has treated it. These must be left to the title of the book and the page of contents at the beginning. Particular interest, however, attaches to his examination of the *simdat šarri* clause, and there is a remarkably valuable section which extracts a deal of information from such unpromising documents as lists of labourers It is not a light task to work through this book, but none who undertakes it need fear that his reward will ultimately be inadequate

A 714 C J GADD.

UR EXCAVATION TEXTS II, ARCHAIC TEXTS By ERIC BURROWS. Publications of the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, to Mesopotamia. 13 × 9½, pp vii + 67, pls London British Museum 35*s*.

The author was epigraphist to the expedition during part of its long and successful work at Ur. It has fallen to him to edit the earliest tablets found there, mostly below the Royal Cemetery and of date roughly between 3000 B.C. and 2500 B.C. A most laborious task most successfully accomplished He has reproduced in firm copy 425 tablets and

pieces. A comparison of his copies with the photographs (six plates) of originals gives some idea of the difficulties of his task. The rest of the volume is based on the tablets, which have been studied from every angle, and the results are set down with a minimum of theory and a very satisfying amount of fact and comment

The sign list of 420 signs and 32 numerical representations is accompanied by references to the Ur tablets in the present collection and often by comparative references to the forms of the sign on tablets found at Jemdet Nasr and at Fara, between which types many of the Ur signs are a bridge. It may perhaps be safe to say that we can now trace the history of many signs from their origin in picture to their fixation in the Assyrian wedge-form, from drawing to diagram. More than fifty Ur signs are in form new, and cannot as yet be correlated with any Jemdet Nasr or Fara or later Sumerian sign

In the matter of grammar, the tablets offer little Of verbal suffixes there is a small advance on Jemdet Nasr but not so much as at Fara. Devices of writing such as determinatives and phonetic complements are here, the latter fairly often, the former, such as *dingir*, *ki*, *še*, apparently only when clarity demands them

At this time there would seem to have been no king at Ur; he was represented by the *sangu* Society was well organized. Land tenure was already of the three sorts known to us at the later time of Urukagina of Lagash land for the support of the temple, land for the support of the temple personnel, and tenant-farm land The cereals were barley, emmer, and wheat, whence the products meal, bread, malt, and beer. These were the staple supports of a population of farmers, landsmen, fishermen, craftsmen (smith, carpenter, potter, image-maker, builder), herdsmen of sheep, oxen, and asses, and slaves, though these last occur seldom, and under the forms *arad* (? better Sumerian *urda* or *erí*), *gím* and *edin-bar*, which, according to Fr Burrows, is "man of the desert".

The merchant or usurer (*dam-qar*) and the judge (*di-kud*) are not mentioned.

Religious data include feasts, offerings, temples, and gods, or rather goddesses, for Fr Burrows points out that "in the list of gods nearly every intelligible name, except of animals and things, is that of a goddess". Occupied with religion are the exorcist, the priest, the oracle-priest, and the slaughterer (*sag-tun*). There is an excellent note on *sangu* in the sign-list

A supplement contains fifty pieces of early date but rather later than that of the main collection. From these are taken ten month-names, most of which have the grammatical ending *-ka* It is interesting to recall that in the later month-names of Ur III *-ka* is hardly ever written. A rare if not unique instance of its use at Drehem is an unpublished B.M. tablet (No. 103414) *itu* u_5*-bil-ḫu-kú-ka*

Fr. Burrows' comments on the various products and trees are always illuminating Indeed every page is just the thing.

A. 593 T Fish.

Vorarbeiten zur Geschichte der Keilschriftliteratur, Die assyrischen Konigsinschriften vor 722 Der Schreibgebrauch By Albert Schott Bonner Orientalistische Studien, Heft 13 $8\frac{1}{2} \times 12$, pp xvii + 158 Stuttgart Kohlhammer, 1936 RM 13.50.

Professor Schott begins a series of monographs in which, by devoting various investigations to epigraphy, phonetics, philology, and *die bewegenden Gedanken eines Zeitalters* (the characteristic ideas of a given period), he hopes to formulate principles for dating literary cuneiform documents, tracing them through the various ages of their successive editions to the periods of their origins, and even to determine the cities in which they were written He has planned five sections of this great investigation. The book under review is confined to the peculiarities of the *script* of one period,

one country, and one class of literature as seen from the title, a class of literature which can always be dated, and consequently the forms of the cuneiform signs and variant spellings can be historically arranged. He proceeds, as a general introduction, to give a list of books in which list of signs for various groups of texts of various periods are given. The earliest known list of signs from Jemdet Nasr, OECT VII, is omitted[1] There are also lists of the principal works on grammar and philology, and here Weir's Lexicon of the Babylonian and Assyrian prayers and Ehelolf's *Wortfolgeprincip im Assyrisch-Babylonischen* are not mentioned.

The author has made statistics for the writing of all syllables of the form designated *coc*, i e consonant + vowel + consonant, and by this means he is sometimes able to determine the period of a text by distinguishing between the manners of writing a syllable, for example *ban* or *ba-an*, *nin*, or *ni-in*. The system is extremely complicated by use of forty different symbols which makes his work as difficult to understand as an advanced algebraic problem Moreover there is no index of the signs discussed. As an example of the patient compilation of statistics this great undertaking beats anything ever written on Assyriology. A few new and revised readings are established in the critical notes.

A 665 †S LANGDON.

The thanks of the Society are also due for the following volumes —

CHINESE SHADOW SHOW. By GENEVIEVE WIMSATT. Cambridge, Mass Harvard University Press, 1936.

AIR OVER EDEN By "H W" and SIDNEY HAY. London. Hutchinson, 1937. 18*s*.

INDIAN STATES IN THE FEDERATION. By N. D VARADACHARIAR London Humphrey Milford, 1936. 5*s*.

[1] Since this review was written a still earlier list of signs from Uruk has been published by Falkenstein

KÖNIGTUM GOTTES By MARTIN BUBER. Berlin: Schocken Verlag, 1936.

INDIAN PEEPSHOW. By HENRY NEWMAN. London. G. Bell and Sons, 1937. 7*s*. 6*d*.

FAR EAST IN FERMENT. By GUENTHER STEIN. London Methuen, 1936 10*s* 6*d*.

THE WAR IN ABYSSINIA. A brief military history. By EDWARD HAMILTON London. John Heritage, 1936. 5*s*

AL-BUKHARI: a collection of Muhammad's Authentic Tradition. By I. H. EL-MOUGY Cairo Al-Azhar University, 1936.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

20th May, 1937

Professor Margoliouth, M A, D Litt., F B A., President, in the chair

The proceedings began with the reading and confirmation of the Minutes of the last Anniversary General Meeting on 14th May, 1936

We have but lately welcomed to the throne our present patron, His Majesty King George VI, among whose titles is that of "Emperor of India" Upon the occasion of his accession, the following address of loyalty to Their Majesties, as approved by the Council on 14th January, was signed by your President and transmitted to His Majesty's Private Secretary at Buckingham Palace

"To the King's Most Excellent Majesty

"The humble Address of the President, Council, and Members of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland

"May it please Your Majesty,

"The President and Council of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland offer their cordial thanks to Your Majesty for graciously consenting to continue that Patronage with which they have been honoured by the Sovereigns since the foundation of their Society They would also desire to assure Your Majesty of their loyalty and respectful attachment to your person, of their recognition of the services which Your Majesty has rendered to the British Commonwealth of Nations, and their hope that your reign may be long, happy and glorious

"On behalf of the Council and Members of the Royal Asiatic Society 27th January, 1937 (Sd) D. S Margoliouth, President"

The gracious message printed below, in which His Majesty consented to continue the royal patronage extended to this Society since its inception was delivered to the Society shortly

after His Majesty's accession. It marks the kindly thoughtfulness of His Majesty in his desire to avoid the necessity and consequent expense to Royal Societies throughout the United Kingdom, of submitting further costly addresses of loyalty to the Throne.

"Privy Purse Office,
"Buckingham Palace, S W.

"Memorandum

"The Keeper of the Privy Purse is commanded by The King to state that His Majesty is pleased to intimate to those Societies and Institutions which were recently granted Patronage by King Edward VIII that they may continue to show the Sovereign as their Patron during the present reign, unless otherwise notified 14th December, 1936."

A previous message from His Majesty King Edward VIII had been received as shown below

"Privy Purse Office,
"Buckingham Palace, S W

"Dear Sir, "*18th June, 1936*

"I am commanded by The King to inform you that His Majesty has been graciously pleased to grant his Patronage to the Royal Asiatic Society

"Yours truly,
"(sd.) Wigram
"Keeper of the Privy Purse

"The President, Royal Asiatic Society,
"74 Grosvenor Street, W. 1"

We regret to announce the death of the following Honorary Members and others since the last Anniversary Meeting their loss will be deeply felt by the Society.

Professor S H Langdon
Sir James Stewart Lockhart
Professor R. Gottheil
Professor Snouck Hurgronje
Khan Bahadur M H Khan
Professor Antoine Meillet
Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra
Major G. H Rooke
Mr W S Talbot
Professor Moritz Winternitz
Professor J. H Woods

In Sir James Stewart Lockhart the Society has lost a member of nearly sixty years' standing, a Member of Council for many years, and Honorary Secretary for seven. He represented the Society on many Congresses and Committees, and on the Governing Body of the School of Oriental Studies for ten years It was through his influence that the Chinese Library was catalogued and rendered more convenient for purposes of reference In him the Society has lost a devoted friend and the Council a kindly and shrewd adviser.

The following Members have resigned —

Mrs Beaumont (Miss D Varley)	Mr R N. Mathur
Mr D R Bhandarkar	Professor R K Mathur
Rev T W Castle	Rev W Munn
Mr S P Chaudhury	Mr. P S Noble
Sir William Hornell	Dr. J. D Pavry
Mr S N Joshi	Rai Bahadur L Sita Ram
Mr H Jowett	Mr B Rubenstein
Mr A S Kent	Seyyid R Said-Ruete
Wing-Cr R T. Leather	Mr C D P Sharma
Mr H Loewe	Mr L Wynch

The following have taken up their election —

As Resident Members

Miss E L Beckingsale	The Hon Desmond Parsons

As Non-Resident Members

Mr K S R Acharya	Mr A B M Habibullah
Mr S D Ahmad	Rev H. St J Hart
Mr. Y D Ahuja	Khawaja A Haye
Rai Bahadur K L Barua	Mr E B. Howell
Professor M A Bhaskaranand	Mr. M A. Husain
Mr R C Bhattacharyya	Dr C Inostrantsev
Mr. C Siva Bushanam	Rai Bahadur Pandit D Joshi
Mr Iqbal Din	M Adrien Maisonneuve
Mrs E S Drower	Mr K S Mathur
Mr W le B Egerton	U Nyun Maung
Mr G B Gardner	Mr H S Mordia
Mr N N Ghosh	Mr B R Pearn

Mr. A. N Polıak	Mr. C. Sarawgı
Mr. Indra Prakash	Mr. V. Stoloff
Professor V. A. Rıasanovsky	Dr. W. W. Tarn

Mr J S. D. Thornton

As Lıbrary Assocıates

Raı Bahadur Professor S K Bhuyan	Mr S H. Hansford Mıss A C. Hayter

As Student Assocıates

Mr V R Deorars	Mıss Rose Quong

As Resıdent Member compoundıng for Subscription
Baron Edward von der Heydt

The Presıdent and Councıl have elected—

Professor Carl Brocke'mann, of Breslau
Professor Jules Bloch, of Parıs
Professor Dr J Ph Vogel, of Leıden

to take the places of Professor Snouck Hurgronȷe, of Leıden, Professor Antoıne Meıllet, of Parıs, and Professor Dr Morıtz Wınternıtz, of Prague, as Honorary Members of the Society.

Under the terms of Rule 25, 37 persons ceased to be Members of the Socıety owıng to non-payment of theır annual subscrıptıon. In 1935 the number was 28. The total number of Members ıs 751 thıs shows an ıncrease of 3 durıng the year. The number of subscrıbıng lıbrarıes ıs 244, that ıs to say, sıx less than last year In cases where resıgnatıons have occurred the reason gıven ıs generally that expenses must be reduced as a result of world condıtıons The number of Lıbrary Assocıates, under Rule 16*a*, has ıncreased to 25 and Student Assocıates to 5, thanks to the thoughtful help of Professor Yetts, Dr. Margaret Smıth, the Staff of the School of Orıental Studies, and others, who have brought the Socıety's Lıbrary to the notıce of theır students. As has been mentıoned above, they seem to be takıng full advantage of theır prıvıleges.

Unhappıly the uncertaınty of the polıtıcal and economıc outlook and the resultıng paucıty of new members and

supporters, have again rendered it impossible to increase the size of the *Journal* It will be remembered that it was decreased to 900 pages in 1934, and to 800 pages in 1935. Though this has had no effect in diminishing the matter submitted for publication, it has forced the Council to return papers which would otherwise have been considered, and to invite contributors to curtail their contributions

Owing to the same causes, the annual grant for maintenance of the Library has had to be limited as in the last three or four years For instance, the binding of volumes in need of repair has been strictly limited to such as have been sent away on loan to other libraries, and new purchases have been reduced to a minimum, though the Library is badly in need of financial assistance in both these departments The number of scholars using the library and the number of books found for them, as well as the number of books borrowed from, or lent to, outside libraries is continuously increasing All this means a corresponding increase in the assistance which is given to readers So that a small allotment is still essential for assistance to the Librarian, who has also to continue work upon the preparation of the Library Catalogue for printing.

The number of visits paid to the Library by students has been maintained at 940 The average before 1933 was about 500, it rose to 730 in 1934, and 945 in 1935 The number of books lent out rose to 830, as against 613 in 1934 and 816 in 1935 122 books were lent to affiliated libraries through the National Central Library, and 84 were borrowed by Members of the Society through the same agency From this it will be seen that more use is being made of the facilities offered by the Library of the Society to students of Oriental subjects.

In addition to such use of the Library, the Society is being approached more and more for information and advice on all kinds of subjects connected with the East

Four manuscripts have been sent on loan to University Libraries at Birmingham and Utrecht, for the use of Oriental research students Three have been returned, while the loan

of the fourth was extended by permission of your Council. Photostat copies of three MSS. were made and sent to students abroad, two to India and one to Japan. A set of photographs was also made of the inscription upon the Stone of Chandra Devi in the possession of the Society, for the Archæological Department of Mayurbanj State, Orissa, India.

During the year the Council authorized mutual exchanges with four other Societies in America, Germany, India, and Palestine

The University of Madras is organizing the publication of a "complete up-to-date Catalogus Catalogorum of Sanskrit Manuscripts", and a notice was received from the Editor in Chief, asking for information. This has been sent

Permission was accorded by your Council for the following extracts to be published from certain of the Society's publications —

To Dr K A Nilakantha Sastri Extracts from O T F xiv and xv, "On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, A D 629–645"

To Miss Delia de Leon Extracts from O T F vii, "The Kādambarī of Bāna," and xvi, "The Lawā'ih of Jāmī"

To the Director of B T Batsford, Ltd Extract from O T.F, xvi, "The Lawā'ih of Jāmī."

Also to Dr I S Stchoukine for the reproduction, in a volume on Persian Painting, of certain miniatures from the *Jāmi'al-Tawārīkh of Rashīd al-Dīn*

Professor H. H. Dodwell has been appointed by your Council to represent the Society at the forthcoming VIIIth International Congress of Historical Sciences at Zurich next year.

Lectures.—A feature of the activities of the Society is the holding of lectures on different Oriental subjects, some of which are of a purely scientific character and some of a more general nature. The undermentioned lectures were given before the Society during the past session; almost all were illustrated by lantern slides —

"The International Exhibition of Chinese Art." By Mr. F. St. G Spendlove.

"The Ruins of Koh-i-Khwaja and their Wall Paintings." By Professor Dr. Ernst Herzfeld.

"Shauqi and Hafiz Ibrahim." By Dr. A. J. Arberry.

"The Burusho of Hunza in the Karakoram." By Lieut.-Col D L R Lorimer, in the Hall of the Royal Geographical Society

"Some Biblical Records in the light of Recent Excavations in Palestine" By Dr A. S Yahuda

"The Exploration of Śrī Deva, an Ancient Indian City in Indo-China" By Dr H. G Quaritch Wales, Field Director of the Expedition (with India Soc. and School of Or. Studies).

"Some Aspects of Muhammadanism in the Sudan." By Mr S Hillelson

"Mutanabbi The Man and the Poet." By Professor R. A. Nicholson

"The Meaning of Sacrifices in the Psalms." By Dr. Samuel Daiches

"Indian Art of the Buddhist Period, with particular reference to the paintings of Ajanta." By Mr. Ghulam Yazdani.

"Symbolism in Nepalese and Tibetan Art." By Mrs. Alexander Scott

"Chinese Bronze Mirrors" By Professor W. Perceval Yetts.

"The *Hisba* Law and Order under Islam." By Dr. R. Levy.

"The Decline of the Medieval Sinhalese Kingdom" By Mr. Humphrey W Codrington

"The Culture of the Shang Dynasty." By Dr Li Chi.

"Further Excavations in the Indus Valley" By Dr. Ernest Mackay

During the year there occurred the 1,000th Anniversary of the Arab poet Mutanabbi. He has been described as "al-Motanabbi, one of the greatest Arabian poets who ever lived" and "the Shakespeare of the Desert". His works are still read by all classes of Arabian Society His millenary was

celebrated in many parts of the world, and here, in London, it was felt that some fitting tribute might be paid to his name and reputation by a combined commemoration under the auspices of the representatives of Oriental Governments and Societies with Arabian interests. A committee was appointed to make the arrangements, and receptions were given by the Government representatives mentioned above at the Royal Egyptian Legation, and by the Royal Asiatic Society The latter took place at the London Museum and was attended by the representatives referred to above. After the reception the lecture on "Mutanabbi, the Man and the Poet", mentioned above was given by Professor R. A Nicholson.

The subject chosen for the Universities Prize Essay Competition for 1936 was "The Portuguese in India". The prize of £20 with a diploma was won by Mr Dennis Wood of Bristol University Since its inception the competition has been won by a student from Oxford, a student from Cambridge, and by two students from Bristol

The following work was published by the Society during the year · Royal Asiatic Society Monographs, 22, Fischel, W J, *Jews in the Economic and Political Life of Medieval Islam.*

During the year the final arrangements were made for the organization of a new publication fund under the auspices of the Society. It has been founded by the generosity of Dr. Bimala Churn Law, of Calcutta, for the publication of monographs on Buddhism, Jainism and Ancient Indian History and Geography up to the end of the thirteenth century A.D. Information concerning it has been published in the *Journal* and in the Press Monographs may be submitted by any Oriental scholar in the world, and the first period during which they may be received will extend from 1st January, 1937, to 31st December, 1938 It is hoped to publish the best work received every two years, in "The Dr. B.C. Law Trust Series".

Another foreign Oriental Society, the Asiatic Society of Japan, has obtained permission under Rule 103 to be admitted

as an Associate Society of the Royal Asiatic Society. The necessary authority was given by the vote of a Special General Meeting held on 12th November, 1936.

The Society is greatly indebted to Professor Shelley Wang for so kindly completing the catalogue of its Chinese Library, consisting of over six hun'red volumes, which are accommodated in a separate room All these works are in Chinese, and are quite distinct from the large number of books in the library, on Sinological subjects, but written in European languages, mostly in English In recognition of his valuable work in classifying and marking these Chinese volumes, Professor Wang has been invited by your Council to accept a life membership of the Society

The congratulations of the Society are offered to Dr L. D. Barnett upon the distinction conferred upon him by His Majesty among the Birthday Honours, when he was awarded a C B., also to Professor R L Turner, upon his appointment to the Directorate of the School of Oriental Studies in succession to Sir Denison Ross Our old and meritorious colleague, Haham M Gaster, was presented with a Festschrift of unusual dimensions on his eightieth birthday. The thanks of the Society are also due to Mr G A Yates for his kind assistance to the Editor of the *Journal*

By Rules 28 38 of the Society certain changes occur annually in the constitution of the members of your Council. Rule 29 lays down that the President and the Director shall each be appointed to hold office for three years Unhappily this term has been reached by Professor Margoliouth, as President, and by Sir Denison Ross, as Director, both of whom were appointed in 1934 They have both given freely their time and thought for the benefit of the Society's needs, and their advice has ever been ready to solve those difficult problems which the present state of affairs forces upon us to our increasing perplexity It is recommended by your Council that these vacancies be filled by the election, through the appointed method, of Baron Hailey of Shahpur and Newport

Pagnell, G C.S.I., G.C.I.E., as President, and the retiring President, Professor D S. Margoliouth, as Director.

In the same way Sir William Foster, as the Senior Vice-President of not less than four years' standing, retires, and the present Director, Sir Denison Ross, has been recommended to fill the vacancy. The following three Honorary Officers as required by the Rules must each retire, but are eligible for re-election Mr Ellis as Honorary Librarian, Mr Oldham as Honorary Secretary, and Mr Perowne as Honorary Treasurer, have earned the gratitude of the Society for their labours on our behalf They are recommended by your Council for re-election to their respective offices. The Rev. Dr. A Guillaume has unavoidably had to offer his resignation from the Council owing to his onerous duties as Principal of Culham College He finds that he is unable to spare time to attend the Council meetings every month, but desires to help in any other way possible It is recommended that his place be taken by Sir William Foster. Owing to the fact that so many of the Councillors had to resign for various reasons in 1934, 1935, and 1936, none of the Ordinary Members of the Council will have four years' service in May, 1937; consequently there are no more vacancies on the Council to be filled at present

At one time it appeared that ill-health might deprive us of the services upon the Council of Dr Blagden and Sir John Marshall, but both of them now hope to be able to attend the meetings later on It is earnestly hoped that they may soon be restored to their accustomed strength and vigour.

The Society's accounts for 1936 have been audited as usual, first in a professional way and then by a board of auditors. The board on this occasion consisted of Dr. E H. Johnston (for the Council), Sir Richard Burn (for the Society), and Sir Nicholas Waterhouse The meeting was held on 9th March, and the auditors reported as follows —

"The Professional Auditors explained the accounts to us,

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS

RECEIPTS

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
SUBSCRIPTIONS—		
Resident Members	233 2 0	
Non-Resident Members	737 8 0	
Resident Compounders	25 4 0	
Non-Resident Compounders	12 12 0	
Students and Miscellaneous	37 4 4	
		1,045 10 4
RENTS RECEIVED		651 17 6
GRANTS—		
Government of India	315 0 0	
" Federated Malay States	20 0 0	
" Straits Settlements	20 0 0	
" Hong Kong	25 0 0	
		380 0 0
SUNDRY DONATIONS		10 10 0
SPECIAL DONATION		100 0 0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—		
Subscriptions	444 2 0	
Additional Copies sold	33 14 0	
Pamphlets sold	4 11 2	
		482 7 2
DIVIDENDS		83 4 0
CENTENARY VOLUME SALES		1 2 8
CENTENARY SUPPLEMENT SALES		5 8
COMMISSION ON SALE OF BOOKS		5 16 4
INTEREST ON POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANK ACCOUNT		7 3
SUNDRY RECEIPTS		50 4 7
		£2,811 5 6

INVESTMENTS

£350 3½ per cent War Loan
£1,426 1*s* 10*d* Local Loans 3 per cent Stock
£777 1*s* 1*d* 4 per cent Funding Stock 1960–90.

FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST DECEMBER, 1936

PAYMENTS

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
BALANCE AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1935		
Over-Expenditure on General Account	834 19 10	
Less. Carnegie Grant for printing Catalogue £250 0 0		
Compounded Subscriptions £572 15 3		
	822 15 3	
		12 4 7
HOUSE ACCOUNT—		
Rent and Land Tax	498 19 9	
Rates, less contributed by Tenants	132 8 2	
Gas and Light, do	87 3 7	
Coal and Coke, do	47 6 4	
Telephone	14 1 0	
Cleaning	10 5 3	
Insurance	35 6 6	
Repairs and Renewals	57 1 2	
		882 11 9
LEASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND		30 0 0
SALARIES AND WAGES		809 2 6
PRINTING AND STATIONERY		61 9 0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—		
Printing	588 7 11	
Postage	55 0 0	
		643 7 11
LIBRARY EXPENDITURE		65 0 8
GENERAL POSTAGE		47 12 10
AUDIT FEE		5 5 0
SUNDRY EXPENSES—		
Teas	20 1 3	
Lectures	30 8 6	
National Health and Unemployment Insurance	18 0 4	
Other General Expenditure	57 0 0	
		125 10 1
BALANCE AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1936		
Carnegie Grant for printing catalogue	250 0 0	
Compounded Subscriptions Account	610 11 3	
	860 11 3	
Less Over-expenditure on General Account	731 10 1	
		129 1 2
Represented by		
Cash at Bank on General Account	119 8 5	
Cash at Post Office Savings Bank	5 7	
Cash in hand	9 7 2	
	129 1 2	
		£2,811 5 6

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the Books and Vouchers of the Society, and have verified the Investments therein described, and hereby certify the said Abstract to be true and correct.

N. E WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor

Countersigned { E H JOHNSTON, Auditor for the Council
RICHARD BURN, Auditor for the Society

9th March, 1937.

SPECIAL FUNDS

Oriental Translation Fund

Receipts	£ s d	Payments	£ s d	£ s d
1936 Jan 1.		1936 Dec 31		
Balance	220 2 5	Storage of Stock .		3 3 5
Sales (net)	67 10 10	Binding 25 Vols. XIV and XV .		2 10 0
Interest on Deposit	1 4 10	Balance Carried to Summary . . .		283 4 8
	£288 18 1			£288 18 1

Royal Asiatic Society Monograph Fund

Jan 1		Dec 31	
Balance	159 2 6	Balance Carried to Summary .	167 17 3
Sales (net) .	8 14 9		
	£167 17 3		£167 17 3

Summary of Special Fund Balances

Dec 31		Dec 31		
Oriental Translations Fund	283 4 8	Cash at Bank—		
Royal Asiatic Society Monograph Fund	167 17 3	On Current Account	201 1 11	
		On Deposit Account	250 0 0	451 1 11
	£451 1 11			£451 1 11

Leasehold Redemption Fund

Jan 1		Dec 31		
Balance	436 9 1	Balance represented by £451 9s 5d 3½%		
Transfer from General Account	30 0 0	War Loan	466 9 1	
Dividends to be Re invested	15 16 0	Cash at Bank	15 16 0	482 5 1
	£482 5 1			£482 5 1

TRUST FUNDS

Prize Publication Fund

1936 Jan 1		1936 Dec 31	
Balance	110 4 9	Binding 25 Vols XIII and XIV	2 10 0
Sales (net)	21 10 1	Balance Carried to Summary	147 4 10
Dividends	18 0 0		
	£149 14 10		£149 14 10

Gold Medal Fund

Jan 1		Dec 31	
Balance	40 10 11	Balance Carried to Summary	50 5 11
Dividends	9 15 0		
	£50 5 11		£50 5 11

Universities Prize Essay Fund

Jan 1		Dec 31	
Balance	137 18 10	Cash Prize .	20 0 0
Dividends	20 15 4	Balance Carried to Summary . .	138 14 2
	£158 14 2		£158 14 2

Dr. B. C. Law Trust Account

Dec. 31.	£ s. d.	Dec. 31.	£ s. d.
Dividends	£9 10 8	Balance Carried to Summary . .	£9 10 8

SUMMARY OF TRUST FUND BALANCES

Dec. 31.		Dec. 31.	
Prize Publication Fund	147 4 10	Cash at Bank on Current Account .	345 15 7
Gold Medal Fund .	50 5 11		
Universities Prize Essay Fund .	138 14 2		
Dr. B. C Law Trust Account .	9 10 8		
	£345 15 7		£345 15 7

Trust Fund Investments.

£600 Nottingham Corporation Irredeemable "B" Stock (Prize Publication Fund)
£325 Nottingham Corporation Irredeemable "A" Stock (Gold Medal Fund)
£645 11s 2d Nottingham Corporation Irredeemable "B" Stock (Universities Prize Essay Fund)
£40 3½ per cent Conversion Stock (Universities Prize Essay Fund)
Rs. 12,000 3½% Government of India Promissory Note No 034904 of 1879 (Dr B C Law Trust Account)

I have examined the above Statements with the books and vouchers, and hereby certify the same to be correct. I have also had produced to me certificates in verification of the Investments and Bank Balances

N E WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor
Countersigned { E H JOHNSTON, Auditor for the Council
RICHARD BURN, Auditor for the Society.

9th March, 1937

BURTON MEMORIAL FUND

Receipts		Payments	
1936 Jan 1		1936 Dec 31	
Balance	8 7 4	Cash at Bank on Current Account .	9 16 8
Dividends	1 9 4		
	£9 16 8		£9 16 8

Investment—
£49 0s. 10d 3% Local Loans

JAMES G. B. FORLONG FUND

Jan. 1		Dec 31	
Balance	125 8 8	10% Commission on 1935 Sales	5 16 4
Sales (net)	57 11 11	School of Oriental Studies—Scholarship	50 0 0
Dividends	203 0 4	Fee for Recovery of Income Tax	4 4 0
Grant Returned	50 6 2	Balance, Cash at Bank on Current Account	376 6 9
	£436 7 1		£436 7 1

Investments

£1,005 14s 7d New South Wales 4 per cent Inscribed Stock 1942–62
£1,015 16s 3d South Australian Government 4 per cent Inscribed Stock 1940–60
£1,010 Bengal-Nagpur Railway 4 per cent Debenture Stock
£1,143 6s 3d India 3½ per cent Inscribed Stock
£700 3½ per cent Conversion Loan
£45 East India Railway Co Annuity Class "B"
£253 18s 4d 3½ per cent War Loan

I have examined the above Abstracts of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society and have verified the Investments therein described, and I certify the said Abstracts to be true and correct

N E WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor
Countersigned { E H JOHNSTON, Auditor for the Council
RICHARD BURN, Auditor for the Society

9th March, 1937

and as usual complimented the officials of the Society on their accuracy and completeness

"As was noted last year, the statement of receipts and expenditure does not indicate at first sight the real situation. There has been an accumulated over-expenditure of £730, and in addition the receipts include a special donation of £100, while the payments do not include the bill for the last number of the *Journal*, amounting to £180. The Society is thus about £1,010 to the bad.

"E H. JOHNSTON (for the Council).

"RICHARD BURN (for the Society).

"*9th March, 1937*"

Under Rule 81 the Professional Auditors, Messrs. Price Waterhouse and Co, retire but, being eligible, offer themselves for re-election It is recommended that the Auditors for the ensuing session should be Mr Enthoven for the Council, Mr Seddon for the Members, and Messrs Price Waterhouse and Co as the Professional Auditors

The thanks of the Society are due to our Honorary Solicitor Mr D H. Bramall, of Messrs T L Wilson and Co, for so kindly looking after our legal affairs and giving us the benefit of his advice whenever it has been asked for.

All our rooms have been satisfactorily let during the last year, the lease of the flat at the top of the house will, however, terminate on next September Quarter Day

Some alterations have been made in two of the rooms in the premises of the Society to allow the Chinese Library to be conveniently housed in a room in the basement. This arrangement enabled a room upstairs to be suitably altered for letting purposes It has since been let

The President then called upon the Hon. Treasurer for his annual statement of the Society's accounts.

HON TREASURER Mr President, Ladies, and Gentlemen, I will try and be brief to-day The total receipts, as you will see from the Annual Report and Accounts in your hands, are £2,811 5s 6d The total payments are £2,682 4s. 4d., including

the debit balance of £12 4*s*. 7*d*. brought forward That leaves an apparent credit of £129 4*s*. 2*d*. on the year's receipts and payments. I say "apparent" because it is not the fact. The receipts include £100 earmarked as a special donation, which cannot be counted as ordinary receipts and payments of the Society, and that has since been paid, so that the real balance is £29 1*s*. 2*d*. And yet not even that, because, as a matter of fact, we really owed, and ought to have paid, some £180 for the October *Journal*, which is usually paid before the end of the year That has since been liquidated also, so that I think we ought to consider it as an item in last year's account. If, therefore, you deduct the £29 1*s*. 2*d* credit balance from £180 you have a real debit of about £150 as between ordinary receipts and payments on the year I mention this because the Auditors' Report, set out in the Council's Report, mentions these points.

This is just about equal to the debit on the previous year, so we were able to maintain our position in spite of the great fall in receipts which I will talk about presently The Auditors' last sentence in their report reads "The Society is thus about £1,010 to the bad," meaning the accumulated debits of the last few years. I accept the round figure at any rate, and, although it is bad enough, after all it is money which we really owe to ourselves, so to speak, and not to a third party, because it is money which we should otherwise have had to raise out of the sale of investments. This £1,000 which has come to us in various ways, and which we have utilized, we hope to repay one day and credit back to capital to which it belongs

Now I pass to the details of the accounts themselves. I have made here a sort of comparison between 1936 and 1935, which latter I may remind you was rather a poor year. Receipts have been falling for some years now, but last year (1936) we had a total of subscriptions of £1,045 10*s*. 4*d* only. That shows a heavy fall of about £130 as compared with 1935, a decrease in every branch except resident compounders, where there was an increase of about £6. Our rents, on the

other hand, are about £35 more, and this comes because, as you will notice in the report, all our rooms are now let, and we get a full income from them, but the lease of the top flat comes to an end next September, so, allowing for the rates we pay on it, we shall lose about £200 per annum unless we can find another lessee.

As regards the Governments' grants, they remain as in the previous year, except that the Federated Malay States have only given us £20 instead of £40, the usual amount for years past I am glad to say they have promised to increase the grant again to £40 this year

The *Journal*, and this is really a happy point, gives a very satisfactory increase of about £50 as between 1936 and 1935, showing that our publications are still maintaining their "always has been" value in the world of scholars.

The sundry receipts are also about £10 more than the previous year, so that on the whole, although there are a good many decreases we have had some increases, and this accounts for our total being this year £2,811 But from that we ought to deduct, to show what our real income is, the £100 which, I have already said, was earmarked for a special donation. thus making £2,711 5*s* 6*d* for ordinary receipts, as against £2,779 15*s* 4*d* in the previous year, showing a decrease of about £68 9*s* 10*d*

On the payment side we bring forward first a debit of £12 4*s* 7*d* —that was to equalize the receipts and payments on the previous account Under the heading of the House account, rates are some £28 more than last year, a good deal of which is paid in respect of the top flat, as before mentioned Gas is £18 more, coal £14 more, and the repairs about £25 more. The total of the house account is therefore something like £75 in excess of what the previous year's account was.

The printing is £6 more, which is negligible The *Journal* is about £280 less on the face of it, but here you see we have only paid for three quarters instead of the fourth quarter, which I have just told you about, which was unpaid at the

end of the year, so in fairness we ought to add on the £180, which will make a total of £768 which our *Journal* cost us last year, which is in any event £100 less than the year before, so we have been able to reduce that somewhat.

The Library account, which during the last two or three years we have only been able to allow at £70, is down to £65 because in the previous year the £70 was overspent by £5, so that equalizes it

When we examine the Sundry Expenses we find that our teas have cost us a little less, lectures more—there are two special lectures included, both of which are mentioned in the Report. Under the general expenditure of £57 as against £52, is included £11 for a new typewriter, which was badly wanted

To sum up, the ordinary receipts last year were £2,711 5*s*. 6*d*., and the payments, after including the £12 4*s*. 7*d*. debit brought forward, and deducting the balance of £129 brought forward, are £2,669 19*s* 9*d*, considerably less than the expenses of the year before. Hence our real credit balance at the end of last year was about £41, but if we take into account the £180 owing for the October *Journal* the real position as between receipts and payments is, as I have said, a debit of £150. That is the general statement of last year's accounts.

For the rest you will find in the Report all the other items of importance which I need not here reiterate, namely as regards the numbers of members, the *Journal*, why the cost of this has decreased, the Library, and so on

The prospects for the current year seem to be a little better We started the year a little better, and are rather maintaining that, and may therefore wind up on the more hopeful note and exclaim "Now is the winter of our discontent" beginning to dissolve under what we hope is the springtime of the melting ice of our frozen subscriptions.

Before I sit down let me once more give a word of thanks to Mrs. Davis for all the help which she has unreservedly given me throughout the course of the year.

PRESIDENT: I am grateful to Mr. Perowne for the trouble

which he takes over our financial affairs, and I feel it is a great pleasure to him to be rather more cheerful on the subject than he has been in recent years.

I will now ask Mr le May to propose the adoption of the Report.

DR. LE MAY Mr. President, I assume that everybody has read the Report, and there is not much to comment on from my point of view

We have had a good many lectures of interest, but on the whole it has been a quiet year up to the time of the Coronation and receptions If I may say so for myself coming from the Far East, I should like to see more interest given by the Society to Far Eastern affairs It may be a little invidious to say so, but it seems to me that great interest is taken in India, Egypt and Arabia, and I should like to see, if possible, more interest taken in the Far East Of course, we have the China Society and the Japan Society to contend with, but I should like to see some effort made on the part of members to induce more people to join who are interested in China and Chinese affairs, Japanese, Burmese, Siamese, and Javanese affairs It occurs to me, on looking through our list of members, that we have not enough support from the Far East I hope my own associations with it do not colour my thoughts unduly, but I do feel that, and I think the Society would gain in many respects if we could induce more members to join from the Far East

As regards our *Journal* I am frankly a heretic, and almost, indeed, a Bolshevik I feel that something must be done to try and make it more interesting—and I use the word "interesting" here particularly—to our non-resident members. Of course, it is the old vicious circle—a question of expense if you enlarge it or if you use photographic material, it becomes more expensive to produce, but I do feel myself that there are so many of our members who are non-resident—and I have lived abroad myself for many years—and as the only contact with the Society is through the *Journal* it is very difficult for a man who is living, shall we

say, in China, India, or Burma, to find a sufficient amount of interest in very abstruse and scholarly papers on subjects of which he has no knowledge—I won't say no interest, but no knowledge at all I have no desire myself to lower the standard of the *Journal* I do not think we ought to do that. Is it not possible for us to try and enlarge the scope of it and also to make it more up to date, as one might say ? I once made the remark that I personally did not like its format. I was then told that it was a hundred years old, and I said that perhaps that was the reason why I did not like the format I know I am speaking in a Bolshevistic way to many of our members, but I must say what I feel. We, the Society, are now, I think, at rather a critical period of our existence, and we have so many competitors even here in London itself. It seems to me that we must take some very important steps to try and show that we are up to date It is not a question, to my mind, of lowering our standard, but of being up-to-date (we have, I believe, nearly 500 non-resident members) and I feel we can only do that through the medium of our *Journal*, even if we have to spend much more money than we do to-day, I believe we could make it of much greater interest to many of our members outside

As regards the meetings of the Society they have proved of great interest to all of us, and I personally find them very instructive We have had a number of speakers from many countries and in that way I think we do here, as far as we possibly can, fulfil our functions, but that only applies to our resident members, who can come and visit this building It does not really touch the heart of our problem

And with that I should like to propose the adoption of the Annual Report and Accounts for 1937

PRESIDENT · I will now call upon Sir Arnold Wilson to second the adoption of the Report and Accounts

SIR ARNOLD WILSON Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen, I have very much pleasure in seconding the adoption of the Report and the Accounts

I am tempted to indulge in a controversy with Mr. le May on the respective values of high scholarship and the more popular items which he would like to include in our programme, but this is not the moment As to the format of the *Journal*, its size is that of the Proceedings of a number of learned Societies and is almost ideal, in the interests of shelf-space and legibility, and when I was investigating the question of scientific societies and their journals a few years ago the Royal Asiatic Society approached very nearly to the optimum standards laid down by a former inquiry into the legibility of print. (Here it was asked if this remark applied also to photographic material, and Sir Arnold replied that he could not deal with this point without notice) I am no scholar. I can think of no learned journal from which I get better value. To be brought to realize the great depths of one's own ignorance and the vast erudition of others is, in itself, an education

There is much that we should all like to see published regarding the lands of which we have special knowledge, but our *Journal* remains the only one of interest in this country in which it is possible to publish the results of scholarship, and I hope that its high standard will be maintained.

I agree entirely with Mr le May that more attention should be paid to the problems of the Far East They are fundamental to our civilization, China and Japan, like India, have something to teach us as well as we to learn from them. I should like to see Asia regarded as being in some sense a unity and deserving of far more intensive study than we have yet seen fit to give to it

I had hoped, not many years ago, that it might be possible to raise funds to enable the Royal Asiatic Society to establish itself in larger premises, joining in the occupation of one building, with some of the other learned societies which have common objects, and I am not without hope that that may one day happen We should have far more support from commercial firms in the Far East than we are getting at present.

It is our duty to maintain the Society as a living growth and influence. The part that England and, indeed, Europe will have to play in Asia during the next hundred years will, in my view, be more nearly related to the conception of scholarship and scientific knowledge than of administrative capacity. Executive activities will be more and more transferred to the nationalist hands, but scholarship will, for many a long year, be our prerogative, and it is in many quarters a very great influence, as I know by experience in Persia and in Arabia. Politicians respect and admire scholarship, even when they do not understand it. They realize it to be something of permanent value, and the very detachment of a scholar from the pretty controversies and current emergencies gives him a certain standing, and I believe that the Council of Foreign Relations, of which Lord Eustace Percy is the head would do well to make far more use of our scholars if it wished to create a favourable impression abroad. I have a vivid recollection of the visit of your President to Baghdad immediately after the War, and of the impression caused amongst the Arabian notables of Baghdad by the arrival from England of one who knew their literature, their language, their classical language, better than most of them, and who studied modern problems *sub specie aeternitatis*—from a detached standpoint which they envied even though they could not follow it. There was very real fruit from Professor Margoliouth's visit to Baghdad, and I have seen similar results from the visits of other scholars to countries which they have seldom visited but have long studied

We all wish this Society a prosperous year and a future yet greater than its past. We have here one of the most valuable instruments for the promotion of fundamental understanding and of good will that any nation possesses. We know what use the French and the Germans make of their own cultural institutions. Let us hope that we may, in the future, make far more use of this, the most influential of our own cultural bonds with Asiatic peoples.

The Report was then adopted and the recommendation accepted for the election of a President, the re-election of the honorary officers, the filling of vacancies on the Council and the appointment of auditors for the ensuing session.

THE PRESIDENT. Ladies and Gentlemen, sixteen years ago, on the death of Lord Reay, who had been our President for twenty-eight years, during which he had given us the advantage of his experience, his wisdom and his wide acquaintance with men and things, and whose qualifications for such a post were attested by his being selected to be the first President of the British Academy, founded in 1901, it was decided to follow the example of some other institutions and limit the tenure of the Presidency to a term of years Ours, which is three years, is somewhat longer than that of the Royal Geographical Society, which is only two We believed that the change was in the interest of the Society and of the Presidents. The office is not a sinecure. during my tenure of it I have expected every morning's post to bring me a communication from one of the permanent officers requiring an answer. It seemed to us that it would be easier to get suitable persons to undertake it if they could regard the office as temporary rather than as permanent And further there would be more opportunity for the introduction of new ideas and the trial of experiments Those forecasts have been realized by all who have occupied the post between the death of Lord Reay and my own occupation of it

My term of three years is now concluded, and I wish to express my gratitude to many persons First to the Society itself for letting my name appear in a list which contains those of men distinguished for services to Oriental Literature or to the state in connection with its Oriental possessions, or to both. A list which contains such names as those of Horace Hayman Wilson, Sir Henry Rawlinson, Sir William Muir, Sir Bartle Frere, is one to which admission resembles election to a very exclusive club Next, I may in the name of the Council and of the Society thank Lord Hailey for accepting

the succession. Our connection with India is so close and our Indian membership so large that no more suitable head of the Society could be found than one who has held high office in that country and, indeed, been governor of more than one of its provinces.

I have next to express my personal gratitude to those on whose counsel I have had to rely, in the first place two of our number, the hon. secretary, Mr. Oldham, and the Director, Sir E. D. Ross. The latter is retiring from his headship of the School of Oriental Studies, to be succeeded by another member of our Council, Professor Turner The statesmanly gift of selecting the right men for posts was never more felicitously displayed than when Sir Denison Ross was chosen for the first principal of that institution. Only a man combining, as he does, extraordinary linguistic gifts with no less extraordinary skill in administration, could have made of that School the success which he has achieved We will wish him many years of well-earned leisure, which will doubtless be employed in no less distinguished service than that which he has rendered during the busy years of his headship.

One other person to whose advice I had frequently to resort is no longer with us Events that were unforeseen when I accepted the Presidency were the death of the patron of the Society, King George V, the accession and abdication of his successor, and the accession of the sovereign whose Coronation we are still celebrating. For the etiquette to be observed in the attitude of the President towards the Royal Patron of the Society I solicited the guidance of Sir Percy Cox, then President of the Royal Geographical Society. In furnishing that guidance he exhibited a quality emphasized in the obituary notice of him in *The Times* His answers to questions were invariably based on accurate ascertainment of what was correct. By his death the country has lost one of the most gifted and one of the most meritorious of her public servants

One of the very gravest that our Society could sustain occurred only yesterday, that of a man who has rendered

long, manifold, and important service to us, who might well have looked forward to many more years of scientific activity, and who since he joined the staff of Oxford University in 1908 has been an intimate and valued friend of my own. The sudden death of Stephen Langdon communicated to me by telephone yesterday evening will be deplored here and in the United States, in the countries of the European continent, in Iraq and elsewhere, as that of a master of the cuneiform languages and of Semitic philology In him Oxford loses one of its most successful and original researchers, an indefatigable worker, a planner of great enterprises and a pioneer.

This brings me to say a word about the losses which our own Society has sustained during the year. Our Report rightly places at the beginning of its list the name of Sir James Stewart Lockhart, whose practical acquaintance with the Far East was of great value to our deliberations, and who also held the by no means easy post of Honorary Secretary. Among the members whom we miss, two were personal friends of my own—Professor Gottheil, of New York, well known for his contributions to Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic philology, and our Honorary Member, Professor C Snouck Hurgronje, of Leiden, unquestionably the leader of Islamic studies in Europe Dr Winternitz was also known to me personally, having spent some time in Oxford, among whose many services to Oriental literature was his elaborate Index to the Oxford series called Sacred Books of the East Of Honorary Members we may quote Vergil's well-known lines.

Primo avulso non deficit alter
Aureus et simili frondescit virga metallo

The gentlemen who have accepted honorary membership in lieu of those whom we have lost will add no less lustre to our Society than their predecessors

Among features of the past three years on which we congratulate ourselves are the interest and co-operation which Ministers of Oriental states have taken in our activities. This was notably the case in the Mutanabbi celebrations, wherein

this Society and the Poetry Society were summoned to co-operate with the representatives of the governments of Egypt, Iraq and Sa'udiyah Arabia. It was not long since the Iranian Minister gave us his assistance with the millenary celebration of Firdausi.

For the success of both the reception in honour of Mutanabbi and that which took place on the sixth of this month when we were gratified by the presence of the Secretary of State for India, a former President of this Society, and large numbers of distinguished visitors from the Oriental sections of the British Commonwealth of Nations, we were greatly indebted to the efforts of our Secretary, Colonel Hoysted, and our Assistant Secretary, Mrs Davis Thanks are also due to Professor Yetts, who designed and provided the invitation card, and to the Committee of Invitation, Sir E D. Ross, Mr. Oldham, and Sir E Maclagan. Without their special knowledge we might have been bewildered.

Something must be said about the financial condition of the Society as described by the Honorary Treasurer, to whom we owe so much for the care and thought which he bestows on our incomings and outgoings, and the firmness with which he resists all projects which savour of extravagance His report is less pessimistic than I had feared but as it is still somewhat gloomy I will base my attempts at consolation on classical models. Most treatises of consolation find the most copious source of comfort in showing that other people are worse off. Hence it may soothe us to be told that whereas our membership totals 732, that of the Société Asiatique of Paris, according to the latest figures at my disposal, those for 1935, totals 410, not much more than half. Their income for that year came to 75,000 francs, about £1,000 at the time, with expenditure 81,000 francs. The German Oriental Society publishes no annual list of members, but whereas its receipts for 1929 were 60,314 RM, those for 1930 were 35,396 RM., and those for 1935, the last to which I have access, 20,821 RM. During these six years the income of that Society according to

these figures was reduced by two-thirds. Ours, which in 1929 was 4,220, and is now 2,881, shows a reduction of not more than one-third.

Both these Societies suffer from the same disadvantages as render recruiting difficult in our case. (1) Our principles prevent us from being popular, the *Journal Asiatique* is somewhat more technical than our own (2) Owing to the variety of the subjects with which we deal, much of each number of the *Journal* is of little interest to whole groups of our members, the time when an Orientalist could, like Francis Bacon, take all knowledge for his department is long past. (3) There are competitors, whom perhaps we should rather call colleagues, both in this country and abroad, who draw away possible members of our Societies The second of these ought to be less serious than the others It ought not to be hard to convince those who complain of only a moderate amount of the space in our *Journal* being given to their special subject that only by joining forces can we maintain an organ for the advancement of Oriental learning at all

The chief reason for the financial strain is, however, a matter over which we have no control, again a commonplace of those who write letters of consolation Our numbers have not fallen off since pre-War times, when we were prosperous, in the Report for 1913 when the *Journal* was of 1,200 pages, the membership was 646 against the present total 732, and the income £2,561 against the present £2,881. On the other hand, both have fallen off seriously since 1930 when the former was 968 and the latter £4,220 Doubtless the financial crisis, which dates from that period, and the rise in prices are responsible for the decline.

Hence we have had to send round the hat, and whether it will return laden with a golden or even what is euphemistically called a silver collection cannot be forecast, though I fear that hearts are hardened by the number of appeals of all sorts issued which the post brings each morning with the regularity of the daily newspaper Hence we must increase our efforts

to attract new members and, in doing so, can emphasize what we have pointed out in our leaflet, viz. that several of our activities are calculated to be useful to persons who have no time or taste to become Orientalists in the stricter sense. In our Report we have expressed our appreciation of the service rendered us by Professor Yetts and Dr. Margaret Smith in swelling the list of our Library members, and I will conclude with the hope that next year's figures may show a turn in the right direction, and that lost ground has been more than recovered.

Burton Memorial Medal and Lecture

RICHARD BURTON

The Burton Memorial Lecture was delivered on 27th May, 1937, before the Society, at 74 Grosvenor Street, S W 1, by Lieut -Col. Sir Arnold Wilson, to whom the Society's Burton Memorial Medal was presented by Mr Bertram Thomas

In presenting the medal,

Mr. Bertram Thomas said that while it would be an honour for anyone to present the Burton Memorial Medal of the Royal Asiatic Society to such a distinguished man as Sir Arnold Wilson, for the speaker it was more He had, as a young man, had the privilege of serving in the Middle East under Sir Arnold, and he quickly came to have the greatest admiration for him. That admiration was shared by every young officer who came under the same good influence Sir Arnold was an inspiration to youth He had those qualities, common to most big men, which inspired confidence and respect, loyalty and devotion But it would show a want of proportion, in the speaker, to enlarge, before so learned an audience, upon Sir Arnold's gifts of mind and spirit—these were common knowledge. It was more fitting on the day on which they were commemorating that adventurous spirit, Richard Burton, that he should touch on one or two of Sir Arnold's own adventures as a young man.

Lieutenant Wilson, as a young subaltern living on his pay, made his way home on his first leave, travelling as cheaply as he could from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian. A more historic trip was to follow when, as Boundary Commissioner, he passed from Fao to Ararat and thence to London by way of Archangel, for the great War had broken out He had earned the MacGregor Medal for exploration and the C M.G. —of which he was for some years the youngest recipient—in his travels in the wildest parts of Persia. He returned to Basrah in 1914 to take part in the Mesopotamian campaign Mr Thomas recounted some of Captain Wilson's thrilling experiences as a ground scout with the small but gallant force that fought and won its way through the Euphrates marshes, and quoted from *Loyalties* and *A Clash of Loyalties*, Sir Arnold's two classic volumes which covered the whole of that great and terrible episode in our military history

The speaker concluded with the opinion that of one thing they could all be quite sure, and that was that Sir Richard Burton would have been proud in the man that their Society delighted to honour, in his name, that day

Sir Arnold Wilson, having expressed his appreciation of the honour thus conferred on him by the Society and of the language used by Mr Bertram Thomas who, both in exploration and in scholarship, had far outstripped all his tutors of his early days in the Services, proceeded to give a summary of his address, which has been printed in full [1] He had obtained, he said, from the Public Record Office, copies of two hitherto unpublished documents of interest to Arabists—Burton's account of the departure of the Mecca Caravan from Damascus in 1870 and 1871, which would be found annexed to his address, as also a despatch of the greatest interest from Fernando Po, in which Burton gave a vivid account of conditions as he found them on the Gold Coast. Burton, he said, was one of the most proficient linguists born

[1] Oxford University Press, 2s

in this country of whom we have authentic records. His works of travel number over fourscore, and cover four continents, ranging from India and Arabia to East and West Africa, and from South America to Italy. His translations include the Lusiads of Camoens, some of the fairy tales of India, and *erotica* of Arabia. "His rendering of Camoens was a masterly performance, abounding with the most recondite and learned annotations. His literal translation of *The Arabian Nights* is the work of an accomplished Eastern scholar who could treat the curious questions suggested by these stories . . . with the frankness, and some of the recklessness, of science" He was a classical scholar, a competent archæologist, and an observer with a passion for accuracy In Arabia and Africa he could, with complete success, disguise his appearance, but not his opinions of his superiors or of the world in which he lived Only once was his claim to be a *bona-fide* traveller contested—by a barmaid at the Zoo His worth as a close and accurate observer of men and of women, wherever he was, is well established, but the soundness of his judgments and the value of his work was not always appraised at its full worth by his countrymen or by officials whose vision, like that of the barmaid, was limited by the nature of their office, and their confidence in humanity more undermined than that of most barmaids by constant preoccupation with a routine which brought them into contact, even by correspondence, with few men of his calibre

Richard Burton was honoured by no university and, until he turned to translations of Oriental *erotica*, his immense literary output attracted comparatively little attention outside a small circle His object was neither fame nor money, but an honourable desire to place fully on record all he knew and could discover upon any subject which interested him. His interests were as varied as the countries in which he dwelt, as an official of the Government of India, and, later, as a Consul Those who followed in his footsteps had borne witness to his conscientious adherence to geographical truth.

His career as an explorer began in 1852, when he undertook, in the disguise of a Pathan, his famous journey to Medina and Mecca. His life henceforth, until he settled down as Consul at Trieste, was an almost uninterrupted series of exploring expeditions. He never lost touch with the results of Eastern scholarship, and was a member of this Society from 1860 till his death in 1890 Soon after his marriage to Isabel, of the family of Arundell of Wardour, he was sent, in August, 1861, as Consul to Fernando Po, on the West Coast of Africa, then notorious as "the Foreign Office grave". The town consisted largely of mat-huts. There was no Consulate building, the Treasury having refused to incur the expense of erecting one, finding it cheaper, we may presume, to send fairly senior men there and let them die. Burton's predecessor had erected in 1856 a single-storey bungalow of wood and mats which, when Burton arrived, was uninhabitable His application to spend £322 in repairing it can be seen in the Public Record Office On the back are the brief official minutes of his official superiors.

I

Is there any precedent for this in Fernando Po?

II.

No

He was accordingly told that Government would incur no expense on erecting a building he could rent a residence and an office in the town

He was not encouraged to explore His application for surveying instruments made shortly after his arrival at his post, was endorsed as follows at the Foreign Office.—

I

Is there any precedent?

II

No, I think it objectionable that our Consuls should be furnished with such things

He was instructed accordingly!

His *Wit and Wisdom from W Africa* merits republication

to-day: it includes some 2,268 proverbs and idioms, in the Wolof, Kanuri, Oji and Fan tongues, and the Ga, or Accra, Yoruba and Efik languages, throwing much light on contemporary habits and superstitions, and is as valuable in its way as *Roebuck's Oriental Proverbs*, which equally deserves such immortality as a reprint can afford. He had no desire to administer, but rather to guide, Eastern and African people, and foretold accurately much that has come to pass in the social and political development of certain Eastern nations.

His translation of the *1,001 Nights*, published in 1885, gave him a chance of placing on record what he knew upon many subjects, and it brought in money which was an absolute necessity The demand for it surprised him. The technical excellence of his translation is undisputed to the value to scholars and psychiatrists of his learned notes all workers in this field have testified He described it as a work of scholarship published in order that the rulers of the East should understand the mainsprings of Eastern life Were such a work to be published to-day it would arouse less shocked comment, and perhaps be more widely read

"March at the head of the ideas of your time," wrote Louis Napoleon from the prison of Ham, in 1841, "and they will follow and sustain you Follow them and they will carry you along. Oppose them and they will crush you" Burton opposed the ideas of his time In some respects he was better fitted for official life in the present day, when his ideals of indirect rule are being rediscovered. But we may say of him with confidence, as Firdausi says of himself in the concluding couplets of the *Shah Namah* —

All men of prudence, faith and rede shall give
Applause to me, when I have ceased to live,
But live I shall, for seeds of words have I
Flung broadcast, and, henceforth I shall not die.

Notices

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

December 1937.—At Trivandrum, the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference will meet under the patronage of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore.

We offer our congratulations to Professor D. S. Margoliouth, our Director, who has recently been elected an Honorary Member of the American Oriental Society.

On 24th June the Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari, P.C., Kt., LL.D., made an announcement in connection with a very generous gift to our library from H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad. In commemoration of his Silver Jubilee, His Exalted Highness has signified his desire to present to the Society a set of the Arabic and Persian books published by the Da'irat al-Ma'arif, under his direction. Lord Hailey, the President of the Society, in accepting the gift, desired Sir Akbar Hydari to convey to His Exalted Highness the very grateful thanks of the Society for his munificent bequest.

On account of the summer vacation, it would be greatly appreciated if correspondence could be reduced to a minimum during the months of August and September.

Members and subscribing libraries are reminded that by Rule 24 the annual subscriptions for the coming year are due on 1st January, without application from the Society. A great saving would be effected if all members would kindly comply with this rule.

Students are requested to note that the Students' Room of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities on the upper floor of the British Museum opened on Monday,

10th May, 1937, and is now available, with the exception of the usual holidays, for the use of students of Egyptian papyri and Assyrian and Babylonian tablets Other classes of written documents and the archæological material will be made available as the rearrangement of the collections is completed

Students who desire to continue their use of the room should renew their tickets immediately, and are requested to give notice of their requirements before presenting themselves

Dr. B. C. Law Trust Series

The first period during which MSS may be submitted by competitors for publication in the above series, lately founded by Dr Bimala Churn Law, of Calcutta, will close on 31st December, 1938 Details are given in the loose sheet enclosed in this number of the *Journal* They may also be obtained on application to The Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society, 74 Grosvenor Street, London, W 1

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

The Journal of the Royal Society of Arts Vol lxxxv, No. 4405, 23rd April, 1937

Mackay, E J A Excavations at Chanhu-Daro

The Geographical Journal Vol lxxxix, No. 4, April, 1937.

Teichman, Sir E The Motor Route from Peking to Kashgar.

Bengal Past and Present Vol liii, Part i, Serial No. 105, January–March, 1937.

Cotton, Sir E A Forgotten Sea-Fight in the " Bengal River ".
Hobbs, H Scraps of Fort William Regimental History
Chatterjee, N Shamsuddaulah's Intrigues against the English.
Jones, Mrs R E B Through the Santhal Rising, 1855–6
Bullock, H More Monumental Inscriptions

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society Vol. xxii, Part iv, December, 1936

Chaudhuri, P C The Cult of Tārā and an Image from Pārbatī
Heras, Fr H Two Proto-Indian Inscriptions from Chānhu Daro.

Journal of the University of Bombay Vol v, Part iv, January, 1937

Duarte, A Piracy in the Western Seas in the Reign of Aurangzeb.
Goetz, H Life and Art in the Mughal Period

Journal of Indian History Vol xv, Part 3, Serial No 45, December, 1936

Sircar, D C Kadamba Krishnavarman I and his Successors
Diskalkar, D B James Grant Duff's Private Correspondence with Maharaja Pratapsimha of Satara
Moreland, W H Zat Rank in the Mogul Empire

Indian Culture Vol iii, No 4, April, 1937

Przyluski, J Asses, Horses, and Gandharvas
Rhys-Davids, C A F Towards a History of the Khandha-Doctrine (*Concluded*)
Fábri, C L A Sumero-Babylonian Inscription discovered at Mohenjo-Daro
Heras, Fr H Mohenjo Daro—The People and the Land.
Berriedale Keith, A The Aśvins and the Great Goddess
Bose, S. K A Fresh Hoard of so-called Puri Kushan Coins.
Law, B. C Ancient Indian Tribes

Indian State Railways Magazine Vol. x, No. 6, March, 1937.

The Old Temple City of Madura

Rosenthal, E. Pandua and Gaur Wonder Cities of old Bengal.

No. 8, May, 1937.

Theophilus. Detective Archæology (Identification of Kanishka's Stupa near Peshawur and the finding of a relic casket therein.)

Indian Art and Letters. Vol xi, No 1, first issue for 1937.

Yazdani, G. The Rock-hewn Temples of Aurangabad: Their Sculpture and Architecture.

Sastri, H The Archæological Department in Baroda

Paranavitana, S Recent Archæological Work in Ceylon.

The Indian Historical Quarterly. Vol xiii, No 1, March, 1937.

Berriedale Keith, A The Home of the Indo-Europeans

Bhattacharyya, D C. Sanskrit Scholars of Akbar's Time.

Iraq Vol. iv, Part i, Spring, 1937.

Corbiau, S. New Finds in the Indus Valley.

Van Buren, E D A Gaming-board from Tall Ḥalaf

Driver, G R. A Babylonian Tablet with an Aramaic Endorsement

Gaster, T. H. The Battle of the Rain and the Sea. An Ancient Semitic Nature-Myth.

Gadd, C J. The Infancy of Man in a Sumerian Legend

Campbell Thompson, R An Assyrian Parallel to an Incident in the Story of Semiramis (ii) Fragments of Stone Reliefs and Inscriptions found at Nineveh

Holmyard, E. J Aidamir Al-Jildaki

The Journal of the Assam Research Society Vol iv, No. 4, January, 1937

Barua, K L. Clay-Seals of Bhāskaravarman.

Journal of the Malayan Branch Royal Asiatic Society Vol. xiv, Part iii, December, 1936

Coedès, G À propos d'une nouvelle théorie sur le site de Śrīvijaya

Winstedt, R Notes on the History of Kedah

Evans, I H. N. Notes on Malayan Antiquities

Rentse, A. The Kelantan Shadow-play (Wayang Kulit).

Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums Vol xix, Part i, December, 1936.

Noone, H. D. Report on the Settlements and Welfare of the Ple-Temiar Senoi of the Perak-Kelantan Watershed.

Oceania Vol. vii, No 3, March, 1937.

Elkin, A P Beliefs and Practices connected with Death in North-Eastern and Western South Australia.

Bell, F L S Death in Tanga

Vial, L G The Dangagamun Ceremony of the Wantoat

McConnel, U H Mourning Ritual among the Tribes of Cape York Peninsula.

Aiston, G The Aboriginal Narcotic Pitcheri

Stanner, W E H Aboriginal Modes of Address and Reference in the North-West of the Northern Territory

Journal of the American Oriental Society Vol 57, No 1, March, 1937

Mackay, E. Bead Making in Ancient Sind (3 plates)

Reischauer, R K The Japanese Shōen or Manor · Some useful Terminology

Muller, V Studies in Oriental Archæology. I, Plano-convex bricks

Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies Vol 2, No 1, March, 1937.

Britton, R S Oracle-bone Color Pigments

Suter, R A Note about Ingenuousness in the Ethical Philosophy of Mencius

Acta Orientalia Vol xv, Pars iv, 1937

Johnston, E H The Buddha's Mission and Last Journey *Buddha-carita*, xv to xxviii (*Concluded*)

Ostasiatische Zeitschrift Neue Folge 12 Jahrg, Der Ganzen Reihe 22. Jahrg Heft, 6 1936

Fischer-Wieruszowski, F Japanische Lackkunst des 18 Jahrhunderts im Dienst einer europaischen Satire

Gangoly, O C Mughal and Rajput Miniatures

Umehara, S Über die Bronzezeit in China

C Der Widder der Sammlung Baron von der Heydt

Journal Asiatique Tome ccxxviii, Avril-Juin, 1936

Przyluski, J, et Lalou, M Récits populaires et contes bouddhiques

Benveniste, E Notes parthes et sogdiennes

Duchesne-Guillemin, J Les citations avestiques de l'Augmadaiča.

No 3, Juillet-Septembre, 1936

Haguenauer, C À propos de nouvelles recherches concernant le Leao-tong, la Corée et le Japon (Shikoku) antiques

—— Les Gores (mise au point)

Fazy, R Baudoin Ier et Pétra (novembre à décembre 1100).

Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
Tome xxxvi (Premier Fascicule), 1936.

Pauty, E L'Architecture au Caire depuis la conquête ottomane (vue d'ensemble)
Pillet, M L'extraction du granit en Égypte à l'époque pharaonique

La Géographie Tome lxvii, No 4, Avril, 1937

Dalet, R Essai sur les pagodes cambodgiennes et leurs annexes.

La Revue de l'Académie Arabe Vol xv, No 3–4, Mars–Avril, 1937

Cantineau, M J Réflections générales sur la dialectologie des parlers arabes
Anastase, M le P Les noms arabes terminés par " ieh ".

Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.
Deel lxxvii, Aflevering 2, 1937

Wellan, J W J Onze eerste aanrakingen met Lampoeng
Stutterheim, W F Het zinrijke waterwerk van Djalatoenda
—— Oudheidkundig Verslag 1936
Sastri, K A Nilakanta Śrīvijaya, Candrabhānu and Vīra-Pāndya

Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama No 33, 1937

Fernandes, L C O Livro e o Jornal em Goa (*Continued*)

The Tsing Hua Journal Vol xii, No 1, January, 1937.

Wang Li The Copula in Chinese
Wên I-to Notes on the *Shih ching*
Fêng Yu-lan Chinese Political Philosophy and Politics in Chinese History
P'êng Li-t'ien Notes on Some Early Yueh-fu Poems

No 2, April, 1937

Yang Shu-ta Semantic Notes on the *Tso chuan.*
T'ang Lan On the Absence of the Double Consonants in Archaic Chinese
Ch'ên Yin-k'o Notes on the *Hsiao yao yu*
Chang Yin-lin. The Revolt of Wang Hsiao-po and Li Shun in Ssŭ-ch'uan, 993–5 · An Unsuccessful Communist Movement.

Archiv fur Orientforschung Band xi, Heft 5/6, 1937.

Weidner, E F Die Reliefs der assyrischen Konige. IV. Die assyrischen Reliefs in England (II Teil)
Bissing, W. Freiherr von. Das angebliche Weltreich der Hyksos.

Thompson, R. C Assyrian Prescriptions for Stone in the Kidneys, for the " middle ", and for Pneumonia

Oppenheim, M. Freiherr von Imamkulu, ein neues subaraisches Denkmal aus der Hettiterzeit in Kleinasien

Opitz, D., Van Buren, E. D. Die vogelfussige Gottin auf den Löwen.

Der Islam Band 24, Heft 2, 1937

Somogyi, J von Ein arabischer Bericht uber die Tataren im " Ta'rīḫ al-Islām " von aḏ-Ḏahabī

Furlani, G Gli interdetti dei Yezidi

ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS

No 5110, vol 190, of 27th March, 1937, includes more details of the finds made by Mr M E L Mallowan at Chagar Bazar in the north-east corner of Syria, on the ancient overland route from the Mediterranean to Nineveh, a battle-axe of a new type, fertility figures, ornaments, and and seals from *c.* 3000 B.C.

No 5121, of June 12, contains a further description by Professor Sami Gabra, Director of the Eygptian University, of the excavations at Hermopolis West (see also 8th June, 1935) showing a park and subterranean mausoleum for the sacred Ibis, made in honour of Thoth

PRESENTATIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

April–June, 1937

Andrews, R C, This business of exploring . . 9½ × 6½ *New York*, 1935. *From Messrs Putnam's Sons.*

Appaya Dīkśita : The Siddhāntaleśasangraha . Ed by S S. Suryanarayana Sastri . Vol 2. Roman and Sanskrit texts. (Madras Univ, Publns of the Dept. of Indian Philosophy, no 4) 10 × 7 *Madras*, 1937.
From the Registrar, Madras University

Bāṇa. Kādambarī Vertaling . . in het nederlands van het Uttarabhāga en van gedeelten van het Pūrvabhāga . . door A A M Scharpé (Proefschrift, Utrecht.) 10 × 6½. *Leuven*, 1937. *From N V de Vlaamsche Drukkerij.*

Banerjee, I., Evolution of the Khalsa Vol 1 The foundation of the Sikh Panth . . 9 × 6. *Calcutta*, 1936
From the Registrar, Calcutta Univ.

Borah, M I, Baharistān-i-Ghaybi A history of the Mughal wars in Assam, Cooch Behar, etc, by Mīrzā Nathan Tr. from the Persian by M I Borah . (1st ed) (Publ by the Dept of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam) 2 vols 9 × 6 *Ganhati* (*Madras pr*), 1936
From the Dept of Hist and Antiquarian Studies.

Boucheman, A de, Une petite cité caravanière Suhné . . . (Documents d'Études Or de l'Inst Fr de Damas, tom 6) 12 × 9½ (*Damascus* ?, 1936) *Exchange*

Boustany, W. F, The Palestine mandate, invalid and impracticable . 10 × 7 *Beirut*, 1936
From the Palestine Information Centre.

Brierre-Narbonne, J J., Exégèse apocryphe des prophéties messianiques *With extracts in Ethiopic, Hebrew, Syriac, etc, accompanied by French tr Autographed* 13 × 10. *Paris*, 1937. *From Messrs Paul Geuthner.*

Buddhaghosa. Papañcasūdanī Majjhimanikāyatthakatha Pt. 4, Suttas 101–130. Ed. by I. B. Horner. (Pali Text Soc) 9 × 6 *London*, 1937. *Subscription*

——Sāratthappakāsinī B's commentary on the Samyuttanikāya Ed by F L Woodward . . Vol 3 . With index to vols 1–3. (Pali Text Soc.) 9 × 6. *London*, 1937.
Subscription.

Bulletin de la Maison Franco-Japonaise. Tome 8, nos 2–4. Sylvain Lévi et son œuvre. Etudes sur la pensée religeuse au Japon. [Both by various writers] 9 × 6½. *Tōkyō*, (1936).
From the Maison Franco-Japonaise.

Burrow, T, The language of the Kharosthi documents from Chinese Turkestan .. 9 × 6 *Cambridge*, 1937
From the Cambridge University Press.

Byron, R., The road to Oxiana *London*, 1937.
From Messrs Macmillan.

Cairo, Egyptian Library Arabic papyri in the Egyptian Library By A. Grohmann. Vol 2. Legal texts . 13 × 10 *Cairo*, 1936.
From the Egyptian Library

Calcutta, Bengal Library Catalogue of books registered in the Presidency of Bengal during the quarter ending 30th June (and 30th Sept), 1936 (Appendix to the *Calcutta Gazette*) 14 × 9 *Calcutta*, 1936, 37
From the High Commissioner for India.

Cambridge History of India Vol 4 The Mughul period Planned by Sir W Haig Ed by Sir R Burn 9½ × 7 *Cambridge*, 1937 *From the Cambridge University Press*

Ceylon Historical Manuscripts Commission Bulletin, No 1 May, 1937 10½ × 7½ *Colombo*, 1937.
From the Government of Ceylon

Chinese Plays Famous Chinese plays Tr and ed by L C Arlington and H Acton 9 × 6 *Peiping*, 1937
From M Henri Vetch.

Citroen Expédition Citroen Centre-Asie La croisière jaune 3e mission par G Le Fèvre 11½ × 10½ *Paris*, 1933.
From Lt-Col D M F Hoysted

Collis, M, She was a queen 9 × 6 *London*, 1937
From Messrs Faber and Faber

Confucius The Analects, or the Conversations of C . Tr .. by W E Soothill . Ed by Lady Hosie (The World's Classics, 442) 6 × 4 *London*, 1937
From the Oxford University Press

Costin, W C, Great Britain and China, 1833–1860 9 × 6. *Oxford*, 1937 *From the Oxford University Press*

Craig, A, An Oriental history, particularly for the Philippines 9½ × 6½ *Manila*, 1933 *From the Author*

Crowfoot, J W, Churches at Bosra and Samaria-Sebaste (British School of Arch in Jerusalem. Supplementary Paper 4) 12 × 9½ *London*, 1937
From the Brit School of Arch in Jerusalem.

Dikshitar, V R Ramacandra, Studies in Tamil literature and history . 9 × 6 *Madras*, 1936. *From the Author*

Driver, G R, Problems of the Hebrew verbal system (Old Testament Studies, no 2) 10 × 6½ *Edinburgh*, 1937
From Messrs T. and T. Clark

Dujčev, I, Il cattolicesimo in Bulgaria nel sec xvii . (Or Christiana Analecta, 111) 10 × 7 *Roma*, 1937 *Exchange.*

Dussaud, R., Les découvertes de Ras Shamra (Ugarit) et l'Ancien Testament . 10 × 8. *Paris*, 1937.
From Messrs P. Geuthner.

Eden, E, Up the country Letters written from the upper provinces of India 8 × 5½ *London*, 1937
From the Oxford University Press.

Eranos Jahrbuch, 1936 Gestaltung der Erlosungsidee in Ost und West 8½ × 6 *Zurich*, 1937 *From the Rhein-Verlag.*

Firdausi. Glossar zu F's Schahname, von F. Wolff . . 2 vols 13 × 10 *Berlin*, 1935
Presented by the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft.

Franz, L, Die Muttergottin in Vorder Orient und in Europe . . (A O, Bd 35, Heft 3) 9½ × 6 *Leipzig*, 1937. *Bought.*

Grant, C P., The Syrian desert 9½ × 6¼. *London*, 1937
From Messrs A and C Black

Grimme, H, Altsinaitische Forschungen Epigraphisches und historisches (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altentums, Bd 20, Heft 3) 10 × 6½ *Paderborn*, 1937
From Messrs G Coldwell

Henning, W, Ein manichaisches Bet- und Beichtbuch (Herausg und ubersetzt) von W H (Abhandlungen, Preuss Akad der Wiss, Phil-hist Kl, Jahrg 1936, Nr 10) 11 × 7½. *Berlin*, 1937 *Exchange.*

Herzfeld, E, Ušā-Eos (Extr de l'Annuaire de l'Inst de Philologie et d'Hist Or et Slaves, tom 4) *Pamphlet* 10 × 6½ *Bruxelles*, 1936 *From the Author*

Hitti, P K, History of the Arabs 9 × 6½ *London*, 1937
From Messrs Macmillan and Co

Hudūd al-'Ālam "The regions of the world." A Persian geography A D 982 Tr and explained by V Minorsky With the preface by V V Barthold († 1930) tr from the Russian (Gibb Mem Ser, N S, 11) 10× 7 *London*, 1937
Subscription

"HW" and Hay, S, Air over Eden 9½ × 6½ *London*, 1937.
From Messrs Hutchinson

Ibn Hudail L'ornement des âmes et la devise des habitants d'el 'Andalus Traité de guerre sainte islamique Reproduction du MS revu et corrigé par L Mercier *Arabic Paris*, 1936 *From Messrs Paul Geuthner*

Ibn al-Mu'aiyad Anbā' az-Zaman fī Aḫbār al-Jaman Anfänge des Zaiditentums in Jemen Textkritische Teilausgabe mit Ubersetzungsprobe von Mohamed Madi (Studien zur Geschichte etc des islamischer Orients, Heft 9) 10½ × 7½. *Berlin and Leipzig*, 1936 *From Messrs. W. de Gruyter.*

India Archæological Survey List of archæological photo-negatives . . in the office of the Director General of

Archaeology in India, Simla. (Corrected up to 31st March, 1935.) Pts 1, 2 10 × 7 *Delhi*, 1936.
From the Government of India.

Indian States' Forces. Army List . . . 1st January, 1937. 10 × 6½ *Delhi*, 1937 *From the Government of India.*

Ishaque, M, Sukhanvarān-i-Irān . . Vol 2 . . *Persian* 10 × 7. *Calcutta* (*Delhi pr*), 1937 *From the Author.*

Jalal ud-dīn Rumi The Mathnawī Ed by R A Nicholson . Vol 7 Commentary on Bks. 1, 2 (Gibb Mem Ser., N S, 4, vol 7) 10 × 6½ *London*, 1937. *Subscription.*

Jeffery, A, Materials for the history of the text of the Qur'ān The old codices . (De Goeje Fund, no 11) 10 × 7½. *Leiden*, 1937 *From the Author.*

Kiernan, R H, The unveiling of Arabia . . . 9 × 6 *London*, 1937.
From Messrs George Harrap

Koppers, W., and others, Die Indogermanen und Germanen-Frage (Wiener Beitrage zur Kulturgeschichte, Jahrg. 4) 9¼ × 6½ *Salzburg and Leipzig*, 1936
From the Inst fur Völkerkunde der Univ. Wien

Kroeber, A L, Archaeological explorations in Peru, Pt 4. Cañete Valley . (Field Mus of Nat Hist, Anthropology Memoirs, vol 2, no 4) 13 × 10. *Chicago*, 1937 *Exchange.*

Lassus, J, Inventaire archéologique de la région au nord-est de Hama Tom 2, Planches (Documents d'Études Or. de l'Inst Fr de Damas, tom 4) 12 × 9½. (*Damascus ?*, 1936) *Exchange.*

Law, B C, The Buddhist conception of spirits . . 2nd ed . enlarged 8½ × 5½ *London*, 1936 *From the Author.*

—— Mahavira his life and teachings 7½ × 5 *London*, 1937.
From the Author.

Legacy of India, The, [by a variety of authors] Ed by G T. Garratt . 7½ × 5½ *Oxford*, 1937
From the Oxford University Press

Lehmann, W, Der Friedensvertrag zwischen Venedig und der Turkei von 2 Okt, 1540 *With Turkish text and German tr* (Bonner Or Studien, Heft 16) 10 × 7½ *Stuttgart*, 1936.
From Messrs Kohlhammer.

Levy, K, Zur masoretischen Grammatik Texte und Untersuchungen (Bonner Or Studien, Heft 15) 10 × 7½. *Stuttgart*, 1936 *From Messrs Kohlhammer.*

Leyden R Universitet, Bibl Catalogus Dl 37. Inventaris van de HSS Afd 4 9½ × 6½ *Leiden*, 1937
From Leyden University Library.

Littmann, E, Orientalistische Studien E Littmann zu seinen 60. Geburtstag . 1935, uberreicht . . Herausg von R Paret. 10¼ × 7 *Leiden*, 1935 *From Messrs. E J. Brill.*

Littmann Collection. Die abessinischen Handschriften der Sammlung Littmann in Tübingen. Von Murad Kamil. (A. K. M., Bd. 21, Heft 8.) 9½ × 6. *Leipzig*, 1936. *Exchange.*

Madras. A guide to the records . . . in the Madras Record Office. 10 × 6½. *Madras*, 1936.
From the High Commissioner for India.

Madras Govt. Financial Dept. Abstracts of the despatches to England, 1845–1853. Vols 4 and 5 13½ × 8½. *Madras*, 1937.
From the High Commissioner for India

—— Political Dept Index to the Political and Foreign Department Proceedings, 1801–05, 07, 09, 11–12 13½ × 8½ *Madras*, 1937. *From the High Commissioner for India*

Madras Records of Fort St. George Copies of wills, probates, and letters of administration, Mayor's Court of Madraspetam, 1735–44 Vol 1

—— Fort St David Cash Book 1747–1750

—— Mayor's Court Minutes 1739 Vol 4 · 1741–2 Vol. 5 · 1743 Vol 6.

—— Pleadings in the Mayor's Court 1731–2 Vol. 1 · 1742–3 Vol 3 13½ × 8½. *Madras*, 1936, 37.
From the High Commissioner for India

Mahābhārata. Ed by V S. Suthankar. . (Fasc 8). The Virāta-parvan, being the 4th book of the M . ed by Raghu Vira . 11½ × 9 *Poona*, 1936 *Subscription*

Majumdar, R C, Ancient Indian colonies in the Far East Vol 2 Suvarnadvipa Pt. 1. Political history. 10 × 6½ *Dacca*, 1937 *From the Author*

Medhi, Kahiram, Assamese grammar and origin of the Assamese language, with . . a short history of Assamese literature *Assamese, except for the history of A literature, which is in English* 10 × 7 *Gauhati* (*Calcutta pr*), 1936
From the Author

Michigan Preliminary report of the University of Michigan excavations at Sepphoris, Palestine, in 1931 [Ed by] L Waterman 11 × 8. *Ann Arbor*, 1937.
From the Univ of Michigan Press

Mills, J P, The Rengma Nagas 9 × 6 *London*, 1937 .
From Messrs Macmillan

Morgan, J de, Manuel de numismatique orientale . Publ achevée sous la direction de K J Basmadjian Tom 1 10½ × 7 *Paris*, 1923–1936 *From Messrs P. Geuthner*

Mullie, J, The structural principles of the Chinese language Tr from the Flemish by A Omer Versichel Vols 2 and 3 (Anthropos, Bibl. Linguistique, tom 5, 6) 10½ × 7½ *Peiping*, 1937 *From the Scheut Mission, Peiping*

Newman, H., Indian peepshow . . . 7½ × 5½ *London*, 1937.
From Messrs. G. Bell.

Nizamuddin Sami. Histoire des conquêtes de Tamerlan intitulée Zafarnāma avec des additions . . Éd . . par F. Tauer. Tom. 1 Texte persan du Z (Monografie Archivu Orientálního, vol 5.) 10 × 7 *Praha*, 1937.
From the Oriental Institute, Prague.

Nöldeke, A , Achter vorlaufiger Bericht uber die von der Deutschen Forschungs-gemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka unternommenen Ausgrabungen . (Abhandlungen, Preuss Akad der Wiss, 1936 Phil-hist Kl , Nr 13) 12 × 9½ *Berlin*, 1937.
Exchange.

O'Neale, L. M., Archæological explorations in Peru Pt 3. Textiles of the Early Nazca period . (Field Mus of Nat Hist, Anthropology Memoirs, vol 2, no 3) 13 × 10. *Chicago* 1937. *Exchange.*

Pacheco Pereira, D , Esmeraldo de situ orbis Tr and ed by G H T Kimble (Hakluyt Soc , 2nd Ser , no 79) 9 × 6 *London*, 1937 *Subscription*

Pithawala, M B , Historical geography of Sind Pt 2 *Karachi*, 1936 *From the Author*

Princess of Wales Saraswatī Bhavana Texts
No. 44, pt 2 The Śūdrāchāra Śiromani
No. 45, pt 2 The Kiranāvalī Prakāśa (Guna) By Vardhāmana Upādhyāya Ed by Badri Nath Shastri
No 62 The Nirsimha Prasāda, Tirtha Sara By Dalapati Raja Ed by Sūrya Nārāyana Śukla
No 68 The Madhvamukhālankāra By Vanamāli Miśra. Ed by Narasimhacharya Varkhedkar
No 69, pt 1 The Samksepa Śārīraka with Tattvabodhinī.
No 73 The Upendra Vijñāna Sūtra 9 × 5½ *Benares*, 1936
From the Director, Govt Sanskrit Library

Punjab Press List of Old Records in the Punjab Civil Secretariat, from 1864-8 General Dept Index to vol 19 13 × 8½ *Lahore*, 1936 *From the High Commissioner for India*

—— Press List of Old Records in the Punjab Civil Secretariat Indices to vols 16, 17, and 18 13½ × 8½ *Lahore*, [1937]
From the High Commissioner for India

Rachmati, G R , Turkische Turfan-Texte 7 Mit sinologischen Anmerkungen von W Eberhard (Abhandlungen, Preuss Akad der Wiss, 1936, Phil-hist Kl , Nr 12) 12 × 9½ *Berlin*, 1937 *Exchange*

Raghubir Sinha Malwa in transition . . 8½ × 6 *Bombay*, 1936.
From Messrs D B Taraporevala and Sons

Rājasthāna-rā Dūhā Pt 1 (Pilani Rajasthani Ser , no. 2) Compiled by Narottamadāsa Svāmī *Hindi* 8½ × 5½. *Delhi*, 1935 *From the Compiler*

Rempis, C , Beitrage zur Hayyām-Forschung . (A K. M., Bd. 22, Heft 1.) 9½ × 6 *Leipzig*, 1937. *Exchange.*

Riasanovsky, V. A., Fundamental principles of Mongol law. 9 × 6½ *Tientsin*, 1937 *From the Author.*
Roy, S. C, and Roy, R C, The Khāṛiās 2 vols. 9½ × 6. *Ranchi*, 1937 *From the Authors*
Ruben, W., Studien zur Textgeschichte des Rāmāyaṇa . . . (Bonner Or Studien, Heft 19) 10 × 7. *Stuttgart*, 1936 *From Messrs W Kohlhammer.*
Rutten, M, Contrats de l'époque Séleucide conservés au Musée du Louvre 10½ × 7. *Paris*, 1935 *From Messrs P. Geuthner.*
Rutter, O, Triumphant pilgrimage An English Muslim's journey from Sarawak to Mecca 9 × 6 *London*, 1937. *From Messrs Harrap*
Sarkar, Benoy Kumar Creative India 9 × 6 *Lahore*, 1937 *From Messrs Motilal Banersi Dass.*
Schubart, W, Verfassung und Verwaltung des Ptolemaerreichs. (A O, Bd 35, Heft 4) 9½ × 6. *Leipzig*, 1937 *Bought*
Śesa Aiyar, K. G, Cēra Kings of the Śangam period . 9 × 6 *London*, 1937 *From Messrs Luzac*
Seth, M J, Armenians in India, from the earliest times to the present day 9 × 6 *Calcutta*, 1937 *From the Author.*
Swallow, R W, Ancient Chinese bronze mirrors . 9 × 6 *Peiping*, 1937. *From M Henri Vetch*
Tamid Der Mišna-Traktat Tamid Text nach einer Vatikan-HS . ubersetzt etc, Inang Diss von A Brody . . *Uppsala*, 1936 *From the Librarian, University Library, Uppsala*
Thābit ibn Qurrah Ein Werk uber ebene Sonnen- uhren (Kitāb fi ālāt al-sā'āt allati tusamma rukhāmāt) Herausg, ubersetzt und erlautert von K Garbers (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Mathematik, etc., Abt A, Bd 4) 10½ × 7 *Berlin*, 1936 *From Messrs J Springer.*
Thomas, B, The Arabs . 9½ × 6½ *London*, 1937 *From Messrs Butterworth*
Thomsen, P, Die Palastina-Literatur Eine . Bibliographie . Bd 5 1925–1934 Lief 2 10 × 6½. *Leipzig*, 1937 *From Messrs J C Hinrichs.*
Tripathi, R S, History of Kanauj to the Moslem conquest . 10 × 7 *Benares*, 1937 *From the Author*
Upanisads The ten principal Upanishads Put into English by S Purohit Swāmi and W B Yeats 9 × 6 *London*, 1937. *From Messrs Faber and Faber.*
—— Chāndogya-Upanisad Tr, introduzione e note di V. Papesso (Testi e documenti per la storia delle religioni, vol. 7) 8 × 5 *Bologna*, (1937). *From the Translator.*
Varadachariar, N D, Indian states in the Federation . . . 7½ × 5. *Oxford*, 1936. *From the Oxford Univ Press.*
Vedas. Ṛgveda-samhitā with the commentary of Sāyaṇāchārya.

Vol. 2, Mandalas 2–5. (Tilak Mahārāshtra Univ. **Vaidika Samshodhana Mandala**) 11 × 7½. (*Poona*), 1936.
From the Vedic Research Institute.

Voigt, W, Die Wertung des Tieres in der Zarathuštrischen Religion (Christentum u Fremdreligionen, Heft 5.) *Pamphlet.* 9½ × 6½ *München*, 1937
From Messrs. E. Reinhardt.

Wang Chang-che, La philosophie morale de Wang Yang-ming .. (Variétés sinologiques, no. 63) 10½ × 6½ *Shanghai and Paris*, 1936. *From Messrs P. Geuthner.*

Young, H. A., The East India Company's arsenals and manufactories 9 × 6½ *Oxford*, 1937
From the Oxford University Press.

Zajaczkowski, A, Études sur la langue vieille-osmanlie. 2. Chapitres choisis de la traduction turque-anatolienne du Qorân (Polska Akad Umiejetności Mém de la Comm Or, no 27) 10 × 6½ *Kraków*, 1937 *Exchange*

LIST OF THE MEMBERS

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

FOUNDED MARCH, 1823

JULY, 1937

74 GROSVENOR STREET
LONDON, W. 1

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

Patron
HIS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY THE KING.

Vice-Patrons
FIELD-MARSHAL HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT.

THE VICEROY OF INDIA.
THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

Honorary Vice-Presidents
1925 THE RIGHT HON. LORD CHALMERS, P.C., G.C.B., F.B.A.
1925 SIR GEORGE A. GRIERSON, O.M., K.C.I.E., PH.D., D.LITT.

COUNCIL OF MANAGEMENT FOR 1937-38

President
1937 THE LORD HAILEY, G C S I, G C I E

Director
1937 PROFESSOR D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, M.A, D.LITT., F.B.A.

Vice-Presidents
1934 L. D BARNETT, ESQ., C B, M.A, LITT D.
1935 C. OTTO BLAGDEN, ESQ., M.A., HON D.LITT.
1934 SIR EDWARD MACLAGAN, K.C S I, K C.I.E, M.A.
1937 SIR E. DENISON ROSS, KT, C I.E., PH.D, D.LIT.

Honorary Officers
1919 A. G. ELLIS, ESQ., M.A (*Hon Librarian*).
1935 C. E A W OLDHAM, ESQ, C S I (*Hon Secretary*).
1923 E. S. M PEROWNE, ESQ, F S.A (*Hon. Treasurer*)

Ordinary Members of Council
1935 R. E ENTHOVEN, ESQ., C I.E
1937 SIR WILLIAM FOSTER, KT C I E.
1936 C. J GADD, ESQ, M.A.
1934 M. GASTER, PH.D
1934 L C. HOPKINS, ESQ, I S O
1936 PROFESSOR E H. JOHNSTON, D LITT.
1935 R S LE MAY, ESQ, PH D
1936 LIEUT.-COL. D L R LORIMER, C I E
1936 SIR JOHN MARSHALL, KT, C I E, LITT D., F.S.A., F.B.A.
1934 R. A. NICHOLSON, ESQ, LITT.D, F B A
1934 H. N. RANDLE, ESQ, M.A., PH D.
1935 A. S TRITTON, ESQ, D LITT
1935 PROFESSOR R L TURNER, M C., M.A, LITT.D.
1934 SIR OLIVER WARDROP, K B E, C M.G, M.A
1937 SIR C LEONARD WOOLLEY, KT, M A, D LITT
1936 PROFESSOR W. PERCEVAL YETTS, O.B.E., D.LIT., M.R.C.S.

Secretary and Librarian
1930 COL. D M F. HOYSTED, C.B E., D.S.O.

Asst. Secretary
1925 MRS. M. DAVIS.

Asst. Librarian
1932 MRS. F. M G CARDEW.

Honorary Solicitors
MESSRS. T. L. WILSON & Co.,
Westminster Chambers, 5 Victoria Street, S.W. 1.

COMMITTEES

Entente

SIR E. MACLAGAN
PROF. R. A. NICHOLSON.
SIR E. DENISON ROSS.
PROF. F. W. THOMAS.

Finance

THE PRESIDENT
THE DIRECTOR.
THE HON OFFICERS

Library

THE HON OFFICERS.
DR A J ARBERRY.
DR L D BARNETT
DR C O BLAGDEN
MR G L M CLAUSON
SIR W. FOSTER.
DR. M. GASTER.
PROF W P YETTS

Editorial and Publications Committee

THE PRESIDENT.
THE DIRECTOR.
THE HON OFFICERS
DR. A J ARBERRY
DR. L D BARNETT.
DR. C O BLAGDEN
MR C J GADD.
MR. L C HOPKINS
LIEUT-COL. D L R LORIMER
DR. H N RANDLE.
SIR E DENISON ROSS
DR. W. SIMON.
PROF. W. P YETTS

University Prize Committee, 1937

SIR E MACLAGAN (Convener).
SIR E D. ROSS.
SIR W. FOSTER.

Honorary Auditors, 1937-38

MR. R. E. ENTHOVEN (for the Council).
MR. C N SEDDON (for the Society).

Members

RESIDENT AND NON-RESIDENT

N.B —The marks prefixed to the names signify—

* Non-resident Members
‖ Borrowing Members.
† Members who have compounded for their subscriptions
‡ Library Associates
¶ Student Associates
§ Members who have served on Council.

HIS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY THE KING, K G

1882 FIELD-MARSHAL HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT, K G

1936 *ABDUL-HAFIZ, SYED, F T S, F R H S, *Imperial Government Pensioner, Noor Manzil, Fazilpura, Aurangabad, Deccan, India*

1925 *†ABIDI, Saiyyid M A H. H, M A, L T, *King Edward College, Amraoti, Berar, India*

1923 *ACHARYA, Girjashankar V, B A, *Curator, Arch Section, Prince of Wales Museum, Fort, Bombay, India*

1937 *ACHARYA, K. S R, B A, L T, F R E S, *Principal, City College, Madras, India*

1930 *ACHARYA, Paramananda, B Sc, State Archæologist, *Mayurbhanj State, P O Baripada, Orissa, India*

1931 *ADIKESAVULU NAIDU, C, *Landed Proprietor, "Gokul Villa," Triplicane, Madras, India*

1919 *ADIL, Maulvi Md Akhtar, M A, LL B, *Advocate High Court, Govt. Pleader*, 38 *Civil Lines, Agra, U P, India*

10 F E M 1932 AFGHAN MINISTER, H E The, *The Afghan Legation*, 31 *Prince's Gate, S W 7*

1912 *AFZAL, Nawabzada Bahadur Khwaja Muhammad, *The Palace, 1 Govinda Das Road, Armanitola, Dacca, Bengal, India*

1936 *AHMAD, A M, *Dist and Sessions Judge, Krishnagar (Dist Nadia), Bengal, India*

1918 *†AHMAD, Maulvi K, *Shams ul-Ulama, M.A, c/o Lloyd's Bank, Ltd., P Box, No.* 233, *Calcutta, India.*

1921 *AHMAD, Nayer Laiq, M A, B Litt, *Prof of History, Ismail College, Andheri, Bombay, India*

1937 *AHMAD, S D, B V Sc, V S, L V P, F.Z S, *Nihal Manzil, Sohna, Gurgaon Dist, Panjab, India.*

1922 *AHMAD SHAH, Rev Dr, "*Nur Manzil," Rajpure, Dist Dehra Dun, U P, India*

1935 *AHMEDALI, S A, D Phil, *Muslim University, Aligarh, U P, India.*

1937 *AHUJA, Yog Dhyan, B A, *Munshi Fazil, Khushab, Panjab, India.*

1912 *AINSCOUGH, Sir T M, Kt, C B E, *P Box No.* 683, *Fairlie House, Fairlie Place, Calcutta, India*

20 1903 *AIYANGAR, Prof S Krishnaswami, Dewan Bahadur, M.A., "*Śripadam*," *143 Brodie's Road, Mylapore, Madras, India.*

1917 *†AIYER, M S. Ramaswami, B.A , *Tirusalem, 96 Lloyd Rd , Royapetta, Madras, India*

1931 *ALBERTINI, Dott Alberto, *Via XXIV, Maggio, 14, Rome, Italy.*

HON 1926 ANDERSEN, Dr Phil. Prof Dines, *Strandvej 3, Copenhagen, Denmark.*

1922 *ANSARI, Md Moinuddin, B.A , *Bar-at-Law, Firingh Mahal, Lucknow, U P , India*

1915 *†ANTANI, Ratilal M , *Mahad Raj Sabha, Udaipur, Mewar, Central India.*

1933 *ARBERRY, A J , M A , Litt D , *45 Taylor Road, Wallington, Surrey.*

1921 *†ARMBRUSTER, Maj C H , M A , O B E , *The Athenæum, Pall Mall, S W. 1*

1935 *ATIYA, A S , M A , Ph D , *7 Lemon Grove, Sefton Park, Liverpool, 8.*

1934 *AYYASAMI NAIDU, G , *Special Magistrate, Pallatur, Madras. India.*

30 1917 BADDELEY, J F , *9 Keble Road, Oxford*

1934 *BAHAWALPUR, H H the Nawab of, K C S I , K.C V O , *Sadiq Garh Palace, Bahawalpur State, India*

1928 *§BAILEY, Professor H W , M A , Ph D , *Queen's College, Cambridge.*

1933 BAILEY, Mrs M F , *Royal Hospital, Chelsea, S W 3*

1903 †§BAILEY, Rev T. Grahame, D Litt , B D , M A , *236 Nether St , N. 3.*

1921 *BAMBER, Chas A , *32 Stanley Avenue, Sefton Park, Bristol*

1910 *BANERJEA, Dr Rasbihari, M B , F S A , Scot , *Post Box No 10805, Calcutta, India*

1937 *BANERJEE, N. K , *Medical Practitioner, 172 Bowbazar Street, Calcutta, India*

1926 *BANERJI, Professor A C , M A , *Hon Secretary, Public Library, Allahabad, U P , India*

1932 BARBOUR, D N , *German Colony, Jerusalem, Palestine*

40 1926 *BARHAT, Thakur Kishore Singh Ji, *State Historian to H H 's Government, Patiala, Punjab, India*

1904 §BARNETT, Lionel D , C B , M A , Litt D , VICE-PRESIDENT, *19 Prince Edward Mansions, W 2*

1890 *†BARODA, H H Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwar Bahadur, G C S I , G C I E , Maharaja of, *India*

1928 *BAROOAH, Rai Bahadur Padmanath Gohain, *Govt. Special Literary Pensioner, Tezpur, Assam, India*

1936 *BARUA, Rai Bahadur K L , *Rosaville, Nangthymai, Shillong, India.*

1921 *BASAK, Radhagovinda, M A , Ph D , *Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College, Calcutta, India*

1929 *BASU, Purna Gopal, L M.P , *Jessore, Bengal, India.*

1924 *BASU, Sriyukta Manishi Nath, Saraswati, M A , B L , *Keranitola, Midnapore, Bengal, India*

1937 BECKINGSALE, Miss E L., *19 Beaumont Court, Beaumont Street, W.1.*

1935 *‖BEESTON, A. F L., *65A St. Giles, Oxford.*

50 1936 *BEGUM, Miss Noor-un-Nisa, B A., F R S A , F R.H S., *Principal, Girls' High School, Aurangabad, Deccan, India*

1913 *†BELVALKAR, Shripad K., M.A., Ph.D, *Prof. of Sanskrit, Deccan College, Bilvakunja, Bhamburda, Poona, India.*

1932 ‡BELL, Sir Charles, K.C.I.E., C M G., F R.G.S., *Edgcumbe, Crowthorne, Berks.*

1932 *BERMAN, A. H, *Principal of Aria College*, 10 *Victoria Rd. N., Southsea, Hants.*

1913 *BERNARD, Pierre A, *Rosster House, Clarkstown Country Club, Nyack-on-Hudson, New York, U S A*

1934 *BERNARD, T Casimir, B A, LL B, 400 *East 57th Street, New York City, U.S.A.*

1929 *†BESWICK, F H, 96 *Parkstone Avenue, Parkstone, Dorset.*

1882 *†BHABBA, Rev Shapurje D, M D, 8 *Drakefell Road, S E* 14.

1922 *BHARGAVA, Pandit Shri Dhar Lal, *Barrister-at-Law, Damodar-Bhawan, Jai Gunj, Aligarh, U P, India*

1936 *BHASKARANAND, Professor, M A, B L, *Aryasamaj*, 51 *Camp and Robb Street, Georgetown, British Guiana*

60 1918 *BHAT, Prof V G, B A, *Karnatak College, Dharwar, Bombay Pres, India*

1909 *BHATTACHARYA, Babu Bisiswar, *Dep Magistrate*, 16 *Townshend Rd., Bhawanipore P O., Calcutta, India*

1936 *BHATTACHARYYA, Pandit R C, 105 *Grey Street, Calcutta, India*

1931 *BHATTASALI, N. K, M A., Ph D, *Curator, Dacca Museum, P.O. Ramna, Dacca, Bengal, India*

1927 *BHIDE, Mahadeva V, I C S, *Race Course Road, Lahore, India*

1936 ‡BHUYAN, Rai Bahadur, Professor S K, M A, B L, *Honorary Provincial Director of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam*, 2 *The Drive, Golders Green, N W* 11

1937 *BISHOP, Rev E F. FOX, Newman School of Missions, Zhabor, Jerusalem, Palestine

1921 *BIVAR, H G S, *c/o Grindlay & Co*, 6 *Church Lane, Calcutta, India*

1936 *BLACK, Rev M, B D, Ph D, 11 *Oakfield Avenue, Glasgow, W.* 2.

1934 †BLACKWOOD, Miss U H, M B E, 41 *The Green, Ewell, Surrey*

70 1895 §BLAGDEN, C Otto, M A, Hon D Litt, VICE-PRESIDENT, 40 *Wychwood Avenue, Whitchurch Lane, Edgware, Middx*

HON 1937 BLOCH, Professor Jules, 16 *rue Maurice Berteaux, Sèvres, S.-et-O, France*

1909 *BLUNT, Sir Edward A H, K C I E, O B E, I C S, *c/o Secretariat, Allahabad, U P, India*

1924 *†BODDING, Rev P O, *Finsens Allé* 10, *Odense, Denmark.*

1934 ‡BODÉ, Miss O, 72 *Langbourne Mansions, Langbourne Avenue, Highgate, N* 6

1932 *‖BOLUS, Rev E J, M A, B D, I C S (ret.), *Monk Sherborne Rectory, Basingstoke*

1935 *BONNERJEE, Rai Bahadur G, 11 *Patuatola Lane, Calcutta, India.*

1934 *BONSALL, Rev B S, M A, D Litt, B D (Lond.), 20 *Mill Hill Road, Norwich*

1935 *BOODBERG, Baron Peter A, Ph D, 416 *Library, Univ. of California, Berkeley, Cal, U.S A.*

1933 *BOSE, K, M A, *Headmaster, Bunbehari H E. School, P.O. Kujang, Dist. Cuttack, Orissa, India*

80 1936 *Bose, Professor M. M., M A., 19 *Gokul Mitter Lane, Calcutta, India.*
1928 Bowen, Harold C., 30 *York Terrace, Regents Park, N.W. 1.*
1936 *Boyd-Morrison, E., 10 *Carlton Road, Sidcup, Kent.*
1911 *Boyer, M. l'Abbé A. M., 114 *Rue du Bac, Paris, VII*
1928 *Boyle, Lieut.-Col. C. A., D.S O., *General Staff, Delhi, India.*
1935 ‡Brackenbury, G, M.A, 7b *Langley Court, Surbiton.*
1937 *Breasted, J H, Jr., 1211 *East 54th Street, Chicago, Ill., U S.A*
Hon. 1937 Brockelmann, Professor Carl, *Walhallstr.* 47, *Breslau* 16, *Germany.*
1928 Brown, Mrs J Hally, *Craignahullie, Skelmorlie, Ayrshire, Scotland.*
1907 §Brown, R. Grant, I C S. (ret), 2b *Belsize Lane, N W.* 3
90 1917 *Brown, Thos, *La Roque, Overton Road, Sutton, Surrey.*
1908 *Büchler, Dr A, *Jews' College*, 261 *Goldhurst Terrace, N.W.* 6
1922 *Buckler, Professor F W., M A, *The Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin, Ohio, U S A*
1906 *†Burdwan, Maharajadhiraj Sir Bijay Chand Mahtab Bahadur, Maharaja of, I O M, K C S I, K C I E, *The Palace, Burdwan, Bengal, India.*
1897 *§Burn, Sir Richard, Kt, C.S I, 9 *Staverton Road, Oxford.*
1927 *Burnay, Jean, *Legal Adviser*, 3594 *Suriwongse Road, Bangkok, Siam.*
1932 *Burrow, T, B A, 10 *Brunswick Terrace, Cambridge*
1923 *Burrows, Father E N. B, S.J., M.A, *Campion Hall, Oxford.*
1935 *Bushanam, C Siva, 59 49*th Street, Rangoon, Burma*
1923 *Bushnell, G. H, *Chief Librarian, St Andrews University, Fife, Scotland Local Representative*
100 1933 Butes, Miss M D., *Sesame Club*, 49 *Grosvenor Street, W.* 1.

1927 *Cadell, Sir Patrick R, Kt, C S.I, C I.E, V D, I.C.S. (ret.), *Holmwood, Boar's Hill, Oxford.*
1934 *†Canney, Prof Maurice A, M A, "*Delbury*", *South Road, Chesham Bois, Bucks*
1930 *Cardozo, D A Jessurun, 99 *Central Park West, New York, U S A.*
1934 ‡Carey, Miss H, 7 *Queen's Gardens, Hove, Sussex*
1934 *Carpani, E G, Ph D, *Editor* "*Samādhi*", *Casella Postale No* 72, *Bologna, Italy*
1926 *Chakrabarti, Babu Satish Chandra, M A, *Headmaster, Zila School, Chaibasa P O, Singhbhum, Bihar, India*
1933 *Chakravarti, S K., M A, *Zamindar, Cooch Behar, Bengal, India*
1924 *Chakravarty, Niranjan Prasad, M A, Ph D, *Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, Nilgiris, Madras Pres, India*
1922 §Chalmers, Lord, The Rt Hon, P C, G C.B, F.B A, Hon Vice-President, 14 *Crick Road, Oxford*
110 1935 *Chambers, Rev R. F, 136 *Canterbury Road, Croydon, Surrey.*
1928 *Chandra, Harish, B.A., *Income Tax Officer, Muzaffarnagar, U.P., India*
1933 *Chandra, Rai Govind, M.A, *Visharad, Hastings House, Benares Cantt., U P, India.*
1923 *Chandra, Sri Gopal, B.A., LL.B., *Puisne Judge, High Court of Judicature, Bikaner State, Bikaner, Rajputana, India.*
1928 Chappelow, Eric B. W., F.R S A, 26 *Lee Park, Blackheath, S.E.* 3.

1914 *†Chathoorbhoojadass, Dewan Bahadur Govindass, 459 *Mint St., George Town, Madras, India*

1915 *Chatterjee, Sir Atul C, G.C.I.E, K.C.S.I., LL.D., *Wildean, Cavendish Road, Weybridge, Surrey.*

1937 *Chatterjie, T C, *Medical Practitioner*, 110 *Akhil Mistry Lane, Calcutta, India*

1926 *Chattopadhyaya, K., M A, *Lecturer in Sanskrit, The University, Allahabad, India*

1937 *Chaubey, J K, *Lieut*, *4th (U P) Urban Infantry, I T F., Lucknow, "Jai Krishna Bhawan," La Touche Road, Lucknow, U P., India*

120 1932 *Chaudhuri, Helish Chandra, *Zamindar, Shepurtown P O, Mymensingh Dist, Bengal, India*

1929 *Chaudhuri, Himanshu Ch, M A, B L, 67 *Jatindas Road, Kalighat P O, Calcutta, India*

1937 *Chaudhuri, P C, I C S., *c/o Chief Secretary, Govt. of Bihar, Patna, Bihar, India*

1926 *Chaudhury, Pramathabhusan Paul, M A, B L, *Krishnagar, Nadia, Bengal, India*

1935 *Chettiar, Ramanathan, P, RM., P.S, RM., *Pallattur, Ramnad District, S India*

1921 *†Chetty, O A O K Chidambaram, *Banker, Pallattur, Ramnad District, S India*

1934 *Ch'in, Dr Chung-Mien, *Secretary of the National Chi-Nan University, Shanghai, China 22 Tak-yeu-li, North Sze Chuen Road, Shanghai, China*

F E M 1932 Chinese Ambassador, H E The, *The Chinese Embassy*, 49 *Portland Place, W 1*

1918 *Chizen-Akanuma, *Shin-shu, The Library of Otani University, Kuramaguchi, Kyoto, Japan*

1914 *Cholmeley, N G, C S I, I C S (ret), *c/o Messrs Grindlay & Co*, 54 *Parliament St, London, S W.* 1

130 1935 *Clark, T W, M A, *Victoria School, Kurseong, D H R., Bengal, India.*

1919 *Clark, Dr Walter E, *Prof of Sanskrit, Harvard University; Master's Lodgings, Kirkland House, Cambridge, Mass, U S A*

1929 *Clarke, Miss Susan L, *c/o Miss A A Antrobus, Cranlegh, Wheatley, Oxford*

1912 §Clauson, Gerard L M, C M G, O B E, F S A, 25 *Lansdowne Crescent, W* 11

1934 ‡Clay, Miss R, 11 *Tite Street, Chelsea*

1904 *Clementi, Sir Cecil, G C M G, Holmer Court, Holmer Green, High Wycombe, Bucks

1929 Clements, Miss Edith, L R.A M, 5 *Nottingham Terrace, N W.* 1.

1907 *Cochin, H H Maharaja Sri Sir Rama Varma, G C I E, of, *S India.*

1936 Codrington, K de B, *Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, S W 7*

1910 *Codrington, Humphrey W, 142 *Oakwood Court, W* 14

140 1920 Hon. 1936 *Coedès, George, Prof, *Directeur de l'École française d'Extrême Orient*, 38 *Boulevard Henri Rivière, Hanoi, Indo-Chine.*

1920*†§Cook, S A, Litt D, *Regius Professor of Hebrew, Cambridge University;* 26 *Lensfield Road, Cambridge*

1919 *COOKE, Richard, *The Croft, Detling, Maidstone.*
1906 *†COOMARASWAMY, A. K, D.Sc, *Fellow for Research in Indian, Persian, and Muhammadan Art, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.*
1919 COUSLAND, Mrs. (Gertrude), *Elm Lodge, 31 Kewferry Road, Northwood, Middlesex*
1912 *CRESWELL, Professor K. A. C, 34 *Sharia Hasan el-Akbar, Cairo, Egypt.*
1919 *CRUM, W E., 19 *Bathwick Hill, Bath*
1937 CULL, A E K, 45 *Orchard Court, W 1*
1915 CUMMING, Sir John Ghest, K C.I.E, C S I, 52 *West Heath Drive, N W. 11*
1936 *CUNNINGHAM, Major J. R, R I A.S C, *c/o Messrs. Grindlay, Bankers, 54 Parliament St, S W 1*
150 1937 *CURIEL, M R, *Maison de Cuba, Cité Universitaire, 5A Boulevard Jourdain, Paris 14e, France*
1935 *CUTTS, Elmer H., *Dept of Oriental Studies, University of Washington, Seattle, U S A*

1908 *DAICHES, Dr. Samuel, 25 *Cavendish Road, N.W 6*
1931 †DALAL, Rustom D, *c/o Swiss Bank Corporation, West End Branch, 11 Regent Street, Waterloo Place, S W. 1*
F E M 1932 DAMRONG, Rājanubhāb, H R H Prince, *Varadis Palace, Bangkok, Siam*
1909 *DANDOY, Rev G, S J, *St Xavier's College, 30 Park St, Calcutta, India.*
1935 *DANIEL, S O, *c/o 121d Mission Road, Ahlone, Rangoon, Burma.*
1927 *†DAVAR, Hans Raj, B Sc, 103*b Model Town P O, Lahore, Panjab, India.*
1931 *DAVE, T N, M A., B T, Ph D, *Gujrat College, Ahmadabad, India.*
1915 *DAVIES, The Very Rev A W, Dean of Worcester, *The Deanery, Worcester*
160 1924 DAVIES, Capt C. C, M A, Ph D, 100 *Divinity Road, Oxford*
1923 *DAYAL, Rai Bahadur Prayag, *Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow, India*
1921 *DE, Sushil Kumar, M A, D Litt, 19*a Chaudhuri Lane, Shyambazar, Calcutta, India.*
1936 *DEERR, Noel, *Madhuban, Hinksey Hill Top, Oxford.*
1932 *DEMIÉVILLE, P, *Professor of Chinese, École des Langues Orientales; 4 rue Mignard, Paris XVI*e
1931 *DEO, Kumar Bejoy Pratap Singh, *Serai Kella, via Sini, B N. Rly, Bihar, India.*
1931 *DEO, Kumar Bidyadhar Singh, B A., B L, *Fort, Jeypore, Dt. Vizagapatam, India*
1920 *DEO, Maharajkumar Sri Sudhansu S Sing, *Sonpur Feudatory State, P O Sonpur Raj, via Sambalpur, India*
1937 ‡DEORAS, V R, M A, 67 *Castletown Road, W 14*
1908 *DESIKA-CHARI, Sir T, *High Court Vakil, Cantonment, Trichinopoly, S. India*
170 1920 *DEVONSHIRE, Mrs R L, *El-Maadi, Nr. Cairo, Egypt Local Representative*
1908 †*DHANI NIVAT, H.H Prince, *Bangkok, Siam.*

1926 *DHRUVA, Prof. A. B., M A, *Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University, Benares, U P, India*
1929 DICKSON, D. D., *66 Portland Road, Holland Park, W.*
1922 *†DICKSON, Rev. Percy J, F.R.G.S, F.Z S, *Western House, The Park, Nottingham*
1937 *†DIDI, H I, Husain Hilmy, *Representative of the Maldivian Government, Flower Road, Colombo, Ceylon*
1926 *†DIKSHIT, K N, *Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Indian Museum, Calcutta, India*
1928 *DILLON, Myles, 2 *North Gt George's Street, Dublin*
1936 *DIN, IQBAL, B A, *British Legation, Jedda, Saudi Arabia.*
1908 *†DIN, Malik Muhammad, Mukhtar Jang, *Darbar Secretary to H.H. the Nawab of Tonk State, Rajputana, India.*
180 1930 *DINELEY, Mark, *The Priory, Berwick St. John, Shaftesbury*
1923 *DIVATIA, N B., B A, *Lecturer Elphinstone College, Marine Villa, 14th Road, Khar, Bombay 21, India*
1926 *DIVEKAR, Prof Hari Ramchandra, Sahityacharya, M.A, D.Litt., *Lashkar, Gwalior, C. India*
1924 †§DODWELL, H H, M A, *Professor of History, School of Oriental Studies, Vandon House, Vandon Street, S W 1*
1935 *DONNER, Madame Greta, *Norra Kajen 12, Helsingfors, Finland*
1926 *DOSSIN, Georges, *Professor at Liége University; 24 rue des Écoles, Wandre près Liége, Belgium*
1936 ¶DOVER, Kenneth J, 128 *Kenilworth Court, Putney, S.W.* 15
1926 *DOWERAH, J, B A., *Warden, Ogilvie Hostel, 31–2 Hurtoki Bagan Lane, Calcutta, India*
1933 DOXFORD, W B D., B A, *Northfields, Eastergate, Chichester.*
1936 *DROWER, Mrs E S, *White Lodge, Baghdad, Iraq*
190 1933 DUNNE, J Heyworth, 75 *Antrim Mansions, N.W.* 3, *School of Oriental Studies, Vandon House, S W* 1
1936 *DURGADAN, Kavi Rajah, *Kotri Estate, Kotah (Rajputana), India.*
1917 *DUTT, Prof Anakul C, *Principal, Bareilly College, College House, Bareilly, U P, India*
1926 *DUTT, Kiran Chandra, *Hon Librarian, Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, 1 Lakshami Dutt Lane, Bagh Bazar P O, Calcutta, India.*
1935 *DUTT, Mahopadhyaya Kaviraj, D D, A M B, *Bhavati Ayurvedic Chemical Works, Jessore Road, Bongaon P O, Jessore, Bengal, India.*
1917 *DUTT, Lalita Prasad, 181 *Maniktola St, Calcutta, India*
1926 *DUTT, Nepal Chandra, A M I M E, *State Engineer, Jaisalmer State, Peace Cottage, Jaisalmer, Rajputana, India.*
1931 *DYER, Prof W E, M A, *Raffles College, Singapore*

1930 *†EDMONDS, C J, C.B E, *Adviser, Ministry of Interior, Baghdad, Iraq*
1905 *EDWARDS, E, M A., D Lit, *Oriental Books and MSS. Dept, British Museum, W C.* 1; 4 *Merrivale Chase Road, N* 14
200 1925 EDWARDS, Miss E D, M A., D.Lit, *School of Oriental Studies, Vandon House, Vandon Street, S W* 1.
1937 *EGERTON, W le B, I C S, *c/o Foreign and Political Dept, Govt of India, Delhi/Simla.*

F.E.M. 1932 EGYPTIAN AMBASSADOR, H.E. The, *The Royal Egyptian Embassy, 75 South Audley Street, W.* 1.
1921 *ELGOOD, Cyril L., M.A., M.D., M.R.C.P., 79 *Victoria Dock Road, E.* 16.
1931 *ELGOOD, Lieut.-Col P. G., C.M.G., *Villa Beata, Heliopolis, Egypt; Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.* 1.
1897 §ELLIS, Alex. George, M.A., HON. LIBRARIAN, 38 *Willoughby Road, N.W.* 3.
1919 *ELLIS, Miss M. F, c/o *The Librarian, Municipal Libraries, Bath.*
1930 *ELSBERG, H. A., *Fuller Building, 57th St., & Madison Av., New York City, N Y., U.S.A*
1907 *§ENTHOVEN, R. E., C I.E., I C.S (ret.), *Vale House, Wootton, near Boar's Hill, Oxford.*
1924 †EUMORFOPOULOS, George, F S A, 7 *Chelsea Embankment, S.W.* 3.
210 1935 *EVANS, H. J, B A, I.C.S., *Collector's House, Agra, U P, India*
1934 EVANS-CROSS, G. W., M.A., D.Sc., F.R.Astro S., F R E.S., *Avenue House,* 20 *Grand Avenue, Bournemouth East.*
1919 EVE, Lady, *Windsor Hotel, Lancaster Gate, W.* 2

1922 *FAIRWEATHER, Wallace C, 62 *Saint Vincent St, Glasgow*
1921 *†FARMER, Henry George, M.A., Ph D, " *Dar as-Salām," Stirling Drive, Bearsden, Scotland*
1930 FAWCETT, Sir Charles, Kt, I.C S (ret), c/o *Lloyds Bank, Cox and King's Branch,* 6 *Pall Mall, S W* 1
1901 *FERGUSSON, J. C, I C S. (ret), 18 *Denbigh Gardens, Richmond, Surrey*
1926 *FEROZUDDIN, Miss Khadijah Begam, M A, M O L, H P, *Circle Inspectress of Schools, Lahore, Panjab, India*
1931 *FERRAR, Lieut -Col M L, C S I, C I E, O B E, *Herons, Barnston, Dunmow, Essex Local Representative.*
1927 *FERRARIO, Professor Benigno, *University of Montevideo, Casilla de Correos* 445, *Montevideo, Uruguay, South America*
220 1928 *FIELD, Henry, *Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, U.S.A. Local Representative*
1935 *FINKEL, Dr J., 3505 *Avenue I, Brooklyn, N Y., U S A.*
1934 *FISCHEL, Dr. W, *Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Palestine (P O. Box* 684)
HON. 1930 FISCHER, Geh Prof. Dr August, 40 *Grassistr, Leipzig C.I. Germany*
1934 FITZGERALD-LEE, G, *Imperial Airways, Drigh Road, Sind, India*
1928 *†FLEMING, Andrew, 3 *Campbell Road, Parktown W, Johannesburg, S Africa Local Representative*
1923 *†FOLLIN, Maynard D, *Lock Box* 118, *Detroit, Michigan, U.S A.*
1922 *†FORREST, Surgeon-Commander J. A, R.N, 41 *Goldington Road, Bedford*
1909 †§FOSTER, Sir Wm, Kt., C.I.E., 4 *Reynolds Close, Hampstead Way, N W.* 11.
HON. 1918 FOUCHER, A, 15 *Rue du Maréchal Joffre, Sceaux, Seine, France.*
230 1916 *FRAZER, Sir J. G., O.M., F.R.S, *Albemarle Club,* 37 *Dover Street, W.* 1.

1931 *FRAZER, Mrs R W, 71 *Meadowside, Cambridge Park, Twickenham.*
1926 *FUKUSHIMA, N, 33 *Hikawachō, Akasaka, Tokyo, Japan.*
1912 *§FULTON, A S, *Oriental Books & MSS Dept., British Museum, W.C. 1.*
1931 *FURLANI, Giuseppe, Ph D, LL.D, *Professor at the University of Florence, Via J Nardi 6, Florence, Italy*
1921 *FURNIVALL, J. S., *c/o Grindlay & Co, 54 Parliament Street, S.W. 1.*

1936 *§GADD, C J, M.A., *British Museum, W C 1.*
1899 §GAIT, Sir Edward A, K.C S.I., C I E, *The Croft, Park Hill, W. 5.*
1921 *†GAJENDRAGADKAR, A. B, M A, *Prof of Sanskrit, Elphinstone College, Bombay, India*
1931 GAMAL EL-DIN, Amin, *Director, European Administration, Ministry of Education, Cairo, Egypt*
240 1924 *GANGULI, P Krishna, L M S, 12 *Palmer Bazar Road, Entally P.O, Calcutta, India*
1937 *GARDNER, G B, 23A *Buckingham Palace Mansions, Grosvenor Gardens, S W 1*
1890 §GASTER, M, Ph D, 193 *Maida Vale, W 9.*
1931 *GASTER, T H, B A, 193 *Maida Vale, W.* 9
1922 *GAUTAMA, Thakur L S, M A., L T, *Kavyatirtha Prof of History, Udai Pratap Kshattriya College, Benares Cantt., U P, India*
1936 *GAZALÉ BEY, Habib, 72 *Selim el Awal Street, Zeitoun, Cairo, Egypt*
HON. 1935 GEIGER, Dr. Wilhelm, *Ord Professor, München University, Geheimer Rat, München-Neubiberg, Germany*
1919 *GETTY, Miss Alice, 7 *Avenue Foch, Paris XVI^e*
1933 *†GHATAK, Prof J C, Sahitya-Saraswati, F R H.S., M A, 4 *Boloram Bose Ghat Road, Bhowanipur P O, Calcutta, India*
1936 *GHOSH, N N, *Dept of History, Ewing Christian College, Allahabad, India*
250 1923 §GIBB, H A R, M A, *Laudian Prof of Arabic, St John's College, Oxford*
1927 *GILES, F H, 156 *Rajprarob Road, Bangkok, Siam*
1919 *§GILES, Lionel, M A, D Litt, *Dept of Oriental Books, British Museum, W C 1*
1934 *GINSBERG, Dr H L, 3080 *Broadway, New York City, U S A*
1933 GINWALA, Lady, 38 *Hyde Park Gate, S W.* 7
1912 *†GIPPERICH, H, *German Consulate, Pedder Building, Hong Kong (via Siberia)*
1937 *GIUSTINIANI, Dr V R, *via S Giustina 7, Lucca, Italy*
1928 GLYN, The Hon Mrs Maurice, 2 *Weymouth Street, Portland Place, W 1*
1935 GOFFE, Sir Herbert, K B E, C M G, *Flat 2, 23 Craven Hill Gardens, W 2*
1926 *†GOGATE, S V, 4 *Nihalpura, Indore, C. India.*
260 1935 ‡GOKHALE, S H, 11 *Grove Park Gardens, Chiswick, W.* 4
1926 *GOLDSMITH, Mrs S. I, *Alexandra Club, 12 Grosvenor Street, W.* 1.
1928 *GOMAA, Mohamed Mahmud, *School of Oriental Studies, Vandon House, Vandon Street, S W* 1.

1922 *GOURLAY, W. R., C.S.I., C.I.E., *Kenbank, Dalry, Galloway, Scotland. Local Representative*
1922 *GOWEN, Rev. H. H., D.D. (*Univ. of Washington*), 5005 22*nd Avenue N.E., Seattle, Washington, U.S.A. Local Representative*
1910 *GRAHAM, W A., *Plush Manor, Dorset*
1926 *GRAY, Prof. L. H., *Columbia University, New York City, U.S.A.*
1893 *GREENUP, Rev. Dr Albert W, D D., *St. John's Cottage, Heath End, Nr Basingstoke, Hants.*
1884 §GRIERSON, Sir George A, O M, K C I E, Ph D, D Litt, LL D, F B.A., I.C S. (ret), HON. VICE-PRESIDENT, *Rathfarnham, Camberley, Surrey.*
1934 *GRIFFITH, Mrs N., *Sandridge, Boar's Hill, Oxford.*
270 1919 *GRY, M L., *Recteur à l'Université*, 10 *Rue La Fontaine, Angers, M. et L, France*
1897 §GUEST, Rhuvon, 1*a Thornton Hill, Wimbledon, S.W.* 19.
1934 *GUGUSHVILI, A, *Commonwood House, Chipperfield, Herts.*
1921 *§GUILLAUME, Rev Prof A, *The Principal's Lodgings, Culham College, Abingdon, Berks*
1933 *GUPTA, K L B A L T, *Headmaster, D A V High School, Muzaffarnagar, U P, India.*
1919 *GUPTA, Shri Shivaprasad, *Seva Upavan Kashi, Benares, U P India*
1926 *GUPTE, Y. R, B A, *Inspector of Registration, II Division, Dhulia, Bombay Presidency, India.*
1894 *GURDON, Lieut -Col. Philip R. T., C S I, *c/o Lloyds Bank*, 6 *Pall Mall, S W.* 1
1921 *GURNER, Cyril W, I C S, 5 *Clive Street, Calcutta, India*
1935 *†GURNEY, O R, *Bayworth Corner, Boar's Hill, Oxford.*
280 1921 *GWYNN, R M, M A., *Prof of Hebrew, Trinity College, Dublin*
1929 *GYANI, Ranchhodlal G, *Asst Curator, Archæological Section, Prince of Wales Museum of W India, Bombay, India*

1936 *HABIBULLAH, A B M, *Bamunia, Hijalna P O., Burdwan, Bengal, India*
1937 *†HACKNEY, Miss L W, 15 *Gramercy Park, New York, U S A*
1926 *HAIG, Kerest, *National Liberal Club, Whitehall, and Villa Orion, Yechli Keuy, San Stefano, Constantinople*, 10 *Prothero Gardens, Hendon Central, N W* 4
1898 §HAIG, Lieut -Col Sir Wolseley, K C I E, C.S I, C M G, C.B.E, M.A., 34 *Gledstanes Road, W.* 14
1937 §HAILEY, The Lord, G C S.I, G C I E, PRESIDENT, 16 *York House, W* 8
1935 HALLER, C, F.R.S A, *Royal Societies Club, St James's Street, S W.* 1
1935 HAMBELTON, Miss M. L, "*Questen*," *Pound Hill, Crawley, Sussex.*
1935 *HAMDANI, V. A. D, M A (Bom), *Jesus College, Oxford.*
290 1936 ‡HANSFORD, S. H, 10 *Russell Grove, N W.* 7
1936 ‡HAQUE, Serajul, M A, *Lecturer, Dacca University*, 6 *Belsize Avenue, N W* 3
1915 *HARGREAVES, H, *Ivelbury, Buckden, Hants.*
1936 *HARISARMA, Pandit A. D, *Ernakulam, S. India.*
1910 *HARLEY, Prof. A. H, M.A, *Islamia College, Calcutta, India*
1930 *HARRASSOWITZ, Otto, *Querstr.* 14, *Leipzig.*

1926 *KASANIN, Prof M, c/o *Dr. Jacob Kasanin, Howard, Rhode Island, U.S.A*

360 1933 *KAUL, K K, M A, *Headmaster, L D. Meston High School, Ballia, U P, India*

1900 *KAZI, Sir Azizuddin Ahmed, Kt, C.I.E., O B E., I S.O, K.B., *Chief Minister, Datia State, C India.*

1937 ‡KEEN, Mrs E. S, *Flat* 179, 55 *Chancery Lane, W.C* 2

1919 *†KEITH, C P, 308 *Walnut St, Philadelphia, Pa, U S A.*

1923 *KELLER, Carl T., 80 *Federal Street, Boston, Mass, U.S.A*

1935 ‡KER, Mrs W P, *The Malt House, East Horsley, Surrey*

1921 *†KHAIRPUR, H H Mir Ali Navaz Khan Talpur, Mir of, *Khairpur, Sind, India*

1926 *KHAN, G Md, *Kedah Educational Service, Alor Star, Kedah, Malay States*

1931 *KHAN, Maulvi Matiur Rahman, 27 *Pauchchaighat, Dacca, Bengal, India*

1934 *KHAN, G A, *First Talugdar, Aurangabad, Deccan, India*

370 1928 *KHANNA, Diwan Harivansh Lal, M A, *Extra Asst Commissioner, Amritsar, Panjab, India*

1934 *KHANNA, K C, M A, Ph D, F R Hist S, P E S, *Govt. College, Lahore, India*

1931 *KHASTGIR, Asok R, M D, L R C P, 61 *Northumberland Road, Old Trafford, Manchester*

1909 †KINCAID, C A, C V O, I C S (ret), *c/o Grindlay & Co, 54 Parliament St, S W* 1

1934 *KINDERSLEY, A F, *c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd, 6 Pall Mall, S W* 1

1935 *KOERBER, N. H von, Ph D, *Professor of Oriental Studies, Univ of S California, Curator of Oriental Art, Los Angeles Museum, Los Angeles, U S A*

1916 HON 1930 KONOW, Prof Dr Sten, *Ethnographic Museum, Gimle Terasse 5, Oslo, Norway*

1906 *KRENKOW, Prof Dr. Fritz, 57 *De Freville Avenue, Cambridge.*

1934 *KRISHNAMACHARIAR, M, *Subordinate Judge, Vizagapatam, Madras Pres, India*

1925 *KRISHNASWAMY, The Rev P A, M A, *British and Foreign Bible Society (Ceylon Auxiliary), The Bible House, Union Place, Post Box* 67, *Colombo, Ceylon*

380 1911 *KROM, N J, Ph D, *Prof of Javanese Archæology at the University, 18 Witte Singel, Leiden, Holland*

1935 *KURDIAN, Haroutiun, 1308 *E Douglas, Wichita, Kansas, U S.A.*

1912 *†LABBERTON, Dr D van Hinloopen, *De Heerlykheid, Meentweg, Naarden, North Holland Local Representative*

1932 *LAKSHMI, Miss V T, M A, L T, *Headmistress, Srimati Kamalabai High School, Bangalore City, Mysore, India*

1926 *†LAL, Munshi Kanhaiya, M A, LL B, *Advocate, High Court, Krishna Kunj, 99 Muthiganj, Allahabad City, India*

1933 *LAL, Pandit B. B, Shastri, B A, *Dist and Sessions Judge and Director of Education, Mandi State, P O Mandi, Kangra Hills, Panjab, India*

1910 *LAL, Shyam, M.A, LL.B, *U P C S*, *Nawabganj, Cawnpore, U P, India.*

1915 *LAMB, Miss M. Antonia, 212 *South 46th St*, *Philadelphia, Pa*, *U.S.A.*

1936 *‖LAMB, Miss Winifred, M.A., F S A, *Borden Wood, Liphook, Hants.*

1935 ¶LAMBTON, Miss A K. S, 16 *South Eaton Place, S W* 1

390 1937 LANGTON, Rev E, B D, F R Hist S, "*Lasswade*", 134 *Hill Lane, Blackley, Manchester*, 9

1880 HON. 1902 LANMAN, Chas R, *Prof of Sanskrit, Harvard University*, 9 *Farrar St*, *Cambridge, Mass*, *U S A*

1914 *LAW, Bimala C, M.A., B L, Ph D, *Zemindar*, 43 *Kailas Bose Street, Calcutta, India.*

1935 ¶LAYARD, J W, F R A I, 17 *Parkhill Road, N W* 3

1900 *LECHMERE-OERTEL, F O, *Nara Hotel, Nara, Japan*

1927 *LEEUWEN, Rev. Dr N D. van, *Holysloot* 43, *Amsterdam-Noord, Holland*

1924 *§LE MAY, Reginald S, Ph D, 5 *Hove Court, Raymond Road, Wimbledon, S W* 19

1912 *LEVONIAN, Prof. Lootfy, *c/o The American Mission, Beirut, Lebanon, Syria*

1927 *§LEVY, Reuben, M A, Litt D, *Lecturer in Persian*, 250 *Hills Road, Cambridge*

1926 *LINDGREN, Miss E J, M A, Ph D, "*Sunbourn*," *Harston, Cambs.*

400 1914 *†§LORIMER, Lieut.-Col D. L R, C I E, 32 *Parkway, Welwyn Garden City, Herts*

1935 *LUCE, Professor G H, M A, I E S, *Lecturer in Far Eastern History, University College, Rangoon, Burma.*

1909 HON, 1932 *LÜDERS, Prof Dr H, 19 *Sybelstr*, *Charlottenburg, Berlin.*

1918 *LUSY, Marino M, *Case Postale No* 104, *Montreux, Switzerland.*

1935 *LYALL, L A, *Cours des Bastions* 10, *Geneva, Switzerland.*

1900 *MACDONALD, Duncan B, 143 *Sigourney St., Hartford, Conn*, *U S A.*

1919 *MACIVER, Capt David R, M A, *c/o British School, Valle Giulia, Rome, Italy.*

1926 *MACKAY, Stephen Matheson, 5 *Burgess Hill, N.W* 2

1894 §MACLAGAN, Sir E D, K C S I., K.C I E, M A., VICE-PRESIDENT, 39 *Egerton Terrace, S W.* 3

1924 *†MCMILLEN, O W, 24 *Lindell Avenue, Fayetteville, Arkansas, U.S.A.*

410 1921 *MACNAIR, Mrs. F. Ayscough, D Litt, 5533 *Woodlawn Avenue, Chicago, Ill*, *U.S A.*

1917 *MAHAJAN, Suryya Prasad, *Rais, Banker & Zamindar, Murarpore, Gaya, Bihar, India.*

1936 *MAISONNEUVE, Adrien, 11 *rue Saint-Sulpice, Paris VIe, France*

1931 *MAITLAND, H Comyn, I C S (ret), *Barrister-at-Law*, 33 *Meadway Court, N W* 11

1936 *MAJUMDAR, Kaviraj A, B.D, 90/8 *Connaught Circus, New Delhi, India.*

1933 MAMOUR, Prince P. H, 144 *Queen Alexandra Mansions, Judd Street, W.C.*

1923 *†MANEN, J. van, *Officier de l'Instruction Publique*; *c/o Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1 *Park Street, Calcutta, India.*

1930 *†MANNADIAR, V. I., *Gul-i-Hind, Ootacamund, S. India.*

1889 *§MARGOLIOUTH, D S, M A, D Litt, F.B A., DIRECTOR, *Prof. of Arabic, Romney, Boar's Hill, Oxford.*
1914 *†MARIELLE, Madame, 942 *Croft Avenue, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.*
420 1901 *§MARSHALL, Sir John, Kt, C I E, Litt D, F S A, F B A, *Late Director-General of Archæology in India, Avondale, Sydney Road, Guildford, Surrey*
1927 *MARTINOVITCH, Professor N, 471 *W. 153rd St., New York City, U.S.A.*
HON. 1927 MASSIGNON, Louis, D Litt, *Professeur au Collège de France, Rue Monsieur 21, Paris, VII^e*
1934 *MATHUR, C L, B.A, L T, *Headmaster, Betham High School, Kekri, Dt Ajmer, Rajputana, India*
1936 *MATHUR, K S, M A, *Deputy Raghubar Dayal Lane, Narahi, Lucknow, India*
1937 *MAUNG, U Nyun, *1st Class Power Magistrate, Maubin, Lower Burma.*
1904 *†MAWJEE, Purshotam Vishram, *Malabar Hill, Bombay, India*
1931 *MAYDELL, Madame la Baronne Gérard de, c/o *Messrs Luzac & Co., 46 Great Russell Street, W C 1*
1935 *MAYER, Dr L A, *Sassoon David Professor of Near Eastern Art and Archæology, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, P O Box* 613, *Jerusalem, Palestine*
1927 ‡MAYNARD, Sir H J, K C I E, C S I, 18 *Gilston Road, The Boltons, S W* 10
430 1934 *MAZOOMDER, W B, B A, B L, *Pleader, Alipore Judge's Court Bar Library, 37 Judge's Court Road, P O Alipore, Calcutta, India*
1907 †*MEADEN, Rev Canon Anderson, Ph D, F R S.L, *Stornoway Parsonage, Isle of Lewis*
1932 *MECKLAI, Ali Md, J P, etc, 99 *Esplanade Road, P O Box* 585, *Bombay, India*
1935 *MEMON, A R A, M A, LL B, *Principal, Naz High School, Khairpur Mir's, Sind, India*
1918 *†MENZIES, Capt The Rev J M, B A Sc, B D, D L S, *Professor of Chinese Arch and Research, Cheeloo University, Tsinan, Shantung, China*
1919 *MERCER, Rev Prof S A B, M A, Ph D, D D, LL B, *Trinity College, Toronto, Ontario, Canada Local Representative.*
1923 *MICHALSKI-IWIENSKI, Dr St F, *Section of Oriental Studies, Society of Sciences, Szpitalna* 5, *Warsaw, Poland*
1937 †MILLER, H Eric, *Oldhouse, Ewhurst Green, Surrey*
1921 *MILLS, J P, I C S, c/o *Lloyds Bank*, 101–1 *Clive Street, Calcutta.*
1909 *MILNE, Mrs Leslie, *The Manor House, Wheatley, Oxon.*
440 1922 *MINGANA, Alphonse, D D, *Manuscripta*, 168 *Middleton Hall Road, King's Norton, Birmingham*
1934 *MISHRA, Ganga Shankar, M A, *Librarian, Benares Hindu University, Benares, U P, India*
1932 *MISRA, Pandit Kanahiya L, *Sadhana Sadana, Deoband, Dist. Saharanpur, U P, India*
1923 *MISRA, Pramatha Nath, *Pleader, Maldah, Bengal, India*
1928 *MISRA, Sardar Jwala Sahai, Rai Bahadur, B.A., *Retd. Dist. & Sessions Judge, Katra Jaimal Singh, Amritsar, Panjab, India.*

1927 *†MITTAL, Navin Chandra, B.Sc., F.G.S., *Prince of Wales College, Jammu, Kashmir, India.*
1928 *MIYAMOTO, Shosen, *Faculty of Letters, Imperial University, Tokyo, Japan.*
1921 *MOHAMMAD, S. Taj., M.A., M.Sc., *Dinga Singh Building, Nisbet Road, Lahore, Panjab, India.*
1929 *MOHEET, Munshi Fazl Abdul, *Osmania University College Library, Hyderabad, Deccan, India.*
1919 MOND, R., *Coombe Bank, nr. Sevenoaks, Kent.*
450 1923 *MOORHEAD, J. H. M., *Crawley Wood House, Crawley Hill, Camberley, Surrey.*
1933 *MORAD, Mrs. Zohra, 3 *Marsden Street, P O Park Street, Calcutta, India.*
1936 *MORDIA, H S, B A, LL B, *Advocate, Mordia Mansion, Maldas Street, Udaipur, Rajputana, India*
1916 MORELAND, W H, C S I, C.I.E., *Grey Roofs, Oak End Way, Gerrard's Cross, Bucks*
1919 *MORGENSTIERNE, Dr. Georg, *Prof of Comparative Philology and Sanskrit at the University of Göteborg; Viktoriagatan* 20, *Göteborg, Sweden*
1927 *MORRIS, Captain J M, *Central Power House, The Basrah Electric Supply Authority, Basrah, Iraq.*
1936 ‡MORRISON-BELL, Miss V., *Balcombe Tower, Bournemouth.*
1934 MOUGY, J H, M A, 11*a Abbey Parade, Ealing, W* 5
1935 *MRA, M. Shwe, I C S, *c/o the Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Burma, Secretariat Buildings, Rangoon, Burma.*
1925 *MUDALIAR, Prof. M K, B A, 44 *Mulla Sahib St, George Town, Madras, India*
460 1933 *MUDALIAR, E L. Cundasawmy, *American Baptist Mission Press of Rangoon (ret), 245 Sparks St, Rangoon, Burma.*
1929 *MUKERJEE, Sardar Ashutosh, M Sc, *Supt. of Education, Dewas Senior State, C. India.*
1925 *MÜLLER, Dr Reinhold, *Einsiedel, Bez Chemnitz, Germany.*
1936 *MULLICK, M L., 123 *Grey St, Calcutta, India*
1927 *MULLICK, Promatha Nath, Rai Bahadur, Bharatbanibhusan, 129 *Cornwallis Street, Shambazar, Calcutta, India.*
1929 *MUNSHI, Rashid Ahmed A, B.Ag., *Ahmadnagar, Bombay Pres., India.*
1919 †MYRES, Prof. J. L., O B.E., M.A., D Sc., *New College, Oxford;* 13 *Canterbury Road, Oxford.*
1898 *MYSORE, Col. H. H., Maharaja Sir Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur, G C.S.I., G B E., of, *The Palace, Bangalore, S India.*

1911 *†NABHA, H H. Maharaja Gurucharan Singh of, *Kodaikanal, S. India.*
1933 *†NAHARSINHJI, Lieut. Maharaj S. S., Sahib Bahadur, *of Chhota Udepur, Rewa Kantha Dist., Bombay Pres., India.*
470 1929 *NAISH, John P., B.A., D.D. (Lond.), B.Litt. M.A. (Oxon), *Lecturer in Hebrew & O.T., Mansfield College, Oxford; Pemberley, Beech Road, Headington, Oxford.*
HON. 1923 NALLINO, Prof. Carlo A., *Via Jacopo Ruffini* 2, *Rome* 49, *Italy.*

1928 Nandimath, S. C., M A, Ph.D, *Karnatak Lingayat Education Society, Belgaum, Bombay Pres, India.*

1907 *Narasimhachar, R, Rai Bahadur, M.A., *Retired Director of Archæology in Mysore, Mallesvaram, Bangalore, S. India.*

1920 *Narayan, Brij, M.A, *Military Accts Service, c/o Allahabad Bank, Ltd., Lahore, India.*

1930 *Nath, S. C, M B., 1 *Roy Bahadur's Rd., Behala, Calcutta, India.*

1920 *Navagire, B N., M E, *c/o Navagire & Co, Trimbak Parasram Street, 6th Kumbharwada, Post No 4, Bombay, India*

1936 *Nawab, Sarabhai Manilal, *Dept of Archæology, Baroda, India. Nagji-bhuder's Street, Ahmadabad, W India.*

1930 *Nell, Dr Andreas, *Queen's Hotel, Kandy, Ceylon*

1923 *Newberry, Prof Percy E, *Winkworth Hill, Hascombe, Nr. Godalming, Surrey.*

480 F.E.M. 1934 Nepalese Minister, H E The, *Nepalese Legation, 12a Kensington Palace Gardens, W 8*

1895 *§Nicholson, R A, Litt.D, F B A, *Sir Thomas Adam's Professor of Arabic, 52 Bateman Street, Cambridge*

1933 *Nigam, K S, B A, *c/o N P Nigam, Bhopal, Central India.*

1933 *Nigam, N P, *Private Secretary to the Hon Rai Bahadur Raja Oudh Narain Bisarya, Bhopal, Central India.*

1934 Norton, E L, "*Mayfield*," 6 *Somerset Road, Wimbledon, S.W.* 19.

1914 *Noyce, Sir Frank, Kt, K C S I, C B E, I C S., *Hon. Member i/c Dept of Industries and Labour, Inverarm, Simla, India.*

1922 *O'Brien-Butler, P E, *Bansha, Plat Douet Road, Jersey, C I. Local Representative*

1926 *O'Dwyer, J C, *British Consulate General, Munich, Germany.*

1919 *†Oke, A W, 32 *Denmark Villas, Hove, Sussex*

1924 §Oldham, C E A. W, C.S I., Hon. Secretary, 21 *Courtfield Road, S W* 7.

490 1925 *Oppenheim, Baron Max Freiherr von, Ph.D., *Savignyplatz* 6, *Berlin-Charlottenburg, Germany.*

1918 *†Ormerod, Rev. E. W, *East Woodhay Rectory, Newbury, Berks.*

1923 Page, Rev. Walter Sutton, B A, B.D, *School of Oriental Studies, Vandon House, Vandon Street, S W* 1.

1909 *Paira-Mall, M.D., *c/o Nat. Bank of India, Amritsar, Panjab, India.*

Hon. 1930 *Palacios, Prof Miguel Asin, *Real Academia Española, Madrid.*

1933 *Pandit, B. P. S, B A, Ph.D, *Bar-at-Law, Tajnapeth, Akola, Berar, India*

1926 *Paranavitana, S, Ph D., *Epigraphical Asstt. to the Archæological Commissioner in Ceylon, Colombo, Ceylon.*

1924 *Paranjpe, V. G., M.A., LL B., D.Litt., *Prof of Sanskrit, c/o Bai Jerbai Wadia Library, Fergusson College, Poona No. 4, India.*

1935 ‡Parker, Miss B. H., 4 *Danvers Street, Chelsea, S.W.* 3

1900 *†Parla Kimedi, The Raja of, *Ganjam, Madras Pres, India.*

500 1928 *†Parpia, Y. R., B.A., I.C.S., *Civil Lines, Broach, India.*

1936 PARSONS, The Hon. Desmond, 43 *Gloucester Place, W.* 1.
1937 ‡PATEY, Mrs A M., 10 *Church Close, Kensington, W.* 8.
1934 *PATHAK, Pandit S. S, M D.M.C., *Shankar Medical Hall, Puniapera Rajamandi, Agra, U P, India*
1928 *PATHAK, Ayurveda Mahopadhaya, Hon. Magistrate, *Pathak House, Muttra, U P, India*
1911 *†PATIALA, H.H. Maharajdhiraja Sir Bhupindar Singh, Mahindar Bahadur, G C S I, G C I E, G B E, of, *Patiala State, Panjab, India.*
1931 *PAXTON, E H, B.A, *Lecturer, Faculty of Arts, Egyptian University, Giza, Egypt, Turf Club, Cairo, Egypt*
1937 PAYNE, Francis J, 59 *Calton Avenue, Dulwich, S E* 21.
1937 ¶PEARCE, J A C, B A, 10 *Cromwell Place, S W* 7
1936 *PEARN, B R, M A, *Dept of History, University College, Rangoon, Burma.*
510 HON 1923 PELLIOT, Prof Paul, Légion d'honneur, M C, LL D, *Prof au Collège de France,* 59 *Avenue Foch, Paris.*
1936 ‡PENNY, Miss J, 4a, *Blakesley Avenue, Ealing, W* 5.
1919 PENZER, Norman M, M A, 151 *Grove End Gardens, N W* 8
1935 PEPYS-WHITELEY, Mrs D, 3 *Plowden Buildings, Middle Temple Lane, E C* 4
1919 †§PEROWNE, E S M, F S A, HON TREASURER, 7 *Great James St., W.C.* 1.
1905 *PETERSEN, F G., *Hotel Frydenlund, Copenhagen, Denmark.*
1909 *§PHILBY, H St. J B, C I E, I C S, (ret), 18 *Acol Rd, N.W.* 6; *c/o Cox & King's Bank, Ltd, Waterloo Road, S W* 1.
1935 *PHILIP, Rev. J. Gibson, M A., F R G S, F R S S, F R S A., Senior Chaplain in India (ret), *Caledonian Club, St. James's Square S W* 1.
1929 *PHILPOT, H. C V, *c/o Lloyds Bank,* 6 *Pall Mall, S W.* 1.
1926 *†PIERIS, Paulus Eduard, C M G, Litt D, *Ceylon House, Aldwych, W C.* 2
520 1929 *PILLAI, T S Dandeesvaram, *Bodinayakanur, S. India.*
1911 *PIM, Sir Alan Wm., K C I.E., K.B E., C S.I., I.C.S (ret), *Ridgeway, Headington, Oxford.*
1920 *†PITHAWALLA, Maneck B, *Principal, Parsi Virbaiji H Sch*, 20 *Victoria Rd., Karachi, India*
1937 *POLLAK, A N., M.A, *Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Palestine*
1916 *POPE, Miss A. Ethel M, M A, D Litt, L R A M, A R C.M, *Prin. Zenana Coll., Hyderabad, Deccan, India. Local Representative.*
1935 ‡POPE, A. Upham, 724, *Fifth Avenue, New York City, U S.A.*
1924 *POPPER, Prof. Wm., Ph.D., *Univ of California, Berkeley, Cal., U S A.*
1893 HON. 1920 *POUSSIN, Louis de la Vallée, *Prof. à l'Université de Gand,* 66 *Avenue Molière, Uccle, Brussels.*
1936 *PRAKASH, Indra, B A., *Ghas Mandi, Saddar Bazar, Lahore Cantt., Panjab, India.*
1928 *PRASAD, Pande Jadunandan, M.A., *Asst Master, Secondary Training School, P.O. Mahendro, Patna, Bihar, India.*
530 1937 *PRASAD, Rajeshwar, B.A., *Zemindar, Sadipur, Monghyr, Bihar, India.*

F.E.M 1932 SAUDI-ARABIAN MINISTER, H E The, *Royal Legation of Saudi-Arabia, 42 Eaton Place, S W 1*
1932 *SAXENA, R C, M D., B.S, F R H S, M H A, *Jaunpur, U.P., India.*
1926 *SAXONA, G L, L C P S, *Medical Officer at Dispensary, Partabgarh, Oudh, India*
HON. 1923 SCHEIL, Père Vincent, O P, *Prof d'Assyriologie à l'École des Hautes Études, 4 bis, rue du Cherche Midi, Paris.*
1905 *SCHRADER, F Otto, Ph.D, *Hollenauerstr 69, Kiel, Germany.*
1924 SCHWAIGER, I, 174 *New Bond St, W 1*
1921 *SCOTLAND, Patrick J, M A, I.C S, *Sub-Div Magistrate, Bettiah, Champaran, Bihar, India*
1903 *§SEDDON, Charles N, M A, *Lecturer in Persian and Marathi, 27 North-moor Road, Oxford*
600 1929 SEDGWICK, Mrs W, 11 *More's Garden, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, S.W. 3*
1923 *SEIDENFADEN, Major Erik, 148 *Phya Thai Road, Bangkok, Siam*
1923 SELIGMAN, C G, M.D, F R S, *Prof of Ethnology, Univ. of London, Court Leys, Toot Baldon, Oxford*
1935 *SELL, F R, 1 *Greenway, Berkhamsted, Herts.*
1935 *SERIN, Mlle M A, *Lycée de jeunes filles, Avenue G Clémenceau, Montpellier, Hérault, France*
1936 *SETH, M J, *University of Calcutta*, 9 *Marsden St, Calcutta, India.*
1926 *SETH, Raja Bisheshwar Dayal, Rai Bahadur, B Sc., F.C S., M L C, *Taluqdar of Muizuddinpur, Kotra, Biswan, Dist Sitapur, U.P., India.*
1933 *SEVIAN, Vahé, *c/o Irrigation Dept, Hillah, Iraq*
1930 *SHAH, Chimanlal J, M A, *c/o Messrs C J Shah & Co, Churchgate House, 30–32 Churchgate St, Bombay, India*
1932 *SHAH, Madhavlal Hiralal, *Ghatkopar, near Bombay, India*
610 1931 *SHAH, Major Nazeer Ali, *A D C to H H. the Nawab of Bahawalpur, c/o Foreign Office, Bahawalpur, Panjab, India*
1929 *†SHAH, Tribhubandas L, *Goya Gate, Station Road, Baroda, India.*
1925 *SHAN, Wee Tin, 67 *Maung Khine St., Rangoon, Burma.*
1934 *SHARMA, Shiva Hari, B A., L T, *Hindu High School, Rae Bareli, U.P., India*
1925 *SHARMA, S R, M A, *Prof of History, D.A V. College, Lahore, India.*
1929 *SHEHABUDDIN, S M, B Litt, *Manager, "Islamic Culture," Civil Service House, Hyderabad, Deccan, India*
1933 SHEPPARD, S T, *c/o "The Times of India", Salisbury Square, E C 4.*
1921 *SHERMAN, M L, B A, LL B, *Registrar, High Court, Indore, C. India.*
1935 *SHIRREFF, A G, I C S, *Commissioner's House, Fyzabad, U.P, India.*
1933 *†SHRIVASTAV, Uma Shankar, B A, LL B, *Sub-Judge, Chindwara, C.P. India*
620 1931 *SHRIVASTAVA, C S, M A, B Sc, *Pleader, Ballia, U.P., India.*
1936 *SHRIVASTAVA, U M, M A, L T, *Headmaster, Municipal High School, Harda, C P, India*
F E.M 1934 H M THE KING OF SIAM
F E M. 1932 SIAMESE MINISTER, H.E The, *The Siamese Legation, 23 Ashburn Place, S W 7*
1926 *SIDDIQI, Muhammad Zubayr, Ph D, *Sir Asutosh Professor of Islamic Culture, Calcutta University, Calcutta, India.*

1937 SIMON, W., Ph D., *School of Oriental Studies, 13 Lisbon Avenue, Twickenham, Middx*
1928 *SIMPSON, Professor D. C., D.D., *Oriel College, Oxford.*
1929 *SINGH, Braj Bhusan, I C S, *Joint Magistrate, Mirzapur, U.P., India.*
1907 *SINGH, Kahan, *Sirdar of Nabha, Nabha, Panjab, India.*
1937 SINGH, Maharaj Nagendra of Dungarpur, *Rajputana, India, St John's College, Cambridge.*
630 1934 *SINGH, R. N, *Professor of Hindi, Ripon College, Calcutta, India.*
1924 *SINGH, S M P., *Taluqdar of Khapradih, P O Haidarganj, Fyzabad, Oudh, India.*
1932 †SINGH, Thakur K. N, B.A, C S U P, *Deputy Collector and Asst. Record Officer, Fyzabad, Oudh, India*
1929 *SINGH, Thakur Rama Palat, M A., *Hindi Professor, Udai-Pratap Kshattriya College, Benares Cantt., U.P., India.*
1933 *SINH, Rajkumar Raghubir, M.A, LL B, *Ram Niwas Palace, Sitamau, Central India*
1895 *†SINHA, Kunwar K Pal, *Raio Kotla, P O Narki, Agra, U P, India.*
1913 *SINHA, Babu Rudra Datta, M.A., LL.B., *Vakil, High Court, Lucknow, U P., India*
1920 *SIRCAR, Babu Ganapati, Vidyaratna, 69 *Beliaghatta Main Rd., Calcutta, India*
1923 *†SIRÉN, Prof Osvald, *Lidingö Villastad, Stockholm, Sweden.*
1900 *SKEAT, W W, *Romelandfield, Ramsbury Road, St Albans, Herts.*
640 1926 SMITH, Lt-Col G McIver, C M G, c/o *Lloyds Bank, Ltd, Cox's & King's Branch, 6 Pall Mall, S W.* 1.
1935 SMITH, Miss Margaret, M.A., Ph D, *Manchester College, Oxford.*
1925 *§SMITH, Sidney, M.A, *Dept of Egyptian & Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum, W C* 1, 7 *Fellows Road, Hampstead, N W.* 3
1920 *SONPUR, H H Maharaja Sri Sir Bir Singh Deo, K C I.E, of, *Sonpur Feudatory State, via Sambalpur, India.*
1927 *SOOD, Rai Sahib Tara Chand, *Jullundhur City, Panjab, India.*
1930 *†SOOFEE, Khan Sahib Ahmad Ali, L.Ag, *Chawk Muftian, Jullundur City, Panjab, India*
1923 *SOOFI, Khan Bahadur Agha Muhammad Ali (*Foreign and Political Dept*), *Mahalla Muftian, Jullundur City, Panjab, India.*
1934 SPENDLOVE, F St. G, c/o *Royal Ontario Museum of Archæology, Toronto, Canada*
1922 *SPINK, Capt Harold H. M., A.M.I.C.E, *Hillside, Groombridge, Kent.*
1932 *SRIVASTAVA, Kalika Prasad, B.A, LL.B., *Civil Judge, Datia State, Central India.*
650 1907 *†STAPLETON, H. E, M A, D Litt, B Sc, I E S (ret), *Sands, St Brelade, Jersey, C.I*
1923 HON. 1932 *STCHERBATSKY, Th., Ph.D, *Académie des Sciences, Leningrad, U S S R.*
1887 *§STEIN, Sir Aurel, K.C I.E., Ph.D., D Litt, D Sc, F.B.A, c/o *Indian Institute, Oxford.*
1924 *†STEPHEN, Miss D. J., *Ellore, S. India.*
1905 *STEVENS, George F. A., 101-113 *Asian Avenue, Forest Hills, Long Island, N.Y., U.S.A.*

1921 *STEVENSON, W. B, D.Litt., *Prof. of Hebrew & Semitic Languages, 7 College Court, The University, Glasgow.*
1912 *STEWART, J. A., C I E, M C., M A, LL D, I.C.S. (ret.), 66 *Warwick Road, Bishop's Stortford, Herts.*
1929 STOCKS, Mrs de Beauvoir, c/o *National Provincial Bank, Oxford.*
1937 *STOLOFF, Victor, 18 *Maghrabi Street, Cairo, Egypt*
1915 §STOREY, Prof C A, 33 *Barton Road, Cambridge*
660 1934 *STOREY, Miss J D., 4 *rue Senebier, Geneva, Switzerland.*
1912 *STRAUSS, Dr Otto, *Hundekehlen Str.* 33, *Berlin-Dählem, Germany.*
1928 STRONG, Mrs W S, 56 *Tudor Close, Belsize Avenue, N W.* 3
1925 *†SUKET, H H the Raja of, *Sundarnagar, Suket State, Panjab, India.*
1936 ‡SULLAIMAN, Dr J H, *Foreign Secretary to the Imam of the London Mosque,* 63 *Melrose Road, Southfields, London, S W.*
1936 *SUNDARAVARADAN, R., 43 *Gungadhiswarar Koil Rd, Vepery P O, Madras, India*
1893 *†SVASTI SOBHANA, H R H Prince, *Bangkok, Siam.*
1931 *SWENSON, Rev H, F R G S, F.A G S, *Sian, Shensi, China*
1895*†§SYKES, Brig Gen Sir Percy M, K C I E, C B, C M G, 18 *Eastbury Court, Kensington Road, W* 14
1936 *SZABOLCSI, Dr Benedict, *Budapest* 1, *Budakeszi-ut* 34/6, *Hungary.*

670 1934 *TALAIVER, G M, *Insurance Expert,* 6 *Salai Street, Mylapore, Madras, India*
HON 1910 TALLQVIST, K L, *Prof of Oriental Literatures, Fabriksgasse* 21, *Helsingfors, Finland*
1914 *†TAMPI, Vatasseri Sri Velayudhan, son of H H. the Maharaja of Travancore, *Trivandrum, Travancore, India*
1930 *TARAPOREVALA, Vicaji D B, B A, *Tarapore Villa,* 79 *Koregaon Park, Poona, Bombay Pres, India*
1936 *TARN, W W, Litt D, F B A, *Muirtown House, Inverness.*
1897 *†TATE, George P, *Clydebank, Ranikhet, U P, India*
1911 *†TEAPE, Rev Wm Marshall, M A (Edin and Camb), B D (Camb), 27 *Firsglen Road, Winton, Bournemouth*
1922 *TENNANT, Hon Mrs Ruth, *St Anne's Manor, Sutton, Loughborough.*
1898 *†THATCHER, Rev G W, M A, *Camden College, Sydney, N.S W.*
1928 *THOMAS, Bertram, O B E, Ph D, *Trinity College, Cambridge*
680 1917 *†THOMAS, E J, M A, D Litt, *Under Librarian, University Library, Cambridge*
1924 *THOMAS, Ed Ll Gordon, F R A I, *Rabaul, New Guinea. Local Representative*
1898 *§THOMAS, F W, C I E, M A, Ph D, F B A, VICE-PRESIDENT, *Professor of Sanskrit,* 161 *Woodstock Road, Oxford.*
1918 *THOMPSON, Sir Herbert, Bart, 1 *Bathwick Hill, Bath*
1927 *THOMPSON, M S H, B A, *Principal, Govt Training College, Rajahmundry, Madras Pres, India*
1919 §THOMPSON, R Campbell, M A, D Litt, F.S A., F.B.A., *Trackways, Boar's Hill, Oxford*
1937 *THORNTON, J S D, 34 *Victoria Road, Oxford*

1922 *TICKELL, G Templer, 1 *Jaffray Rd., Bromley, Kent.*
1935 *TIDY, Captain S. E., F R G S , *Residency P.O. Indore, C. India.*
1935 *TIRTHA, Svami Vedanand, *Arya Samaja Mandira, P.O. Dinga, Dist. Gujrat, Panjab, India*
690 1921 *TOLKOWSKY, S., M.B.E , 111 *Allenby Road, Tel-Aviv, Palestine.*
1929 *†TOMARA, R. S., Ex. S A S , Raj Vaidya, *Elgin Road, Delhi, India.*
1917 *TRIPATHI, Prof Deva Datta, Sahityacharya, *Indira Bhawan, Kadamkuan, Patna, Bihar, India*
1918 *TRIPATHI, Pandit Ram P , *Reader in Modern Ind. Hist., The University, Allahabad, U.P., India*
1926 *†§TRITTON, A. S., D Litt., *School of Oriental Studies, Vandon House, Vandon St , S W 1 ; 85 St George's Square, S W 1.*
1921 *TROTT, A C , *British Legation, Jedda, Saudi-Arabia*
1935 ‡TSÊNG, Miss Chao-Yueh, 1 *Kensington Park Road, W 11*
1928 *TUCCI, Professor Giuseppe, *Member of the Royal Academy of Italy,* 20 *Via Tevere, Rome.*
F.E.M. 1932 TURKISH AMBASSADOR, H E. The, *The Turkish Embassy,* 69 *Portland Place, W.* 1.
1912 *§TURNER, Prof. R L , M C , M.A , Litt D., *Professor of Sanskrit, University of London , Haverbrack, Bishop's Stortford, Herts.*

700 1919 *UI, Prof. H , *Seminary of Indian Philosophy, Tokyo Imperial University, Tokyo, Japan*
1934 *URQUHART, Rev W S., *Principal, Scottish Church College, Cornwallis Square, Calcutta, India.*
1934 *UTTLEY, K. H , M D , *Medical Dept , Hong-Kong.*

1923 *†VAIDYA, V. P., B A , J.P , 18 *Cathedral St , Bombay, India.*
1919 *VAISHYA, Ramji D., F R S A , *Sweet Cottage, Gwalior, Central India.*
1923 *†VARMA, Prof Siddheshwar, M A , D Litt , *Shastri, c/o Prince of Wales's College, Jammu, Kashmir, India*
1934 *VIDYABAGISH, Pandit Ramrup, 12 *Marcus Lane, Calcutta, India.*
1905 HON 1937 *VOGEL, Prof. Dr J. Ph , Hon C I E , Ph D , *The University, Leiden, Holland*
1899 *VOST, Lt.-Col. W , I M S , *Woodhurst, Manor Way, South Croydon, Surrey*
1923 *VRATI, H. Lal, B A., L.T , *Headmaster Anglo-Vedic High School, Anupshahr, U.P , India*

710 1908 *WACKERNAGEL, Prof Dr. Jakob, *University of Basle, Gartenstr.* 93, *Basle, Switzerland.*
1892 *†WADDELL, Lt -Col. L. A., C.B , C.I.E., LL D , *Ardsloy, Craigmore, Rothesay, Bute, Scotland*
1930 *WADIA, Madame B. P., c/o "*The Aryan Path,*" 51 *Esplanade Rd., Bombay, India.*

1923 *WAH, L H., I F S, A C F, *Pyinmana, Burma.*
1931 WAHBA, H E. Sheikh Hafiz, *Minister of Saudi-Arabia, 42 Eaton Place, S W.* 1
1932 WALES, H. G Quaritch, M A, Ph.D, *Royal Societies' Club, St. James's St., S.W.* 1.
1934 *WALEY, Arthur D, 115 *Chatsworth Court, Pembroke Road, W.* 8.
1912 *†WALKER, Rev. C. T. Harley, M A., *The Yews, East Hannay, nr. Wantage, Berks*
1928 *WALKER, John, M A, *Dept of Coins and Medals, British Museum, W C* 1
1926 *†WALLESER, Professor Dr Max, *Goethestrasse* 12, *Heidelberg, Germany*
720 1937 WALSH, E H C, C S I, M A, I C S (ret), *Wyke House, Gillingham, Dorset*
1937 WANG, Prof Shelley, 24 *Parliament Hill, N.W* 3
1919 *WARBURTON, Rev B A, *Homelea*, 68 *Mitchell Street, Newtown, Wigan.*
1916 *§WARDROP, Sir Oliver, K B E, C M G, M A, 49 *Downshire Hill, N W* 3
1934 *WARE, Dr J R, 18 *Bates Street, Cambridge, Mass, U S A.*
1907 *WATSON, H D, C I E, C B E, I.C S. (ret.), *Windrush, Inkpen, Hungerford*
1929 *†WEBSTER, Professor Hutton, *R.F D* 2 (*Box* 326—*A*), *Menlo Park, Cal, U S A.*
1928 *WEIR, Rev Cecil J Mullo, B D, D Phil, 13 *Abercromby Square, Liverpool,* 7
HON 1936 WENSINCK, Prof A J, *The University, Leiden, Holland.*
1921 *WESTLAKE, A R C, I C S, *c/o Chief Sec to Govt., Madras, India*
730 1934 *WHITE, Rt Rev Bishop W C, *Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada.*
1906 *WHITEHEAD, R B, 30 *Millington Road, Cambridge*
1926 *WHITTLESEY, P W., M A, *Highmount Avenue, Nyack, N.Y., U S.A.*
1921 *WHYMANT, A N. J, 31 *Upper Montagu Street, W.* 1
1936 *WIENER, Dr E Cohn, *Art Director, State Museum and Picture Gallery, Baroda, India*
1915 *WILLIAMS, Professor L F Rushbrook, O B E, B A, D Litt, *The Old House, Westcott, near Dorking, Surrey*
1922 *WILLIAMS, L H, *York House, Cleveland Road, Worcester Park, Surrey*
1923 *†WILSON, Lt-Col Sir A T, K C I E, C S I, C M G, D.S O, M P, *Wynches, Much Hadham, Herts*
1933 *WILSON-WARD, The Rev W, *The Rectory, Buckworth, Huntingdon. Local Representative*
HON. 1936 WINLOCK, H E, A B, Litt.D, *Director, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, U S A.*
740 1912 *WINSTEDT, Sir Richard O, K B E, C M G, D Litt., *School of Oriental Studies, Vandon House, Vandon St, S.W* 1.
1928 *WOLFENDEN, Stuart N, *c/o National Provincial Bank, Charing Cross Branch,* 66 *Trafalgar Square, W C* 2
1919 *§WOOLLEY, Sir C Leonard, Kt, M A., D Litt, 12 *Royal Avenue, Chelsea, S W* 3
1923 *WYER, Dr. J L, *Director N York State Library, N. York City, U.S.A. Local Representative*

1929 YAHUDA, Dr. A S., 25 *Elsworthy Road, N.W.* 3.

1911 *YAZDANI, Ghulam Mas'udi, O B E., *Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad, Deccan, India.*

1910 §YETTS, W. Perceval, O B.E., D Lit., M.R.C.S., *Professor of Chinese Art and Archaeology, University of London; 4 Aubrey Rd., W. 8.*

1934 ‡YOUNG, Mrs. G. C. M. F., 13 *Acacia Road, St John's Wood, N.W.* 8.

1935 *YOUNG, Professor H. B., *c/o Board of Foreign Missions,* 156 *Fifth Avenue, New York City, U S A*

1895 *YUSUF-ALI, A, C B.E., I.C.S, M A, LL M., *c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., Bombay, India.*

750 1928 §ZETLAND, The Most Hon, the Marquess of, P.C, G C S.I., G.C.I E., *Aske, Richmond, Yorks, and* 23 *Down Street, W.* 1.

1935 ‡ZOETE, Miss B D de, *c/o Walter Spies, Bali, E. Indies.*

1932 *ZWEMER, Dr S. M., *The Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey, U.S A*

Foreign Extraordinary Members

1934 H M. The King of Siam.

1932 H R H Prince Damrong of Siam.
1932 H E The Chinese Ambassador.
1932 H E The Egyptian Ambassador.
1932 H E. The Japanese Ambassador.
1932 H.E The Turkish Ambassador
1932 H E. The Afghan Minister.
1932 H E. The Iranian Minister.
1932 H E. The Iraqian Minister
1934 H E. The Nepalese Minister.
1932 H.E. The Saudi-Arabian Minister
1932 H E. The Siamese Minister.

Honorary Members

1926 Professor Dines Andersen, *Copenhagen.*
1937 Professor Jules Bloch, *Sèvres*
1937 Professor Carl Brockelmann, *Breslau*
1936 Professor Georges Coedès, *Hanoi.*
1930 Professor Dr August Fischer, *Leipzig.*
1918 Monsieur A Foucher, *Paris*
1936 Professor Wilhelm Geiger, *Munich.*
1933 Professor Dr Ernst Herzfeld, *Princeton*
1902 Professor Houtsma, *Utrecht*
1923 Professor A V Williams Jackson, L H.D , Ph D , LL.D , *New York.*
1912 Professor Hermann Jacobi, *Bonn*
1929 Professor Bernhard Karlgren, Ph D , *The University, Göteborg, Sweden.*
1930 Professor Dr Sten Konow, *Oslo*
1902 Professor Lanman, *Cambridge, U S A*
1909 Professor Dr H Lüders, *Berlin*
1927 Professor Louis Massignon, D Litt , *Paris*
1923 Professor Carlo A Nallino, *Rome.*
1930 Professor Miguel Asin Palacios, *Madrid*
1923 Professor Paul Pelliot, *Paris*
1920 Professor L de la Vallée Poussin, *Brussels.*
1935 Mirza Muhammad Khan Qazvini, *Paris*
1923 Professor Nikolaus Rhodokanakis, *Graz, Austria*
1923 Professor Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, C I E , M A , *Darjeeling*
1923 Père Vincent Scheil, O P , *Paris*
1923 Professor Th Stcherbatsky, *Leningrad*
1910 Professor K L Tallqvist, *Helsingfors*
1937 Professor Dr J Ph Vogel, Hon C I E , Ph D , *Leiden.*
1936 Professor A J Wensinck, *Leiden*
1936 Professor H. E Winlock, *New York*

Gold Medallists

N B —The Gold Medal was founded in 1897

1897 Professor E B. Cowell
1900 E W West
1903 Sir William Muir.
1906 G U Pope
1909 G A Grierson
1912 J F Fleet
1915 Mrs Agnes Smith Lewis. / Mrs. Margaret Dunlop Gibson
1918 V. A Smith.
1922 Professor H. A. Giles.
1925 Rev A. H. Sayce.
1928 Professor D. S Margoliouth.
1932 Sir Aurel Stein.
1935 Sir E. Denison Ross.

Burton Memorial Medallists

N.B.—The Medal was founded in 1923

1925 H St. J. Philby.
1928 Sir Harold A MacMichael.
1931 Bertram S Thomas.
1934 Miss Freya Stark.
1937 Sir Arnold T Wilson.

Library Associates

1935 Sir Charles Bell
1936 Rai Bahadur Prof S K. Bhuyan.
1934 Miss Bodé
1935 Mr. G. Brackenbury.
1934 Miss H. Carey
1934 Miss R. Clay.
1935 Mr S H Gokhale.
1936 Mr S H Hansford
1936 Mr Serajul Haque.
1936 Miss A C Hayter
1936 Mrs. E. T Hibbert.
1935 Mrs. W. P. Ker.
1927 Sir H. J. Maynard.
1936 Miss V. Morrison-Bell.
1935 Miss B. H. Parker
1936 Miss J Penny
1937 Miss E H Ramsden
1935 Miss Chao-Yueh Tsêng.
1935 Mr A. Upham Pope
1934 Mrs G C M. F. Young.
1935 Miss B D de Zoete

Student Associates

1936 Mr V. R Deoras
1935 Mr. K. J. Dover.
1935 Miss A. K S Lambton.
1935 Mr. J. W Layard.
1937 Miss Rose Quong

Borrowing Members

1937 Mr. A. F. L. Beeston
1935 Rev. E. J. Bolus.
1936 Mr. E. B Howell.
1937 Miss W Lamb.

Branch and Associate Societies

The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
The Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
The Bombay Branch of the R.A.S.
The Burma Research Society.
The Ceylon Branch of the R.A S.
The Korea Branch of the R.A.S.
The Madras Literary Society and Auxiliary of the Royal Asiatic Society.
The Malayan Branch of the R.A.S.
The Mythic Society, Bangalore.
The North China Branch of the R.A.S.
The Asiatic Society of Japan.

LIST OF LIBRARIES AND NON-MEMBERS

SUBSCRIBING TO THE

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

Aberdeen University Library
Adelaide Public Library
Agra St John's College.
Agra University Library
Algiers Bibliothèque Nationale
Algiers Bibliothèque Universitaire
Allahabad North India Christian Tract Society
Allahabad University Library
Amsterdam. Kirberger and Kesper.
10 Anantapur Ceded Districts College
Ankara, Faculté d'Histoire et Géographie
Ankara Grand National Assembly
Azamgarh Shibli Academy
Azerbaijan State University

Baku Sownarkon Aserbaidjana.
Baltimore Johns Hopkins University Library.
Baltimore Peabody Institute
Bangkok. Science and Art Book-store
Bankipur Patna College
20 Barcelona Bosch, Libreria
Barisal. Brojomohun College
Beirut · American University
Berkeley California University Library
Berlin Asher and Co
Berlin The University.
Berlin. Weber and Co.
Bhagalpur T. N Jubilee College.
Bhavnagar Samaldas College.
Birmingham Public Library.
Bombay Elphinstone College. 30
Bombay Jamjetsee N. Petit Institute
Bombay University Library.
Bonn The University.
Boston Museum of Fine Arts.
Boston. Public Library.
Brighton Public Library.
Bristol The University
Budapest University Library.

Cairo Egyptian Library
Cairo Institut Français. 40
Calcutta: Imperial Library.
Calcutta Indian Museum, Archæological Section
Calcutta Presidency College.
Calcutta Ripon College.
Calcutta St Paul's College.
Calcutta Sanskrit College.
Calcutta University Library.
Cambridge Galloway and Porter.
Cambridge. Harvard College.
Canton Sun Yat Sen University Library. 50
Cawnpore Gaya Prasad Library.
Chester, U S A. Bucknell Library.
Chicago The John Crerar Library.
Chicago Newberry Library.

Chidambaram: Annamalai University.
Cleveland. Public Library.
Constantinople: Robert College.
Copenhagen: Royal Library.
Cuttack: Ravenshaw College.

60 Dacca. The University.
Delhi: Central Asian Antiquities Museum.
Denver: University Library
Detroit: Public Library.
Durham, U S A Duke University

Edinburgh Public Library.
Edinburgh Jas Thin
Evanston: Hibbert Old Testament Library.

Florence Biblioteca Nazionale
Frankfurt a M Auffarth and Co.
70 **Frankfurt a.M**: Baer and Co
Frankfurt a.M Bibliothek fur neuere Sprachen und Musik.
Frankfurt a M Rothschildsche Off Bibliothek.
Freiburg: Literarische Anstalt
Freiburg The University.
Fukuoka: Kyushu Imperial Univ

Gauhati: Cotton College
Giessen University Library
Giza Central Library.
Giza: Egyptian University.
80 **Glasgow**: Jackson, Wylie and Co
Glasgow Mitchell Library
Gothenburg Wettergren and Kerbers.
Göttingen: Semitistisch-Islam Seminar.
Göttingen. Universitäts Bibliothek.
Greifswald: University Library.

Hague, The: Van Stockum and Son.
Haverford, U.S A.: College Library.
Hiroshima: University of Literature and Science
Hong Kong: The University.
90 **Hyderabad**: Nizam's College.
Hyderabad: Nizam's Govt. State Library.
Hyderabad: Osmania University College.

Illinois The University.
Indiana The University.
Ishihama, J., Esq, Osaka.
Ithaca Cornell University Library.

Jerusalem Director of Antiquities.
Johannesburg Public Library.
Junagadh. Bahauddin College

Kabul Représentation Plénipotentiaire 100
Keijo, Chosen Imperial University.
Keijo, Chosen Miyasaki, Isoki
Kiel. The University.
Kiew: Wseukrainsk Akad Nauk
Konigsberg State Library
Kotagiri Arch. Survey Dept.
Kreuzlingen: Schmid et Cie.
Krishnagar The College
Kumbakonam Govt College.
Kurseong Indian Academy, St. Mary's College 110
Kyoto Indian Philosophy
Kyoto Ryukoku University
Kyoto Suwa, G

Lahore Forman Christian College.
Lahore Government College.
Lahore Panjab Public Library
Lahore Panjab University
Lahore Standard Book Depot.
Lahore Times Book Depot.
Leipzig The University. 120
Leningrad. Nautschn-Bib. Ka Univ.
Leningrad: Public Library.
Lincoln University of Nebraska.
Lisbon Biblioteca Nacional.
London: Athenæum Club
London: H.M. Stationery Office.
London: London Library.
London: Probsthain, A.

Longmans, Green & Co
130 Lucknow Provincial Museum
Lucknow University Library.
Lund Kungl Universitets Biblioteket
Lyons University Library

Madison Drew University
Madras Archæological Survey
Madras Connemara Public Library
Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library
Madras Presidency College
Manchester John Rylands Library
140 Manchester The University
Manila Bureau of Science
Melbourne Victoria Public Library
Michigan The University
Manchoukuo Messrs Manshu-Kyoiku-Kenkyusho
Manchoukuo Statistic Bureau
Minnesota The University
Miye-Ken Jingu Kogakukan
Montreal McGill University
Moscow Bibliothèque Imeni Lenina
150 Moscow Bib Narkom Wnssehtorga
Moscow N I Int Boljschogo
Munchen The University
Muzaffarpur Greer Bhumihar Brahman College
Mysore University Library

Nagpur The University
Nanking Institute of Chinese Cultural Studies
Nanking Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Nanking The University
160 Naraken Tenri Library
Neuchatel Delachaux et Niestlé
Newcastle-on-Tyne Public Library
New York Columbia University
New York Dr Gilmore
New York Genl Theological Seminary
New York Metropolitan Museum of Art
New York Public Library
New York Union Theological Seminary

New York: Westerman and Co.
Nova Goa: Com. Perm. de Arqueologia.

Ootacamund Govt. Epigraphist. 170
Osaka. Asahi Shimbunsha Library.
Osaka Foreign Language School.
Oslo Cammermeyer's Bokhandel.
Oxford B H Blackwell and Co.
Oxford: Indian Institute

Paris Inst Nat de France
Paris Klincksieck, Librairie.
Paris University Library
Patna Behar National College.
Pavia. Facolta di Lettere-e-Filosofia. 180
Peiping College of Chinese Studies.
Peiping. National Library.
Peiping: Tsing Hua University Library
Peiping Yenching University
Peshawar Islamia College.
Philadelphia American Philosophical Society
Philadelphia: Free Library.
Philadelphia. University of Pennsylvania
Pittsburg. Carnegie Library
Poona S P College 190
Prague. Public and University Library
Pretoria University Library.
Princeton Theological Seminary.
Princeton. University Library.

Rajshahi The College.
Rangoon. University Library.
Rostock Stillersche Hof and Universitäts Buchhandlung

Saga-ken: Saga-Koto-Gakko
San Francisco: Public Library.
St Paul James Jerome Reference Library. 200
Seattle. Rupp, O. B.
Seattle. Washington Union Library.

Sendai: Library of Coll. of Law and Literature.
Shanghai: Science Institute
Sotheran, H., London
Stechert, G E. & Co., London.
Stockholm: Nordiska Bokhandel
Sydney. Public Library, N S Wales.
Sydney: Royal Society of New South Wales.
210 Sylhet. Marari Chand College

Taihoku: Imperial University Library.
Taschkent Sr-As. Gos. Public Library
Teheran Légation de France.
Teheran: Ministère de l'Instruction Publique.
Teheran · Ministère des Affaires Étrangères
Tiflis: Gos. Univ. Bib
Tokyo. Foreign Language School, Kanda
Tokyo Imperial University, College of Literature
Tokyo. Indian Philosophy
220 Tokyo Komazawa-Daigaku
Tokyo Peers' School
Tokyo. Sodoshu-Daigaku
Tokyo: Toho-Bunka-Gakuin.
Tokyo · University of Literature and Science
Tokyo. Waseda University Library.
Tokyo. Yamanaka Shoten.
Toronto · University Library.
Triplicane Madras University Library
Trivandrum · Public Library.
Tübingen. The University. 230
Turin Casanova et Cie.
Twietmeyer, Herr A, Leipzig

Ulan Bator. Utschenij Komitet Mongolii
Utrecht University Library

Vienna Gerold and Co
Vladivostock · Bib-ka Daljne Vost Gos Univ

Waltair · Andhra University
Wakayama-ken. Koyasan College.
Warsaw Centrale des Journaux étrangers.
Warsaw Gebethner and Wolff. 240
Washington Library of Congress
Würzburg University Library.

Zamlek M Raoul Curiel
Zürich. Bibliothèque Centrale

Note—There are other libraries which subscribe through their booksellers. The Secretary would be much obliged if the Librarians of such libraries would kindly send their names to be added to the above list

SUMMARY

	June 30, 1936	June 30, 1937.
Resident Members (including S B A 2)	89	89
Resident Compounders (S B A 2)	14	16
Non-resident Members (S B A 13)	485	474
Non resident Compounders (S B A 2)	94	96
Library Associates	21	25
Student Associates	3	5
Borrowing Members	1	4
Honorary and Extraordinary Members	41	42
	748	751
Subscribing Libraries, etc	250	244
Total	998	995

Printed by Stephen Austin and Sons, Ltd, Hertford.

RULES RELATING TO MEMBERSHIP AND SUBSCRIPTIONS

3. (a) Members shall be divided into three classes:—

(1) Resident Members; those who usually reside or have a place of business within the London Postal Area.

(2) Non-resident Members; those who usually reside outside, and have not a place of business within, the above-stated Area.

(3) Honorary Members and Foreign Extraordinary Members admitted as hereinafter provided.

(b) Members in the first two classes are hereinafter designated Ordinary Members

4. Any person desirous of becoming an Ordinary Member must be nominated by one Member and seconded by another, of whom one must act on a personal knowledge that the candidate is likely to be a suitable and useful Member; and the nominating Member shall address the Secretary in writing and give the candidate's name, address, and occupation, or status, and shall state to which of the aforesaid classes the candidate desires to be admitted Provided always that in the case of persons domiciled abroad, it shall be within the power of the Council on being satisfied as to the credentials of any particular candidate, to dispense with these conditions.

17. The annual subscriptions of Ordinary Members shall be as follows:—

	£	s	d
Resident Members	3	3	0
Non-resident Members residing in the British Isles	2	2	0
Non-resident Members residing abroad	1	10	0

17A The Annual Subscription for Associates shall be as follows.—

	£	s	d
Library Associates	1	10	0
Student Associates		10	6

19 An Ordinary Member may compound for all future annual subscriptions by paying in lieu thereof one sum calculated according to the Member's age and category as follows:—

- Under 40 years of age: Eleven times the annual subscription as laid down in Rule 17
- Between 40 and 60 years of age: Nine times the annual subscription as laid down in Rule 17
- Over 60 years of age: Seven times the annual subscription as laid down in Rule 17

23 The first payment of subscription is due on election, but if a Member be elected in November or December of any year, the first annual subscription paid by him shall cover the year beginning on the 1st January next after his election.

24 Annual subscriptions shall be due on the first day of January of each year

---

Every member of the Society whose subscription is paid is entitled to receive the quarterly JOURNAL post free

P.T.O.

When proposing a candidate for election, this form may be filled in and sent to the Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society, 74 Grosvenor Street, London, W. 1 Certificate of Recommendation to be made out in block capitals.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

CERTIFICATE OF RECOMMENDATION

being desirous of becoming a *Member of the* ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, *we, whose names are hereunto subscribed, being Members of the said Society, do hereby recommend* *to the Society as a Candidate.*

Members { *Proposer*

Seconder

Revised Price List. Oct., 1937.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS

ON SALE AT THE ROOMS OF THE SOCIETY

74 GROSVENOR STREET, LONDON, W. 1

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND

NEW SERIES

8vo

(1–5) Rehatsek (E.) Mīr Khwānd's "Rauzat-us-Safā" or "Garden of Purity". 1891 to 1894. 12*s*. 6*d*. a volume.

(6) Tawney (C. H.) The Kathā Koṣa. 1895. 12*s*. 6*d*.

(7) Ridding (Miss C. M.) Bāna's Kādambarī 1896. 12*s*. 6*d*. *Out of print*

(8) Cowell (E. B.) and Thomas (F. W.). Bāṇa's Harṣa Carita 1897. Reprinted 1929. 12*s*. 6*d*

(9) Chenery (T.) The first twenty-six Maḳāmātat of al Ḥarīrī 1898. 1926 12*s*. 6*d*.

(10) Steingass (F.) The last twenty-four Makāmāta of al Ḥarīrī. 1898 12*s*. 6*d*.

(11) Gaster (M.). The Chronicles of Jerahmeel, being a collection of the most ancient Biblical legends translated for the first time from the unique Hebrew MS. in the Bodleian, with an introduction, full of literary parallels, copious index and five facsimile reproductions of the Hebrew MS. 1899. 12*s*. 6*d*.

(12) Davids (Mrs. Rhys) The Dhamma Sangaṇi. 1900. Reprinted. 1923 12*s* 6*d*.

(13) Beveridge (Mrs. H.). Life and Memoirs of Gulbadan Begum. 1902, 1927. 12*s*. 6*d*.

(14, 15) Watters (T.). On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, 629–645. Edited by T. W. Rhys Davids and S. W. Bushell. 1904–5. 12*s*. 6*d*. a volume.

(16) Whinfield (E. H.) and Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī. The Lawā'ih of Jāmī. Facsimile of an old MS., with a translation and a preface on the influence of Greek philosophy upon Sufism. 1914. Reprinted, 1928. *7s. 6d.*

(17) Barnett (L. D.). Antagaḍa-dasāo and Aṇuttarovavāiya-dasāo. From the Prakrit. 1907. *6s 6d.*

(18) Keith (A. Berriedale). The Sāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka. 1908. *6s. 6d.*

(19, 22) Rogers (A.) and Beveridge (H.). Memoirs of Jahāngīr. Translated Vol. I, 1909. Vol. II, 1914. *12s. 6d.* a volume. *Out of print.*

(20) Nicholson (R. A) The Tarjumān al-Ashwāq of Ibn al-'Arabī. Text and Translation. 1911. *7s. 6d.*

(21) Wardrop (Miss M.). The Man in the Panther's Skin. By Shot'ha Rust'haveli. 1912. *12s 6d.*

(23) Wardrop (O.). Visramiani. The Story of the Loves of Vis and Ramin. A romance of Ancient Persia. Translated from the Georgian Version. 1914. *12s. 6d.*

(24) Ui (H.). Vaiśeṣika Philosophy, according to the Daśapadārtha-Śāstra. Chinese Text and Translation. Edited by F W Thomas 1917 *7s. 6d.*

(25) Salmon (W. H.). The Ottoman Conquest of Egypt from the Arabic Chronicle of Ibn Iyās. 1921. *5s.*

(26) Gaster (M). The Asatir, or The Samaritan Book of the "Secrets of Moses". 1927. *12s. 6d.*

(27) Margoliouth (D. S). The Table-talk of a Mesopotamian Judge, being the first part of the Nishwār al-Muhāḍarah or Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh of Abu 'Alī al-Muhassin al-Tanūkhī (*text*) Edited from the Paris MS. 1921. *12s. 6d.*

(28) Margoliouth (D. S.). Translation of the above. 1922. *12s 6d.*

(29) Miller (W. M.). Al-Bâbu 'L-Ḥâdî 'Ashar. A Treatise on the Principles of Shî'ite Theology by Ḥasan B. Yûsuf B. 'Alî Ibnu'l-Mutahhar al-Ḥillî. Translation. 1928. *10s*

(30) STEPHENSON (J.). The Zoological Section of the Nuzhatu-l-Qulūb of Ḥamdullāh al-Mustaufī al-Qazwīnī. Edited, translated, and annotated. 1928. 15*s.*

(31) JORGENSEN (HANS). Vicitrakarṇikāvadānoddhrta. Nevāri Text and Translation. 1931. 12*s.* 6*d.*

(32) THOMAS, F. W. Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents from Chinese Turkestan. Vol. I. 1935. 20*s.* (*Vol. II in the Press.*)

(33) GRIERSON, G. A Puruṣa Parīkṣā or Test of a Man. 1935. 12*s.* 6*d.*

(34) ROBSON, J. Ibn abi'l Dunyā's Kitāb al-Malāhī (*In the Press.*)

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY MONOGRAPHS

8vo.

(1) GERINI (G E) Researches on Ptolemy's Geography (Further India and the Indo-Malay Peninsula). 1909. 15*s.*

(2) WINTERNITZ (M.) Catalogue of South Indian Sanskrit MSS. belonging to the R A S, with an Appendix by F. W. Thomas. 1902 5*s.*

(3) HIRSCHFELD (H) New Researches into the Composition and Exegesis of the Qoran. 1902. *Out of print.*

(4) DAMES (M. Longworth). The Baloch Race. 1904. 4*s.*

(5) LE STRANGE (G). Mesopotamia and Persia in the Fourteenth Century A D, from the Nuzhat-al-Ḳulūb of Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī. 1903. *Out of print*

(6) BROWNE (E. G.). Chahár Maqála of Niḏhámí-i-'Arúḍí-i-Samarqandí. 1899. *Out of print.*

(7) CODRINGTON (O). A Manual of Musalman Numismatics. 1904. 7*s.* 6*d.*

(8) GRIERSON (G. A.). The Piśāca Languages of North-Western India. 1906. *Out of print.*

(9, 10) DAMES (M. Longworth). Popular Poetry of the Baloches. Text and translation. Two vols. 1907. 15*s.*

(11) Sayce (A. H.) and Pinches (T. G.). **The Tablet from Yuzgat in the Liverpool Institute of Archæology. 1907. 4s.**

(12) Bailey (T. Grahame). The Languages of the Northern Himalayas, being studies in the Grammar of Twenty-six Himalayan Dialects. 1908. *Out of print.*

(13) Bailey (T. Grahame). Kanauri Vocabulary. 1911. 2s. 6d

(14) Le Strange (Guy). Description of the Province of Fārs, in Persia, from the MS. of Ibn-al-Balkhī. 1912. 4s.

(15) Brandstetter (R.). An Introduction to Indonesian Linguistics, translated by C. O. Blagden. 1916. 7s. 6d.

(16) Pinches (T. G.). Babylonian Tablets of the Berens Collection. 1915. 4s.

(17) Grierson (G. A.) and Barnett (L. D.). Lallā-Vākyāni. Edit. with translation 1920. 10s.

(18) Bailey (T. Grahame) Linguistic Studies from the Himalayas 1915. 10s.

(19) Gairdner (W. H. T.). Al-Ghazzālī's Mishkāt al-Anwār. A Translation with Introduction. 1924. 5s.

(20) Pran Nath A Study in the Economic Condition of Ancient India. 1929. 12s 6d.

(21) Thomas (Bertram). The Kumzari Dialect of the Shihuh Tribe, Arabia, and a Vocabulary. 1930. 2s. 6d.

(22) Fischel (W. J). Jews in the Economic and Political Life of Mediaeval Islam. 1937 12s. 6d

---

PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND

8vo.

(1) Hultzsch (E). Prākritarūpāvatāra of Simharāja. The Text in Nāgarī characters, with Notes, Introduction and Index. 1909. 5s.

(2) Bode (Mrs. M. H.). The Pali Literature of Burma. 1909. 5s.

(3) HULTZSCH (E.). The Meghadūta with Vallabha's Commentary. 1911. 5s.

(4) BRAY (D. de S.). The Life-history of a Brāhūī. 1913. 5s.

(5) GRIERSON (G. A.). Ishkāshmī, Zēbakī and Yāzghulāmī. 1920. 7s. 6d.

(6) LORIMER (D. L. R.). The Phonology of the Bakhtiari, Badakhshani and Madaglashti Dialects of Modern Persian. 1922. 5s.

(7) STCHERBATSKY (Th.). The Central Conception of Buddhism and the meaning of the word Dharma 1923. 12s. 6d.

(8) BAILEY (T. Grahame). Grammar of the Shina (Ṣiṇā) Language. 1924. 7s. 6d.

(9) RANDLE (H. N.). Fragments from Diṅnāga. 1926. 6s.

(10) MALALASEKARA (G. P.). The Pali Literature of Ceylon. 1928. 10s.

(11) GRIERSON (G. A). Torwali An account of a Dardic Language of the Swat Kohistan. 1929 12s 6d

(12) WOLFENDEN (S. N.). Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Morphology. 1930. 15s.

(13) IVANOW (W). A Guide to Ismaili Literature. 1933. 9s.

(14) LICHTENSTADTER (I) Women in the Aiyam al-Arab. 1935. 5s.

(15) JOHNSTON (E. H) Early Sāmkhya. 5s.

JAMES G. FORLONG FUND

(1) HODSON (T. C.). The Primitive Culture of India 1922. 6s.

(2) GIBB (H. A. R.). The Arab Conquests in Central Asia 1923. 5s.

(3) RICHMOND (E. T.) Moslem Architecture 623–1516. 1926. 12s. 6d.

(4) Ross (E. Denison). Ta'rīkh-i Fakhru'd-dín Mubáraksháh. Edited from a unique manuscript. 1927. 7*s.* 6*d.*

(5) Trenckner (V.). The Milindapañho: the Pali Text. New edition with General Index by C. J. Rylands and Index of Gāthās by Mrs Rhys Davids. 1928. 12*s.* 6*d.*

(6) Ḥasan (Hādī). Falakī-i-Shirwānī. His Times, Life and Works. 1929. 12*s.* 6*d.*

(7) Varma (S.). Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians. 1929. 12*s.* 6*d.*

(8) Isemonger (N. E.). The Elements of Japanese Writing 1929. £1 5*s.*

(9) Ḥasan (Hādī). Falakī-i-Shirwānī. Dīwān. 1929. 10*s.*

(10) Juwaynī Ta'rīkh-i-Jahān-Gushāy of Juwaynī, vol. iii. Being a facsimile of a manuscript dated A.H. 690 belonging to Wahīd-ul-Mulk. With an Introduction by Sir E. Denison Ross. 1931. 7*s.* 6*d.*

(11) Wingate (R. O.) and Ross (E. Denison). Dialogues in the Eastern Turki Dialect on Subjects of Interest to Travellers. 1934. 4*s.* 6*d.*

(12) Yoshitake, (S.) Phonetic System of Ancient Japanese. 1934. 6*s*

(13) Sutton Page, (W.) An Introduction to Colloquial Bengali 1934. 10*s* 6*d.*

(14) Dave, (T. N.) A Study of the Gujarati Language in the Sixteenth Century (v.s.). 1935 10*s* 6*d.*

(15) Read (A. F. C.) Balti Grammar. 1934. 8*s.* 6*d.*

(16) Bailey (T. Grahame) Kashmiri Sounds. (*In the Press.*)

B. C. LAW TRUST SERIES

By the generosity of Dr. Bimala C. Law of Calcutta a Trust has been founded to facilitate the publication of Monographs on Buddhism, Jainism and Ancient Indian History and Geography up to the end of the Thirteenth Century A.D.

Information will be found in a leaflet issued with the July No. of JRAS., or may be obtained from the Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society, 74 Grosvenor Street, London, W.1.

ORIENTAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Report on the Terminology and Classification of Grammar. Oxford University Press. 1930. 1*s.*

Centenary Volume of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1823–1923, compiled and edited by F. E. Pargiter. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Centenary Supplement. 1924. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Decade Index of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1920–9. Paper Covers similar to JOURNAL, each 1*s.*; Bound in paper boards, each 1*s.* 6*d.*; Bound in paper boards and interleaved, each 2*s*

Members are entitled to buy these publications at 25 per cent discount
2*d in the shilling allowed to the trade*
3*d in the shilling allowed to the trade if paid on purchase or in advance*
4*d in the shilling allowed to the trade for purchase of any one publication to the amount of* £10 *and upwards if paid on purchase or in advance, and for purchase of various publications to the amount of* £20 *and upwards if paid on purchase or in advance The publications mentioned above, in connection with discount to the trade, do not include either the Journal of the Society or its Index*

Nett charges for the advertisement of Oriental publications

		£	s.	d
Inside of Cover	Whole page	5	0	0
" "	Half "	2	10	0
" "	Quarter "	1	5	0
On Fly-leaf	Whole "	2	10	0
" "	Half "	1	5	0
" "	Quarter "	0	15	0
Insertion of Loose Sheets	Unfolded— Not exceeding 8 × 5 in.	1	0	0
	Folded	2	0	0

Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland

74 GROSVENOR STREET, LONDON, W.1

PATRON

HIS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY THE KING.

VICE-PATRONS

FIELD-MARSHAL HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT

THE VICEROY OF INDIA.
THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS

1925 THE RIGHT HON LORD CHALMERS, P C , G C B., F B A.
1925 SIR GEORGE A GRIERSON, O M , K C I E , PH D , D LITT

COUNCIL OF MANAGEMENT FOR 1937-38.

PRESIDENT

1937 THE LORD HAILEY, G C S I, G C I E

DIRECTOR

1937 PROFESSOR D S MARGOLIOUTH, M A , D LITT , F.B A.

VICE-PRESIDENTS

1934 L D BARNETT, ESQ , M A , LITT D
1935 C OTTO BLAGDEN, ESQ , M A , HON D LITT
1934 SIR EDWARD MACLAGAN, K C S I , K C I E , M A.
1937 SIR E DENISON ROSS, KT , C I E , PH D , D LIT.

HONORARY OFFICERS

1919 A. G ELLIS, ESQ , M A (*Hon Librarian*)
1935 C E A W OLDHAM, ESQ , C S I (*Hon Secretary*)
1923 E. S M PEROWNE, ESQ , F S A. (*Hon. Treasurer*)

ORDINARY MEMBERS OF COUNCIL

1935 R E ENTHOVEN, ESQ , C I E
1937 SIR WILLIAM FOSTER, KT , C I E
1936 C. J. GADD, ESQ, M A
1934 M GASTER, PH D
1934 L C HOPKINS, ESQ , I S O
1935 PROFESSOR E H JOHNSTON, D LITT
1936 LIEUT-COL D L R LORIMER, C I E
1936 SIR JOHN MARSHALL, KT, C I.E , LITT D, F S A, F B A
1935 R S LE MAY, ESQ , PH D
1934 R A NICHOLSON, ESQ , LITT D , F B A
1934 H N RANDLE, ESQ , M A , PH D
1935 A S TRITTON, ESQ , D LITT
1935 PROFESSOR R L TURNER, M C , M A , LITT D
1934 SIR OLIVER WARDROP, K B E , C M G , M A
1937 SIR C LEONARD WOOLLEY, Kt , M A , D Litt.
1936 PROFESSOR W PERCEVAL YETTS, O B E, D LIT , M R.C.S

SECRETARY AND LIBRARIAN

1930 COL D M F HOYSTED, C B E., D S.O

ASSISTANT SECRETARY
1925 MRS M DAVIS

ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN
1932 MRS F. M G CARDEW

HON SOLICITORS

MESSRS T. L. WILSON & Co.

Westminster Chambers, 5 Victoria Street, S W 1

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY'S JOURNAL

OCTOBER, 1937

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

Middle East

PAGE

India

Art, Archæology, Anthropology

Cuneiform

Islam

Miscellaneous

JOURNAL OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
1937

PART IV.—OCTOBER

Shafta d Pishra d Ainia

(A MANDÆAN MAGICAL TEXT
TRANSLATED AND TRANSLITERATED BY E S DROWER)

Maraı mshaba. Blıba dakia blıshanıa bpuma tushbıhta.
Kushta asınkhun

TRANSLITERATION

ࡀ	= A.
ࡁ	= B
ࡂ	= G or Gh.
ࡃ	= D or Dh
ࡄ	= H (hard and soft).
ࡅ	= W, U, or V.
ࡆ	= Z
ࡇ	= (a final possessive 3rd person termination) h
ࡈ	= Ṭ.
ࡉ	= Y or I
ࡊ	= K or Kh.
ࡋ	= L
ࡌ	= M.
ࡍ	= N.
ࡎ	= S.

ࡏ = 'Ain But in Mandæan never guttural, and can replace "a". Followed by "u" or "i" it takes on the long "ū" or "ī" sound.

ࡐ = P.

ࡑ = Ṣ

ࡒ = Q.

ࡓ = R

ࡔ = S̲h̲

ࡕ = T or T̲h̲

ࡖ = Ad, or Ed The possessive particle and relative particle d̲

ࡀ = A.

ࡗ = Kt̲h̲ i.e "like" or "as".

Bs̲h̲umaihun d̲ hiia rbia qadmaiia nuk̲h̲raia mn almia d̲ nhura yatiria d̲ 'lawia kulhun 'ubadia asut̲h̲a uzakut̲h̲a hat̲h̲amta uzarazta unatarta rabtia d̲ s̲h̲arara nhuilia Idilia Plan br Plana uzawai ubnai ubnat̲h̲ai udaurai hik̲h̲lai ukulh̲ binianai mn hiia umn Manda d̲ hiia asia maraihun d̲ kulhun asawat̲h̲a 'zha u'tazha aina bis̲h̲ta ukabihta waina zruqtia waina bruqtia waina kbis̲h̲tia waina qliqtia waina 'kiltia kt̲h̲ abun Bil nsib miia urmh̲ Iris̲h̲ia qirib rma 'l kwakiat̲h̲a unsab tag̲h̲a wathnh̲ bris̲h̲ia uzaina tla 'l kadfh̲ hutra d̲ mura b'dh̲ (*or b'adia*) am qarbala (?) lauma kulh̲ bgumra [1] tag̲h̲a nad unfal mn ris̲h̲ia uzaina nfal mn kadfh̲ hutra d̲ mura nfal mn 'dh̲ uris̲h̲ia smar ubarsa nfal gibta d̲ gaubat 'lh̲ usilqit [*sic*] s̲h̲gibun [*sic*] bs̲h̲uba s̲h̲ibiahia kt̲h̲ tag̲h̲aiun traṣlun bris̲h̲aihun uzaina tlilia lkadfaiun hutra d̲ mura nfal mn 'daihun umdabrania lalma kulh̲ bgumura hutra d̲ mura nfal mn 'daihun uris̲h̲aihun ṣmar ubarsa nfal gibta d̲ gabat 'lh̲ usilqit [*sic*] upagibun [*sic*] byama kt̲h̲ mlia miia wazlia miia bgauh̲ warbita piria u'nbia u'lania d̲ 'lawia rauzia wamarat kma s̲h̲apiria yama us̲h̲apiria d̲ masgin bgauh̲ d̲ 'bdit piria u'nbia u'lania d̲ 'lawih̲ rauzia wamarat

[1] Later on (p. 2) "umdabrh̲ lalma kulh̲ bgumra".

kma s̲h̲apiria yama us̲h̲apiria d̲ masgin bgauh̲ d̲ rbita piria u'nbia u'lania d 'lawih̲ ṣba gibta d̲ gabat 'lawaihun usilqat pagibun baqnia d̲ hus̲h̲ raiia us̲h̲apir bnaiun ubnat̲h̲un us̲h̲apiria baqaria d̲ masgin abat̲h̲raiun aqnia lgaṭ pumaiun mn miria ubnaiun lgaṭ pumaiun mn mimaṣ waramat̲h̲a la masgin abat̲h̲raiun gubta d̲ gaubat 'lawaihun usilqat pagibun btauria d̲ pirun malka d̲ miṣraiia wamrat kma s̲h̲apiria tauria d̲ pirun malka d̲ miṣraiia s̲h̲apiria ubnaiun ubnat̲h̲un us̲h̲apiria baqaria d̲ masgin abat̲h̲raiun tauria lgat pumaiun mn miriai ubnaiun lgaṭ pumaiun mn mimaṣ ubaqaria tkalal unfil lknaf tauraiun usilqat s̲h̲kitun ubkitun udnitun 'l qudam hiia rbia qadmaiia has̲h̲ hiia upras̲h̲ hiia u'tafras̲h̲ hiia kt̲h̲ yatbia bat̲h̲ra kasia bs̲h̲k̲h̲inat̲h̲un ubziwa rba dilun d̲ nafs̲h̲aiun ubanhura rba kabira wamar hazin qala d̲ maa mn tibil qala rama d̲ mn 'ubdunia titaiia d̲ hs̲h̲uk̲h̲a umn mia siawia 'siria gmitia unsisia malil d̲ nimarlun maraihun d̲ nafs̲h̲aihun ya yaduiia d̲ yaditun 'l mahu ms̲h̲ailitun hazin qala d̲ aina bis̲h̲ta ukawihta umarirtia d̲ baqat usilqat mn 'umqia d̲ yama umn taum taumia titaiia d̲ hs̲h̲uk̲h̲a umn mia siawia hṭima hatam mkairia bruhia unis̲h̲mat̲h̲a d̲ bnat anas̲h̲a was̲h̲kat̲h̲ 'l P. br P. umhat̲h̲ urmat̲h̲ bhana d̲ 'mh̲ lgat ainh̲ mn mihzia upumh̲ mn mikal u'd̲h̲ mn mibad ulig̲h̲rh̲ mn masguiia has̲h̲ hiia upras̲h̲ hiia u'tafras̲h̲ hiia kt̲h̲ yatbia bs̲h̲k̲h̲inat̲h̲un bziwa rba dilun d̲ nafs̲h̲aihun banhura rba ukabira uqiriuia lman d̲ asia wamarulh̲ qum nsub s̲h̲aba mkadfia d̲ parzla us̲h̲aba silwania mn s̲h̲aba talia d̲ ziqla ziburia us̲h̲uba s̲h̲ibia mn s̲h̲uba ris̲h̲ia nhut̲h̲ 'l 'umqia d̲ yamia ulyama d̲ 'isiria hṭimia gmiṭia nsisia lug̲h̲tuia 'l aina bis̲h̲ta ukawihta umarirtia d̲ mhata 'l P. br P. umihuia bakla rba d̲ ziwa ubnarga rba d̲ s̲h̲iriat̲h̲a ubgurmaiza d̲ nura bs̲h̲aba mkadfai d̲ parzla us̲h̲uba salawat̲h̲a mn s̲h̲uba talia d̲ ziqla ziburia us̲h̲uba s̲h̲ibia mn s̲h̲uba ris̲h̲ia unhut̲h̲ ulg̲h̲utia 'l aina bis̲h̲ta ukawihta baufia ris̲h̲ia bsbasia d̲ himiania bs̲h̲ahfia d̲ s̲h̲ifula titaiia d̲ lig̲h̲rh̲ urumuih̲ bit zban uladan dukta d̲ dudia uṭafan lglala urahta aina bis̲h̲ta u'kilta utinihta utimalil utimarlh̲ kabra d̲ kabralh̲ mn 'nis̲h̲a asia d̲ nit̲h̲ia gabra d̲ la has̲h̲ ulahs̲h̲uk̲h̲ ulapras̲h̲

wamar bminıltakh mishtaına bpra manakh d nısab mia mn pum frash zıwa umısha br shushma hıwara umıhla pth pshar gufna umıhla ṣatra ṣita ushmaiia umıa mn yardna rba d mıa hiia wadkhar hazin pugdama 'lh ushuph bpaghra d P. br P. utıpshar utıfuq mınh aına bıshta ukawıhta umarırtia waina zruqtia waina bruqtıa waina kbishtia waina qlıqtıa kth shamısh b'shumia ukth zıqa banania ukth ṣıfra gadfa d pashar unafiq mn qınh ukth tata d pashra unafqa mn dibnh ukth mıhla d pashra unafqa bmia ukth hıuta d pashra unafqa d barqa bmınılta d qarh wamarlıa 'zil hazın shutha adkharlh 'l bıl ab d nısab taghh unıtrıs brıshıa unısab zaınh unıtlıa bkadfh hutra d mura nılguıt b'dh unıdabrh lalma kulh bgumra wamarlh 'zıl hazın shutha adkharlun 'l shuba shıbıahıa unınısbun taghaıun unıtırṣnun brıshaıun unınısbun zainaıun unıtlun bkadfaıun hutra d mura nılıgtun b'daihun unidabrunh lalma kulh bgumra 'zıl hazın shutha adkharlh lyama kth mlıa mıa ununıa udılfunıa nasgun bgauh d 'rbıta pırıa u'mbıa u'lanıa 'lawh nırıuzun 'zıl hazın shutha adkharlh laqna d hush raııa aqna nıshtrıa pumaıun lmırıa ubnaıun nıshtrıa lmımas waramatha nasgun abathraıun 'zıl hazin shutha adkhar ltaura d pırun malka d mıṣraııa tauria nıshtrıa pumaıhun lmarıa [*sic*] ubnaıun nıshtrıa pumaıun lmımaṣ ubaqarıa nasgun abathraıun 'zıl hazın shutha adkharlh 'l P. br P. d tıpshar utıfuq mınh aına bıshta ukawıhta waına zruqtıa waına bruqtıa waına 'kumtıa kth shamısh bshumıa ukth zıqa banania ukth sıfar gadfa d pashar unafiq mn qinh ukth tata d pashra unafqa mn dıbnh ukth mihla d pashra unafqa bmıa wasutha tıhulıa 'l P. br P uzawh ubnh ubnathh udaurh hıklh ubımıanh basutha d manda d hıa asia wamar aına d abuk bsana waına d shıbabıa bıshıa bibnaiun waına d azla waına d athıa waına d rahıqıa waına d qaribia waina d dardıqunıa waina d dırdıqunıatha waına d zanai waına d zamar waına d kulh tıbil waına d mhata 'l P. br P. ninisbh 'urba unisaq ldıqla lhdaia nitıb lgıdma uniparta bı prata d parıt mınh nandıa bnandıa minh nafil baqnia d tauria nidrıkhubh utata nıdrikhubh utitin utitbahat utibṭul

aina bishta ukawihta mn paghra d P. br P. kth 'ntha d yatba aqama ham uhamath warṭat ubihtat akwath aqar unhut anat aina bishta d mahialh 'l P. br P. 'umshabin hiia

. . . .

Bshumaihun d hiia rbia asutha tihuilia 'l P. br P. hda d aina utartin d ainia uthalth d ainai warbia d ainia hamish d ainia ushit d ainia ushuba d ainia waina zruqtia waina mṣuṣtia waina qliqtia waina hamranita waina 'kiltia waina d azla waina d athia waina d qaima waina d yatba waina d rahiqia waina d qaribia waina d zanai waina d zamar waina d 'l aramatha yatba waina d 'l rqiha rmiia 'lia d 'l azlit anat aina d 'usfar uniwal hawit 'l ahia azlit ahia mn hdadia gatlit 'u 'l 'umamatha azlit 'umamatha mn hdadia parshit aqruq mn baitha upaghra d P. br P. miqar ziqla mn bagha urigluk murgal qaina lburia utiriukh mitria baitha mn glala kibshukh mikbash libna bbiniana utibukh abara birbita arbikukh ushiriukh 'l kifia d prat udiglat arbikikh almana bzaina uparasha bqashth urashikh raiia baqnih ubaqara btaurih usab sida bimsana unisbikh aria 'l bnh udiba 'l shitlh sifra lqinh uṣartana 'lniqubh unisbuia 'l aina bishta ukawihta d mhata 'l P br P utipshar utifuq minh kth mihla d pashra unafqa bmia ukth hufia mn puma d kasa ukth hamra mn puma d shataia ukth shinta mn aina d shakhiba nimisbh 'urba unisaq 'l ziqla unishifth bsilwa sharira 'kisit umakisit anat aina bishta ukawihta d mhata d (? 'l) P. br P. utipshar utifuq minh kth mihla d pashra unafqa bmiia 'kisit umakisit anat aina bishta ukawihta d mhata 'l P br P. aqar ṣuhus ubhut u'tbal uniramia 'kurikh umiia qariria umshabin hiia . . .

Abgan shuma rba wabgan mimra rba qadmaiia 'l aina shgishtia u'l aina mristia u'l aina qliqtia 'l aina zruqtia u'l aina hamranita u'laina d yatba 'l qiqilta u'laina d aila baitha unafqa baitha u'l aina d ṣaida d sliq mn agma u'l aina d raiia d sliq mn aqna aina d hismat waina d rabat 'tbarat kth pilqa wawadt u'thambalt kth 'urnasa wamralh kth lau aina hasumtia ulau raiubtia ana 'dilma aina hasumtia raiubtia qiritulia wamarlh hazin d la haisiṭ hazin d la raibit d athit

upagatbh bhikla d bit malka ushurba rba d gubria rurbania baina mhitainun u'l 'uhrikh 'tkamart hikla d bit malka nfal ushurba rba d gubria rurbania 'tbarat shahbia ṣardia d bgawaihun aina hasumtia waina raiubtia 'tbarat kth pilqa wawadt w'thambalt kth 'urnasa wamralh kth lau aina
(250) hasumtia ulau aina raiubtia ana 'dilma aina hasumtia waina raiubtia qaritulia wamarlh hazin d lahaisit hazin d la raibit d athit upagatbh bipdana d shita tauria ushita 'karia d zira ubazira barqa ramin dalit ainikh urmitibun wamart kma shapiria 'pdania ushapiria 'karia d bgawaihun baina mhitainun
(260) u'l 'uhrikh 'tkamart 'pdana [*sic*], psiq ushanziria psiq tauria rhiṭ 'lagma u'karia rhiṭ 'l mathh zira ubazira mn arqa psaqt aina hasumtia waina raiubtia 'tbarat kth 'urnasa wamralh kth lau aina hasumtia ulau aina raiubtia ana 'dilma aina hasumtia waina raiubtia qaritulia wamarlh hazin d la haisit hazin d
(270) la raiubit d athit upagatbh bbaitha d shita ahia ushita 'umamatha d bihda baitha yatbia ubihda sala akhlin u'l hda tanura qaimin u'l hda asita mhabshin dalit ainikh urmtaibun wamart kma shapiria ahia bnia hdadia u'umamatha alwath
(280) hdadia lanasin baina mhitainun u'l 'uhrikh 'tkamart ahia 'l hdadia nfal u'umamatha 'l hdadia nfal shigsha utirqa rmit bnataihun aina hasumtia waina raiubtia 'tbarat kth pilqa wawadt 'thambalt kth 'urnasa wamralh kth lau aina hasumtia ulau aina raiubtia ana 'dilma aina hasumtia waina raiubtia
(290) qaritulia wamarlh hazin d la haisit hazin d laraibit d athit upagitbh bniula d arba shapiratha dalit ainikh urmitibun wamart kma shapiria shapiratha ushapiria karkuria d 'daihun baina mhitainun u'l 'uhrikh 'tkamart 'laiia 'tbar u'laiia utitaiia 'tbar shapiratha bakian ubnaiun alin shigsha utirqa
(300) rmit binaihun aina hasumtia waina raiubtia 'tbart kth pilqa uawadt u'thambalt kth 'urnasa bhut ufuq mn hazin paghra d P. br P kth 'ntha 'sira d bukta nisbat 'l kadfh rmat wazlat lmimlia mia wathun upagubh ham uhamath d 'rusa 'tigid kanfh u'taram lrishh u'tgihnat uniflat bukta minh u'tibrat u'tbihtat akwath bhut unfuq anat aina bishta
(310) mn paghra d P br P aina d rabat 'tbarat kth pilqa

nawadat u'thambalt kth 'urnasa bhut ufuq mn hazin paghra d P. br P. umn barthh hiklh utaurh utaurathh umn kish uqinianh umshabin hiia zakhin . . . .

. . . . . Bshumaihun d hiia rbia asutha tihuilia lP. br P. 'kisa makisa ainaihun d shaba harashatha mn baitha upaghra d P. br P. mn zawh ubnh ubnathh umn hiwaniathh uqinianh wana P. br P. ainai bianhura ulighrai bishrara wana P. br P. wanatun harshia latutai wana P. br P. 'lawaikhun pshar ushria mn P. br P. bshuma d hardbi'il malakha ushria bshuma d gadfi'il malakha ushria bshuma d hamgi'il malakha pshar harshia bishia usadania 'pikia waina bishta ukawihta mn paghra d P. br P. bshum abukhun ugadfaikhun 'lawaikhun pshar ushria miniltaikhun bdardaria 'umamathkhun mn paghra d P. br P. uzawh ubnh ubnathh pshar ushria mn magalta udiuta umitraṣ triṣa 'shumia lqudamh d P. br P. umitraṣ trisa arqa lqudamh d P br P. wasutha tihuilia 'l P. br P. bhalin minilta d nhura hiia zakhin lkulhun 'ubadia . . . .

. . . .

Raza d hazin pugdama shrita lman d 'sir umtanaf bharshia d kdubalh 'lṭasa d anka wabara shrita tihuilia ulzibnh ulzibunh qrih lkuza d mia wazla lnafshiakh ulbaitha u'l zibnakh u'lzbunakh tum titiksia ainaihun d shaba bishia d harashatha usharir umnasai . . . .

'sira usdima 'sfar uniwal aina zruqtia 'sira usdima aina mṣuṣtia 'sira usdima aina qliqtia 'sira usdima aina 'kumtia 'sira usdima aina qdurtia 'sira usdima aina qburtia 'sira usdima aina hlultia 'sira usdima aina d 'l turia qaima 'sira usdima aina d 'l aramatha yatba 'sira usdima aina d 'l rqiha rmiia 'sira usdima aina d 'l rish 'ibad umabad qaimna ana P. br P. lilai wanatun harshia latutia wana 'lawaikhun pshiria harshia bishia usadania 'pikia pshiria harshia usdimia hrimia uksisia 'kisia umakisia umshamṭia umbatlia zihia umazihia zimia umazimia bshuma d pashrun ziwa gabra pashura d pashar btaninia d yardna nhura hua lihshukha pishra hua lharshia sidama hua lruṭna shaina hua ushaina hawia rwaha hua urwaha hawia ṭabutha huat uṭabutha hawia unhura hua

unhura hawia sdima shqahit aina zruqtia sdimia tihuat aina msustia sdima huat aina qlıqtıa sdima sarsit aina 'kaltia sdima shafafit aına qburtıa sdıma skakit unıtar aina qdurtia d 'lhinun ukarkuma adunaı sbabuth ukrukh utabaria ushania waqur ugamar mishqal shqılta ushqılta nishqul gırba u'shata mn paghra d P. br P. mıbrakh brıkhıa umbarukhıa lalam almıa hiia zakhın . . . .

'sıra usdıma upshira umazıha aına zruqtıa d shamish umsustıa d lıbat uqlıqtıa d nbu u'kıltıa d sın hlultıa d kıwan uqburtıa d bıl uqdurtıa d nırıg waina d 'l aramatha yatba waına d 'l rqıha rm'ıa waına d ananaı wasutha tıhuılha 'l P br P hıa zakhin . . . .

Raza rba para uparta qrıh 'lawaıhun kdub lmagalta d tabia utlılh bsaura . . . .

'sıra hthıma umazıha shqahıt aına zruqtıa d shamısh 'sira umazıha amamıt aına msustıa d lıbat 'sira umaziha sarhıt aına qlıqtıa d nbu 'sıra umazıha sarsıt aına 'kiltıa d sın 'sıra umazıha aına hlultıa d kıwan 'sıra umazıha shafafit aına qburtıa d bıl 'sıra umazıha skakıt unıtar aına qdurtıa d nırıgh sdıma umazıha sam usaf raza d ananaı sdım haq umaq raza d sdım kuf raza urımza uraza sdım shırsha kulh d hshukha umıa sıawıa sdımıa hrımıa malkaıun mbatlan mhashabathun 'sırıtun usdımıtun hthımıtun umshamıtun umbatlıtun zımıtun umazımitun lbar mn paghra d P. br P bshuma d hahu rıshaga qashisha nıbtul hshukha unızkıa nhura d qınan d tartın usrın shurbatha d bıt sımıaıl satana nıbtul hshukha unızkhıa nhura wasutha tıhuılha 'l P. br P. mn hıa rbıa qadmaıa umn manda d hiia hıa zakhın . . . .

Banana rabtıa d nhura yatıbna ana hu hıbıl zıwa zadıq br athra d nhura br daura taqna br mdınat 'uthrıa ana u'uthrıa ahaı bnıa nhura d qaımia qudamai anush zuta qaiim 'l smalaı ushıtıl qaım lyamınaı hınun ulbushaıh d minai qaımınin umshabınalh lanana rabtıa d nhura d minh 'tınsıbnın haizakh shamının qala d P. br P. anasha d aına mhath ukıwıhta nsabth

ulibh ata uruiana 'shtagash wana hibil ziwa zadiqa wamarnalun 'l 'uthria ahai bnia nhura d yatbia bkisia wamarnalun nhut 'l tibil arqa wasutha mindam tibidulh 'l P. br P. gabra u'ntha wamarnalun 'l bhiria zidqa gbilia bisra uzma sab hazin pugdama kdublh 'l P br P. anasha d aina mhath ukawihta nsabth ulibh ata uruiana 'shtagash wasutha tihuilh 'l P. br P. bshuma d manda d hiia asia maraihun d asawatha hiia zakhin . . . .

THE SCROLL FOR THE EXORCISM OF THE EYES

My Lord be Praised !
With a Pure Heart !
On my tongue and in my mouth (be) praise ! [1]

In the name of the Great, First, Strange [2] Life, from worlds of light abounding, which is above all (created) works, healing, purity, armed-readiness, sealing and the great security of soundness [3] shall be mine, N. son of N., and my wife's, my sons' and my daughters', and (protect) my dwelling, and the enclosed ground about it [4] and all my buildings From the Life and from Manda d Hiia, healers, lords of all healings.

Tremble ! be scared off, Evil Eye and Dimmed (or blinded) (Eye) and Blue Eye [5] and Eye with white cataract and Shut Eye and Eye with a film on it, and Corroded Eye !

When their father Bel took water and threw it on his head, advanced, threw on his teeth (?) and took a crown and set it

[1] Should be this Careless copying

[2] *Nukrana* Mandæans translate "coming from a distance of time or space", hence "ancient" I follow Lidzbarski

[3] *Shrara* Soundness of body and mind. L sometimes translates *shrara* "truth"

[4] *Hikla*. Mandæans say "the ground about the house", i.e. the compound wall Literally "that enclosed by a boundary line drawn about it" (Cf *hql*) Hence hall, temple, nave (of church), etc

[5] Priests translate "eye that glances to and fro" I suspect that priests, amongst whom blue eyes are common, are biased It is just possible (cf. P -S. ܙܪܩ), however, blue eyes are commonly thought baleful.

on his head, a mulberry (or pastoral) staff in his hand, with a shield on his fore-arm; all was in perfect order. . . . The crown shook and fell from his head and the armour fell from his shoulder, the mulberry staff fell from his hand, and his head was confused and he fell on his bed (by) the snare which She[1] wove upon him.

And She rose and strayed amongst the Seven Planets. When they put their crowns on their heads and hung armour on their shoulders the mulberry staff fell from their hands[2] and the Fatebringers, all of them, were in their perfection. The mulberry staff fell from their hands and their heads were confused and they fell on their couches (by) the spell which she wove upon them. And she rose ("and met", see below) them (those) in the sea (or great lake) when the water was high, and water flowed into it, and the spring herbage, fruits and grapes and trees that were by it flourished.

And she said, "How beautiful the sea is, and how beautiful are those who go about in it, of (and ?) the spring herbage, the fruits, and the trees that are by it (lit. above it) (*bis*). He thought (she thought ?) the snare which she wove upon them. And she rose and met sheep tended by shepherds, and beautiful were the lambs, male and female, and beautiful the herdsmen who followed behind them She restrained the mouths of the sheep from the pastures and their lambs' mouths from sucking, and they[3] went not (on ?) the hills after them (the dams). A snare that she wove upon them And she went up and met the bulls of Pharaoh, King of the Egyptians, and she said, "How beautiful are the bulls of Pharaoh, King of the Egyptians, and their calves, male and female; and beautiful are the herdsmen who walk behind them!" She withheld the mouths of the bulls from the pastures and the mouths of their calves from sucking, and the herdsmen became few and fell beside their bulls And she rose . . And ye were

[1] "She" is the Eye throughout.

[2] Another miscopying, as is evident from the context.

[3] The lambs.

brought low and wept and were abased before the Great Life. The Life was cognizant, and understood and took counsel within itself as it sat in the Secret Place, in its abiding-place, and in the great glory which is its own, and in the mighty great light. And it spoke this saying that (it might be ?) uttered by those on earth,[1] so that from the Lower Abadon of darkness and from the black waters the bound, the oppressed and the sick spoke, and said to their own lords: "O ye who know that which ye know, wherefore did ye not silence the voice of the Evil Eye and the Blind and the Sick (Eye) that tortured (us) and rose up from the depths of the sea and from the limit of the dwellers in the nether regions of darkness and from the black waters, causing uncleanness[2] and marring the spirits and souls of the daughters of men ?"

And She found N. son of N. and struck him and threw him into the lap of his mother. She prevented his eye from seeing and his mouth from eating and his hand from doing and his legs from walking.

The Life took cognizance, and reflected and took counsel of itself as it sat in its dwelling, in its own great radiancy, in the great and mighty light, and called to him who is the healer and said (to him), "Rise, take seven iron shoulder-pieces and seven thorns (lances ?) from seven strong young palm-shoots and seven bundles-of-reeds[3] with seven heads (plumes). Descend to the depths of the seas and to the sea of those who are bound, unclean, fettered and sick. Grasp the Evil Eye and the Dimmed (Eye) and the Sore (Eye) which struck N. son of N. Strike them with a great hammer of radiance and with a great axe of exorcisms,[4] and with a mace of fire, with the seven shoulder-pieces of iron and the seven shafts of seven young palm-shoots of a strong palm-tree[5] and

[1] Obscure. Freely translated

[2] Hifel *tma* "to be unclean".

[3] Lower written *shibia* I think this is the *shebba*, modern colloquial for the reed-bundle used in the construction of reed-huts.

[4] *Shiratha* "rays", "exorcisms".

[5] A priest translates *ziburia* "male".

seven reed-sheaves [1] with seven heads. And descend and seize the Evil Eye and the Dim (Eye) by the hair [2] of their heads, by the tassels of their girdles, by the extreme edge of the lower hem of their legs, and cast them into the house of my time and moment,[3] the place of fetters and manacles, into captivity and supervision "

The Evil Eye and the Corroded (Eye) groans, and speaks and talks to the powerful one who afflicts her, from (to ?) the healing man who comes, the man who was untroubled, and was not gloomy [4] and said: "Thy word I speak! In thy [5] take (*nsub* ?) water from the mouth of the Light-Euphrates, and oil, child of white sesame, and salt, daughter of Melting (exorcism), a plant; and salt; wild thyme; olive oil; and wax, and water from the great yardna of living water. And pronounce this command over them, and rub them into the body of N. son of N." [6] And thou shalt be exorcised and depart from him, Evil Eye, and Dim (Eye), and Sore, and Blue Eye and Eye with Cataract, and Closed Eye, and Whitened Eye, like Shamish in the heavens, and like the wind amongst the clouds, and like a winged bird

[1] See note 3, page 599

[2] *Aufia* Literally "foliage" In the Diwan Abathur supernatural beings are portrayed with leaves for hair A priest (unreliable) translates "plaits".

[3] This probably read *urumuia bzban uladan ldukth* "and throw them at my time and moment into the place", etc

[4] i e the exorcist

[5] *bpramanakh* "in thy (ritual) face-covering" ? (cf פְּרָמָא) The usual word for the Mandæan ritual face bandage, which covers the lower part of the face only, is the *pandama* It is also called the *paiman* These forms recall the Pahlevi and Parsi *padân*, and the Pazend *panam* or *penum* The Avestan (see Modi *Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees*, p. 56) is *paitidâna* Jastrow gives פוּרמָא and פְּרָמָא, i e "rag used as a mask" The addition of the suffix *an* or *ana* is common in Mandæan Hence the "praman" is probably the ritual face-bandage which any Mandæan priest puts on when performing ritual (The Zoroastrian priest wears a *padân* before the fire-altar) The Euphrates, not the Tigris, is the holy river for Mandæans "The mouth of the Light-Euphrates" is (nowadays) the junction of that river with the Tigris at Qurna The junction of two rivers has been thought curative and life-bestowing since Babylonian times (Cf. R Campbell-Thompson's *Semitic Magic*, p li)

[6] The Eye is compelled to give the recipe for her own exorcism.

which is loosed and goes forth from her nest, and like . . . .[1] which is loosed and goes forth from its . . . . . .,[2] and like salt which is loosed and dissolves in water, and like a creature which is loosed and comes forth which was in the earth, by the word which he said to them.

"Go! pronounce this saying upon Bel, my father, that he may take his crown, and set it on his head, and may take his armour and hang it on his shoulder, and a mulberry staff and grasp it in his hand and arrange the whole world in perfection."

And he said to him, "Go, pronounce this saying upon the seven Planets, and they shall take their crowns and set them on their heads and shall take their armour and hang it on their shoulders, and the mulberry staff and grasp it with their hands and order the whole world in perfection. Go, pronounce this saying upon the sea, when it is full of water[3] and fishes and dolphins go about in it, so that spring herbage, fruits, grapes, and trees may flourish over it Go, pronounce this saying upon the sheep tended by shepherds · the sheep shall loosen their mouths to the pasture and their young be free to suck and go behind them (on ?) the hills. Go, pronounce this saying on the bull(s) of King Pharaoh of the Egyptians . the mouths of the bulls shall be loosened to the pasture, and the mouths of their young shall be loosened to suck, and the herdsmen shall go behind them Go, pronounce this saying upon N. son of N., that the Evil Eye and Dim (Eye) and Blue Eye, and Eye with Cataract, and Darkened Eye may be exorcized and depart from him, like Shamish in the skies, and like wind in the clouds and like a winged bird that is loosed and goes forth from her nest, and like a .[4] which is freed and goes forth from . . . . .[5] and like salt

[1] *Tata.* A priest suggests "silkworm", but this is *tulita.*

[2] *Dibna* The same man says "cocoon". Noldeke translates "sheep-fold", and a priest gives "reed enclosure for sheep".

[3] An inland freshwater sea is indicated full in the time of flood and rain.

[4] See note 1 above: *tata.*

[5] See note 2 above *dibna.*

that is dissolved and goes out in water. And health shall be upon N. son of N., and his wife and sons and daughters and and dwelling and enclosure and buildings, in the health of Manda d Hiia, the Healer." And he said, " The contemptuous [1] eye of your father and the eye of evil neighbours and their sons and the eye of those who go and the eye of those who come and the eye of those who depart and the eye of those who approach, and the eye of boys and the eye of girls and the eye of *zanai* [2] and the eye of *zamar* [3] and the eye of all the earth, and the Eye which struck N. son of N. We will remove the willow and set up the date-palm.[4] What is loathsome [5] amongst the loathsome shall fall away from him who sits by himself and is sundered by separation.

We will pronounce it amongst the sheep and the bulls and the . . . .[6] And thou, Evil and Diseased Eye, shalt be smoked out (?) and shalt be shamed and become impotent (and depart) from the body of N. son of N., like a woman who sat before her father-in-law and mother-in-law and trembled, and was ashamed, as if a-cold. And be abased, thou Evil Eye, which strikes N. son of N. And Life be praised . . . .

In the name of the Great Life, health shall be unto N. son of N. One of the Eye, and Two of the Eyes and Three of my Eye and Four of Eyes and Five of Eyes and Six of Eyes and Seven of Eyes. And the Blue Eye and the Dried-up Eye and the Whitened Eye and the Parched Eye and the Consumed Eye and the eye of a coming (person) and the eye of a going, and the eye of a sitting (person) and the eye of the going-away and the eye of the approaching, and the eye of *zanai* and the eye of *zamar* [2] and the eye (of him ?) sitting

[1] *Bsana.*

[2] *Zanai uzmar* a common expression in exorcisms. "My whore and singing-boy" is possible, but improbable.

[3] See note 2.

[4] Play on words. *'uir* meaning "blind" and *diq* "seeing".

[5] ? *nandia.*

[6] *Tata* or *tatha*, see note 1, page 601.

on the heights and the eye cast upon the high firmament that upon . . . . (?). Thou camest, Eye that withers and torments (lit. that was a witherer and torment) to brothers. Thou camest to brothers, and the brothers began to strike [1] each other. And to mothers thou didst come, and didst divide the mothers against each other. Turn thee from the house and body of N. son of N. The date-palm is uprooted from his garden (i.e. his sight is gone) And a fetter has fettered thee: the reed into the reed mat . . . . (*text seems defective*). And rain beats thee down (or, "a flail beats thee down") a stone house crushes thee flat, the mud brick in the building . . . . [2] Amongst the spring herbage thou art forced to kneel and cast down on the bank of the Euphrates and Tigris by the youth with his armour and the archer with his bow: the shepherds with their sheep crushed thee and the herdsman with his bulls . . [3] with his shoe. And the lion takes thee to his cub, and the wolf to its litter, the bird to its nest, and the crab to its mate, and they shall take away the Evil Eye and Dimmed (Eye) which has struck N. son of N. And She shall melt away and depart from him like salt melts and goes forth into the water and like vapours [4] from the mouth of a bowl and like wine from the mouth of those drinking it, and like slumber from the eye of a sleeper. We will take away the willow and set up the date-palm [5] and set it with a firm stem (?).[6] Thou art brought to ignominy and utterly confounded and brought to nought, Evil Eye and Dimmed that has struck N. son of N.: thou art exorcised and goest forth from him like salt melteth and goeth forth in the waters. Thou art confounded and brought to nought Evil Eye and Dimmed that has struck N. son of N. Be rooted out! . . . . .[7] be shamed! and confounded! And we

[1] *Gṭl* sometimes used for "beat".
[2] *Uṭibukh abara* hardly makes sense.
[3] *Usab sida* "and ate their fill" obviously miscopied.
[4] *Hufia* "vapours", "froth".
[5] See note 4, page 602.
[6] *Silwa* "rod", "stick".
[7] *Suhus* (?)

will cast down thy high place [1] and waters shall well forth. And life be praised. . . . .

I read (or "spelt") [2] spells of the Great Name, and spelt the Great, First, Spoken Word upon the Confused Eye and the Crushed Eye and the Whitened Eye and the Blue Eye and the Parched-up Eye, and the Eye that dwells (of him that sitteth ?) on a dunghill, and on the eye (of one) entering his house, and (of one) leaving it, and upon the eye of the fisherman who looks up from the marsh-pool, and upon the eye of the shepherd who looks up from his sheep, the eye which is jealous and the eye which is haughty. Thou art expelled like a . . . . [3] and wanderest lost and ruined like a . . . . . [4]

And She said to him "If I am not a jealous eye, and if I am not haughty ! If there is not a jealous and a haughty eye ! Ye created me !" [5]

And he said to her · "These that thou didst not envy, these that thou didst not despise, that thou camest and met them in the hall [6] of the king's house, and the great race of mighty men, thou didst strike them with the Eye and didst turn round on thy road. The hall of the king's palace fell down, and the great tribe of mighty men thou didst turn out (break up ?), shrivelling whatever was flourishing amongst them. Jealous Eye and Haughty Eye, thou art expelled like a . . [3] and art lost and ruined like a . . ." [4]

And She said to him, "And if I am not a jealous eye and not

[1] *'kura*. A building on a hill, or mound Cf the modern Arabic *kūra*, a brick kiln, built on a mound

[2] Merely reciting the letters of the alphabet constitutes an exorcism, because letters are magic Hence the verb *abaga*

[3] *Pilqa* and [4] *'urnasa* I am unable to translate these words Priests are glib with translations, but no reliance can be placed on these, chiefly guesses

[5] The Eye's defence is that often made by people accused of having the Evil Eye, viz that their intentions were innocent, that they were not envious or scornful The exorcizer confronts the accused with the results of the baleful look

[6] See note 4, page 597

a haughty eye! If there be not a jealous Eye and scornful eye! Ye created me!"

And he said to her, "These that thou didst not envy, these that thou didst not scorn, (that) thou camest and met a yoke of six oxen and six cultivators who cast sowing and seed into the earth. Thou didst lift thine eye and cast it on them, and saidest, "How beautiful are the ploughed fields, and beautiful the farmers who are in them!" Thou didst strike them with the Eye and didst turn round on thy road. The yoke parted and the plough-ropes[1] broke and the bulls galloped to the marsh and the cultivators ran to their village, and the seed thou didst sever from the earth. Envious Eye and Scornful Eye, thou art expelled like a . . . . ."[2]

And she said, "And if I am not the jealous eye and not the scornful eye? If there is not the envious eye and the scornful eye! Ye created me!"

And he said to her, "These that thou didst not envy, these that thou didst not despise, that thou camest and didst meet them in the house of six brothers and six mothers sitting in one house and eating in one dish,[3] and standing at one oven, and enclosed by one wall. Thou didst raise thine eye and cast it on them, and saidest, 'How pleasant are the brothers in each others' company (lit. "amongst each other"), and the mothers towards each other. they do not quarrel.' Thou didst strike them with the Eye, and didst turn round on thy road, and the brothers fell upon each other and the mothers fell upon each other. Thou didst cast trouble and agitation amongst them. Envious Eye and Haughty Eye, thou art put forth like a . . . .[4] and art lost and spoilt like a . . . . . ."[5]

And she said to him, "And if I am not an envious eye and

[1] *Shanzirsa.* A priest translates "plough-ropes". Cf. שזרה = rope.

[2] *'urnasa.*

[3] Literally "basket". The marsh-tribes place their food on a large woven basket-platter, sitting round it, and eating with their hands from it.

[4] *pilqa.* See above.

[5] *'urnasa.* See above.

not a scornful eye! If there is not an envious eye and a scornful eye! Ye created me!"

And he said to her, "These that thou didst not envy, these
(290) that thou didst not despise! And thou didst meet with them, with four lovely women, at their loom. Thou didst lift thine eye and cast it on them and saidest, 'How fair are these beauties, and how beautiful the shuttles which are in their hands!' Thou didst strike them with the Eye, and didst turn round on thy way The high (threads)[1] broke and the low (threads) broke The pretty ones wept and their children lamented Trouble and confusion thou didst cast amongst them. Envious
(300) Eye and Scornful Eye thou art put forth like a . . [2] and lost and ruined like a . . . . . .[3] Shame thee! and depart from this body of N. son of N. like a woman . . . .[4] who took a . . . .[5] on her shoulder and went to fill it with water And the father- and mother-in-law of the bride met her She was stupefied,[6] her bosom swelled, her head bowed,[7] and the water-pot (?) fell from her and was broken and she was covered with shame Like her, be shamed
(310) and go forth, thou Evil Eye, from the body of N. son of N. Eye that did raven (?)[8] Thou art cast forth like a . . . .,[9] and lost and ruined like a . .[10] Be shamed, and go forth from the body of N. son of N and from his house and yard, and his bull and his cows and from his purse and his

[1] The marsh loom is of reeds and wood The shuttle is passed between the higher and lower threads The second *'lata* is redundant

[2] *pilqa*

[3] *'urnasa*

[4] Written *'tsira* From the context below it looks as if this should be *'rusa* "bride"

[5] *Bukta* This would seem from the context to be a water-pot

[6] Should be, I think, [illegible] *'tigdat* Cf. [illegible] "benumbed", "stupefied".

[7] I read *'tgihnat*.

[8] From רעב to be ravenous? (ע often becomes "a" in Mandæan) Or "didst become big?" *Rabat* might mean "grew big with envious surprise"

[9] and [10] *pilqa* and *'urnasa* See above

possessions. And Life be praised: Life is victorious . . . .

In the Name of the Great Life, health shall be to N. son of N. Cast-out and confounded are the eyes of the seven witches from the house and body of N. son of N. and from his wife and sons and daughters and from his animals and his possessions. And I, N. son of N, my eye is in light and my leg in stability. And I am N. son of N. and you, wizards, are below me, and I, N. son of N., am above you. Be exorcized and expelled [1] from N. son of N in the name of the angel Hardbi'l and expelled in the name of the angel Gadfi'il and expelled in the name of the angel Hamgi'il. Be exorcized, evil spells and deluding evil spirits and Evil Eye and Dimmed, from the body of N. son of N, by the name of your father,[2] and your wings above you (?). The body of N son of N is loosed and freed for ever from the spell of your words [3] and your oaths, also his wife, his sons and his daughters Free him and loose him with scroll and ink, and establish the heavens before N son of N and the earth be established firmly before him And health shall be upon N. son of N. by means of this word of light. Life is victorious over all deeds. . . . .

The mystery of this exorcizing command for whomsoever is constricted and polluted by spells, when written on a tin bowl or a leaden (bowl), shall be a loosing (exorcism) At its time and moment [4] read it over a jar of water [5] and go by thyself to the house, and at thy time and moment. Then

[1] *Shria* "loosed" *Shria* is often used for "exorcized" The verb is employed for "reading" a prayer which frees Cf the common expression *shra masiqta* "he read a mass" (i e a rite to free and raise the soul) Hence "expelled" is a relative translation

[2] Namely Bel, who is spoken of elsewhere as the father of the Eye.

[3] A somewhat free translation

[4] At the right time astrologically.

[5] Exorcisms are commonly read over a jar or bowl of water The exorcist often places a fresh sprig of myrtle or flowers in the water, the strength and health of the growing things is invoked by this action Water is the symbol of life and vitality

the eyes of the seven evil ones, of the witches, shall be closed. And strengthen and heal me! . . . .

Bound and confined [1] and cut out and tormented is the Blue Eye. Bound and confined is the Dried-up Eye; bound and confined the Whitened Eye; bound and confined is the Darkened Eye; bound and confined is the Cut-out Eye; bound and confined is the Buried Eye; bound and confined is the Hollow Eye; bound and confined is the Eye (of him) that stands on the mountains; bound and confined is the Eye (of him) that sits on the heights; bound and confined is the Eye which is cast on the firmament; bound and confined the Eye which confused and perplexed the head. I, N son of N, rise upwards; and ye, wizards, are below me and I am above you. The evil wizards are exorcized and deluding spirits are exorcized. They are exorcized, the wizards, and shut up, banned, put to shame, confounded and utterly abashed and torn out [2] and rendered innocuous They are made to quake, and scared off, curbed and constricted by the name with which he exorcized them; Radiance, exorcizing Being that exorcized the dragons of the *yardna* [3] Light he is, an exorcizer of darkness he is, a fetterer of wizards he is, a remover of muttered spells he is . and they shall be removed. Revivification he is, and revivification shall be Goodness [4] he is, and goodness shall be. Light he is, and light shall be.

[5] Closed, thou art made innocuous,[6] Blue Eye. Closed, thou shalt show forth, Dried-up Eye. Closed, thou becomest bright, Whitened Eye. Barred up, thou burstest forth,

[1] Or "shut" The glance of a person with a diseased eye is as baleful as that of a person with the apparently harmless evil eye, or blue eye.

[2] Should be *m<u>sh</u>amṭia*

[3] *Yardna* A generic term for all flowing water.

[4] *Ṭabu<u>th</u>a* A more exact translation would be "wholesomeness". The word is often used of food, especially that of the ritual meal

[5] The entire paragraph which follows is obscure The key seems to be "thou art made clear, buried eye", taken in conjunction with the preceding paragraph But there is hardly a verb which is not ambiguous.

[6] <u>Sh</u>afel QHA ? קהא

Consumed Eye. Closed up, thou art made clear, Buried Eye. Closed, thou lookest up (or "art cast-off") Cut-out Eye which is on them.

And encircle them, Adonai Ṣbabuth, and turn and break (380) them (or "put them out") and remove them. And root up and put an end to taking-captive, and leprosy and fever shall be taken away from the body of N. son of N. Blessed are the blessed and to be blessed for ever. Life is victorious. . . .

. . . .

Bound, closed, exorcized, and purified is the blue eye of Shamish and the sucked-out eye of Libat and the whitened eye of Nbu and the corroded eye of Sin and the hollow eye of Kiwan and the buried eye of Bel and the cut-out eye of (390) Nirig and the eye ("of him") who sits (or, "which dwells") on the heights and the eye cast on the firmament, and the eye of my spouse. And health shall be upon N. son of N. Life is victorious. . . . . Read the great mystery upon a male and a female lamb. Write on a scroll of gazelle-skin and hang it on the neck. . . . . . .

. . . . .

[1] Closed, sealed and purified thou art rendered innocuous, [2] blue eye of Shamish. Closed and exorcized, thou art blinded, sucked-out eye of Libat. Closed and exorcized thou art made to fear, whitened eye of Nbu. Closed and (400) exorcized thou. [3] consumed eye of Sin Closed and exorcized is the hollow eye of Kiwan. Closed and exorcized, thou becamest clear, covered-in eye of Bel. Closed and exorcized, thou didst look up and was cast-off, cut-out eye of Nirig. Closed and exorcized, the mystery of my spouse was cured and ended.[4]

[1] The following paragraph is also ambiguous I suggest that it originally applied to the diseased state of the eyes of the planets named, which were cured by exorcism, and that priestly editing, attributing a maleficent purpose to the planets, converted them from being the sufferers, into being those who inflicted suffering That Bel was a sufferer from the Eye appears later on in the roll.

[2] Shafel QHA ?

[3] *Ṣarṣit* "burstest forth". Possibly "was burnt out" ?

[4] *Sam usaf.*

Bound, shut in by a magic circle and surrounded by water[1] is the mystery which was closed up.

Bow thyself, mystery and winking! Shut-in are all the race of darkness and the black waters: shut-in and banned are their kings: their schemes are made vain.

Ye are bound, shut-in, sealed, named,[2] rendered impotent, curbed, and held-back from the body of N son of N by the name of that chief Arch-lord.[3]

Darkness shall be impotent and light shall be victorious of (over) the twenty-two races of the house of Simiaiil, the Evil One. Darkness shall be confounded and light be victorious. And health shall be the part of N son of N., from the great first life and from Manda d Hiia. Life is victorious.

. . . .

[4] I sit in a great cloud of light! I am Hibil Ziwa the Righteous, Son of the Place of Light, son of the abode of glory, son of the city of 'uthris, and the 'uthris my brothers are the sons of light which stand before me. Anush the Small stands at my left, and Shitel stands at my right. They, and their vestments and those that are with me, stand and praise the great Cloud of Light from which we were transplanted. Then we heard the cry of N. son of N., the man struck by the Eye and overtaken by blindness. She took him, and his heart was oppressed and his thought was troubled. And I am Hibil Ziwa, the Righteous, and I say to the 'uthris, my brothers, the sons of the light, who sit in the Occult, and I say to them, "Descend to the earth of Tibil and perform some healing

[1] HAQ "to draw a circle round" (in the ground) as in making a *misra*, i.e. an enclosure isolating an area from contamination. MAQ might mean "surrounded by a ditch or runnel of water" (as in ritual). Obscure and, I suspect, corrupt.

[2] To name a demon is to take away its power.

[3] *Rishaga* "Head Agha" (Persian *agha* = "lord, master").

[4] This and the following section seem to me of later authorship. The mention of Ruha d Qudsha indicates late composition, and the tag of "directions for use" speaks of "these two gates" as if they had been incorporated by a scribe and were not part of the original.

action upon N. son of N., the man and (or ?) the woman, and say to them, to the Righteous Elect, formed of flesh and blood, 'Take this command, write it for N. son of N., the man struck by the Eye and overtaken by blindness, whose heart (440)
is oppressed and whose thought is confused, and health shall be upon N. son of N. in the name of Manda ḏ Hiia, healers, lords of healing powers Life is victorious

303

(*To be concluded*)

Notes on the Silver Punch-marked Coins in the British Museum

By E. H. C. WALSH

1. *The Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India in the British Museum*, by Mr. J. Allan, published last year, has made the silver punch-marked coins available to all, and the clear system of classification which Mr. Allan has followed and his scholarly and complete Introduction give all the information about these coins that is at present available, while the large number of the coins which are illustrated in the plates enable the conclusions arrived at in the Introduction to be confirmed or questioned. General thanks are due to Mr. Allan for this important work As this Catalogue will be the standard source of reference for the consideration and classification of these coins, it is important to note any points that arise from its consideration

2. There are two distinct classes of punch-marked coins the older are large and thin in fabric, while the later coins are smaller and thick In both classes they bear, with few exceptions, a group of five marks on the obverse, but differ in the nature of the marks on the reverse The older class of coins were issued with a blank reverse, on which bankers or money changers, through whose hands the coins passed in circulation, in some cases stamped their private marks. These marks are of an entirely different character to the obverse marks and, invariably, smaller in size. They, naturally occur haphazard without any system, and the reverses vary from blank or a single mark in the case of coins of shorter circulation, to a great number of marks stamped over one another and covering the whole coin in the case of very old coins of very long circulation.

In the later coins, on the other hand, the reverse marks are of a definite and systematic type, and, as Mr. Allan notes (p. xxi), "there is an association between groups of obverse symbols and certain reverse symbols", and (p. xxxvii), even

when there are two or three punches, on examination it is usually found that the second and third are later countermarks, and certain groups of symbols are found with identical obverses (p xxxix). They are associated with localities · as the "Taxila Mark", which is found on these later coins associated with that locality. They are also in most cases the same as marks which occur on the obverse, though not on the obverse of the coin on whose reverse they occur. They appear to indicate the locality or localities in which the circulation of the coin was authorized

The greater part of the punch-marked coins in the British Museum are of the later class, Classes 6 and 7, 146 coins, are of the older class The present notes refer to the older class of coins.

THE AGE OF PUNCH-MARKED COINS

3 Two important finds of silver punch-marked coins have been made in the Bhir Mound at Taxila, which have not yet been published in full In 1924, 1,171 silver coins and some jewelry were found in an earthenware pot 6 feet below the present surface in association with the second stratum which had already been judged to belong to the third or fourth century B C [1] Together with them were two coins of Alexander the Great and one of Philip Aridæus, "fresh from the mint," and an Achæmenid siglos of the fourth century B C Mr Allan refers to this find on p. xlii They have been examined by the writer, but the examination has not yet been published. Thirty-three are single-type oblong-bar coins, similar to those in the British Museum (pp 1–2, Pl I, 1–3), seventy-nine are minute coins, up to then unknown, similar to the four British Museum coins of Class 9 (pp 286–7, Pl XLVI, 18, 19), and the remaining 1,059 are punch-marked coins of the older class.

4 The other find was of 175 punch-marked coins of the later class found with a gold coin of Diodotus in a single

[1] *Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report,* 1924–5, pp 47–8, pl ix

deposit, also in the Bhir Mound at Taxila, in 1912[1] Mr. Allan refers to this find on p. xliv. These coins have also been examined by the writer Five of the coins, which are of a distinct type from the others, are of usual types of the later coins. The remaining 170 coins are all of one type and all bear on the reverse the "Taxila" symbol, though in many cases it is in a very debased and almost unrecognizable form. They are of an alloy of silver and copper, the composition being very irregular

The finding of these two hoards of the older and later class of coins on the same site, in each case dated by an extraneous coin, is of importance as fixing the relative age of the two classes. The examination of the coins leads to the conclusion that the coin of Philip Aridæus fixes the *latest date* of the larger Bhir Mound find at about 317 B.C., the coin of Diodotus fixes the *current date* of these later coins at 248 B C , and the fact that there was no coin of the later class amongst the earlier hoard appears to show that this later form of coin was not in existence in 317 B C

5 The coins of the larger Bhir Mound find, which are of great variety, evidently cover a long period, perhaps over 200 years, which would carry the age of these coins into the sixth century B C , and, as Mr Allan observes (§ 14, p xix), the punch-marked coins show no signs of evolution, the marks on the earliest examples are as completely designed and engraved as on later examples, and thus indicate a long previous period of this coinage.

Some of the symbols which occur on the punch-marked coins also appear on the seals found at Mohenjo-Daro, and therefore would appear to have come down from that time. The standard of weight of these coins, also, as pointed out by Mr. Hemmy,[2] is one-fourth of the revised principal unit of the Indus system, which would show a connection with those times.

[1] Marshall, *ASR*, 1912-13, p 42

[2] "Weight Standards of Ancient Indian Coins," by A. F Hemmy, *JRAS*, 1937, pp 1-26, p 10

Comparison of the Bhir Mound Older Coins with the Coins in the British Museum

6. A selection of the coins from Bhir Mound were illustrated (*A.S.R.*, 1924–5, Pl IX) and, as Mr. Allan notes (p. xlii), they correspond with several groups of the British Museum coins. The comparison can now be completed, as shown in the Table below :—

Serial No.	British Museum Coins	No. of Coins	Bhir Mound Coins	No of Coins
1	Class 2, Group VII var *i*	1	Class B (*e*), Sub-Class 1	2
2	,, ,, ,, VIII ,, *b*	1	,, ,, ,, 2	19
3	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *c*	1	,, D ,, 3	38
4	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *d*	3	,, ,, ,, 2	89
5	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *e*	4	,, ,, ,, 1	17
6	,, 5 ,, ,, ,, *a*, *b*	2	,, K ,, 1 & 2	2
7	,, 6 ,, I ,, *a*	15	,, M ,, 1	35
8	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *b*	1	,, ,, ,, 4	3
9	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *c*	1	,, ,, ,, 5	6
10	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *d*	1	,, ,, ,, 2	4
11	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *g*	1	,, J ,, 2	2
12	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *h*	2	,, ,, ,, 1	10
13	,, ,, ,, II ,, *e*	6	,, C ,, 1	70
14	,, ,, ,, III ,, *b*	2	,, A ,, 34	1
15	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *c*	26	,, ,, ,, 1	207
16	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *d*	3	,, ,, ,, 7	14
17	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *e*	4	,, ,, ,, 8	9
18	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *f*	2	,, ,, ,, 5	16
19	,, ,, ,, IV ,, *a*	9	,, ,, ,, 2	30
20	,, ,, ,, ,, *b*	2	,, ,, ,, 19	25
21	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *d*	1	,, ,, ,, 24	5
22	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *e*	2	,, ,, ,, 28	6
23	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *f*	2	,, ,, ,, 26	2
24	,, ,, ,, V ,, *a*, *c*	10 + 1	,, B (*b*) ,, 1	18
25	,, ,, ,, VI ,, *a*	6	,, L ,, 1	18
26	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *b*	2	,, ,, ,, 2 & 3	7
27	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *c*	1	,, ,, ,, 4	2
28	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *j*	1	,, Q ,, 6*a*	1
29	,, ,, ,, VII ,, *a*	1	,, I ,, 2	1
30	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *e*	2	,, ,, ,, 1	7

In the case of serial nos. 1, 2, 4, 13, 15, 18, 19, and 23 the British Museum coins have on the reverse the mark of a Hill-with-Crescent This mark does not appear on any of the Bhir Mound coins. This mark is distinctive of the coins of the Mauryan Empire, and would appear to have been stamped

on the reverse of those coins at a later date to authorize their continued circulation at that date.

Serial No. 13 (Class 6, Group II, var. *e*).—There are 70 coins (Class C, 1) corresponding to this variety. The complete mark on the coins is a Bull-on-a-Hill . Two of the British Museum coins of this variety are illustrated: Coin 8, p. 65 (Pl. VIII, 22), shows a part of the bull only on the edge of the coin, and Coin 11 (Pl. VIII, 23) shows part of the hill beneath the bull, the bull itself being off the coin Owing to the large size of this mark, only a portion of it generally appears on the coin. As this mark is a locality-mark, this variety forms a separate group. There are altogether 101 coins of Class C, Bull-Hill, in the Bhir Mound coins

Serial No. 18 (Class 6, Group III, var. *f*).—The fifth symbol (§ 27, symbol 3 on p. xxiv) shown as a snake is not a snake but a waved line  squared off at each end. There is no head as shown In the British Museum coin of this variety which is illustrated, Coin 39, p. 71 (Pl VII, 13), the mark is also of this form.

Mr. Allan also notes Class 6, Group VI, var *d*, as occurring in the Bhir Mound coins, but there is no corresponding coin in the Bhir Mound coins. This coin is illustrated on Plate IV, 24 (*vide* Corrigenda, p clxiv). It will be seen that the animal on it is the rhinoceros, and not the bull, as shown.

The Significance of the Symbols

7. The marks on the punch-marked coins may be divided into two classes: those of General Significance, which are found on punch-marked coins generally wherever they may be found, and which therefore do not indicate any particular locality or authority, and those of Special Significance, which appear to indicate a particular locality or authority. The marks of general significance are the sun and the six-armed symbol, which appear on all these coins, with the exception of two particular classes found respectively

at Paila and at Sahet Mahet (Class 9, § 79, p lxix), both in the northern part of the United Provinces; and certain of the later coins (Class 2, Group I, vars. *f* and *g*, pp 21–4, and Group II, vars *c–g*, pp 26, 7), in which their place is taken by other marks, while other distinctive marks remain unchanged Also the bull and the elephant are of very general occurrence on punch-marked coins, wherever they are found One or other or both of these marks also occur on a thousand of the Paila coins. The marks of Special Significance are Locality Marks, indicating the area of the coins, such as specified hills and tanks, and, as the fifth mark, what would appear to be Authority Marks, indicating the authority by which the particular coin was issued This accounts for the great variety of these fifth marks.

8 Mr Allan considers (p xxii) that generally speaking the symbols seem to have no religious significance, neither Buddhist nor Hindu To this there may be an exception in the case of the bull, and also the trident, which only appears on the older class of coins, both of which are emblems of Śiva The bull is of frequent occurrence on the Mohenjo-Daro seals, and Mr Durgā Prasād [1] calls attention to one of those seals [2] which contains a seated figure which corresponds to the representation of Śiva

Mr. Durgā Prasād [1] attributes a Tantric significance to the symbols on these coins (p 16), and notes the resemblances, which are striking, in full detail But, apart from the fact that there would not seem to be any reason why the symbols on this coinage should have had a purely religious significance, the fact that many of these symbols appear on the seals found at Mohenjo-Daro would preclude this conclusion The analogy of the symbols with the subsequent Tantric formulae does not necessarily prove that those symbols then had that significance

[1] "Classification and significance of the Symbols on the Silver Punch-marked Coins of Ancient India," by Durgā Prasād, *JASB*, 1934, Numismatic Supplement, xlv, pp 5–50 and 32 plates

[2] *Mohenjo-Daro*, vol i, pl xii, fig 17, op cit pl xxx

9. Two symbols, the sun and the six-armed symbol, occur on all punch-marked coins of the older class, with the exception of the coins of one locality, probably the ancient kingdom of Kosala, and on most classes of the later coins They neither of them occur on the reverse

A mark on the reverse of coin No. 1 on p. 41 is shown as the sun-mark Reference to the coin (Pl XLII, 7) shows the mark as a hollow centre punched into the coin, there is no ring round it, and there are some hollow indents round the centre It is, therefore, not the sun-mark, in which the centre is always a raised boss, with a ring round it which is surrounded by the rays. The point is material, as the sun-mark never occurs on the reverse The mark, somewhat similar in appearance, which appears on both the obverse and reverse of Coin 17 on p 44, Class 2, Group VI, var *h*, which is illustrated on Pl VI, 25, is in relief The "rays" are rounded at the ends, and the mark would appear to be intended for a flower

The Six-armed Symbol

10 The "six-armed symbol", in one or other of its varieties, occurs on almost all the punch-marked silver coins found throughout India Mr Allan describes this symbol as follows (p xxiii) "Its general structure is a circle with a pallet in the centre, around the circle are six arms, three (more rarely two) of which are arrow-heads and the other three are taurine symbols, fishes, triskelis in an oval, taurine in an oval, etc, and 'dumb-bell' symbols, which we meet elsewhere It is simpler to give the forms that occur than to describe them in words None of these symbols occurs on the reverse Similar symbols occur, but very rarely, on other series"

A similar symbol was found by Schliemann on clay whorls in the earliest strata at Troy. For this reason the writer, in previous papers,[1] has referred to this mark for the purpose

[1] *JBORS.*, 1919, pp 16–72, *JBORS*, 1919, pp 463–494, *JRAS.*, 1924, Centenary Supplement, pp 175–189.

of distinguishing it, as "the Troy Mark", without, however, implying any connection in this respect between Troy and the punch-marked coins. The name, "The six-armed-symbol," adopted by Mr Allan is, however, much better, and should now be generally adopted.

11. This symbol occurs in several varieties. Mr. Allan shows fourteen varieties of this symbol on the British Museum coins (p. xxiii), to which two more should be added, as noted below. Twenty-five varieties occur on the Bhir Mound coins, which extend over a very long period. These include all the British Museum varieties except Nos. 3, 4 (only a part shown), 11, 13, and 14, which all occur on the later coins. The reference in Index IV, of the marks, to variety 13 as occurring on p. 69 of the Catalogue (Class 6, Group III, of the older coins) appears to be a mistake, as those coins bear variety 6

12. The following two varieties also occur on the British Museum coins. On Coins 1 and 2 on p. 59 (Class 5, vars. *a* and *b*) the symbol is shown as variety 2, . Coin 1 is illustrated (Pl X, 17) Several years ago the writer examined this coin, together with others, in the British Museum, and then drew the mark from the coin as . Examination of the coin on the plate confirms that drawing This constitutes another variety of the symbol to be added to those given on p xxiii This is variety 1*d* of the Bhir Mound coins and occurs on five of those coins (Class J 3, and K 1 and 2). There are two other British Museum coins which bear the same variety of the hill-mark as on these two coins, viz. Coins 48 and 49 on p 72 (Class 6, Group III, var. *k*). It is, therefore, probable that the form of the symbol on those coins is this same additional variety as on the two previous coins. This is the form of the symbol (1 *d*) on the three coins (Class K, Sub Class 1 and 2), of the Bhir Mound coins which bear this hill-mark.

It will be noticed that the three objects in this symbol are not "fish", drawn with their tails towards the centre, but with rounded ends towards the centre, and two rounded projections at the outer end—and that the lateral projections are at right angles, not sloping backwards, as the fins of the "fish" are represented. It therefore appears that this is a distinct object.

To show the distinction we have described this object, wherever it occurs on the Bhir Mound coins, as a "Beetle". It is clearly an aquatic creature, as is shown by its occurrence in the tank-symbols, as in symbols Nos 1, 2, 3 (§ 29, p. xxix), it is also the object in symbols Nos 5 and 6 on p. xxx The difference between this object and the "fish" will be clearly seen by comparison with the fish in the tank-mark, No 4, § 29, on the coins, Pl. VIII, 10. 11, and others of that mark which are illustrated.

13 On Coin 3, p. 52 (Class 2, Group VIII, var. *c*) the six-armed symbol is shown as variety 1, viz. with three unenclosed taurines The coin is illustrated, Pl XLII, 22. Only part of the mark appears on the coin, which shows a taurine enclosed in an oval On the following coin, 4 (var. *d*), it is shown as variety 7, viz composed with three "hour-glass" symbols enclosed in ovals The coin is illustrated, Pl. II, 20, only part of the mark appears on the coin which shows only an object somewhat resembling the capital letter **I**, in an oval. On Coin 7, p. 53 (var. *e*), the symbol is shown as variety 6, which consists of three taurines-in-an-oval. The coin is illustrated, Pl II, 12, only part of the mark appears, which shows one taurine-in-an-oval. Similarly Coin 8, Pl. XLII, 23, shows one taurine-in-an-oval; and Coin 9, Pl. XLII, 24 shows one arrow and the remaining object which completes this form of the symbol. The complete form of the symbol is . In the hoard of the old coins of the Bhir Mound, there are 38 coins similar to Coin 3 (var. *c*); 89 coins similar to Coins 4, 5, 6 (var. *d*), and 17 coins similar

to Coins 7, 8, 9, 10 (var. *e*), a total of 144 coins which bear this mark. The symbol on many of those coins is complete and clear. But we have shown how it may be constructed from the British Museum coins referred to, as an example of how marks on punch-marked coins have to be constructed from different portions of incomplete marks, where the complete mark does not appear

The method is, of course, liable to error unless each component of the mark appears on one of the coins. Thus in the coins referred to, the attribution of the six-armed symbol to each of the three varieties *c*, *d*, and *e*, deduced from the portions of the mark appearing on coins of those varieties, is mistaken.

It is not clear what the two additional objects in this form of the symbol are intended to represent The one, I, occurs by itself as a reverse mark on one of the old Taxila coins, and in conjunction with another object, a reverse mark on two of those coins, but not of the present class In each of those cases it may be a Brāhmī letter, either *n* or *no*. The other object, in shape resembling a tankard, may possibly represent a large weight, the curved line projecting on the right being the handle for lifting it But this is merely a conjecture.

14 Variety No 14 of this symbol is shown on p xxiii as "  (Pl IX, 11) or  (Pl X, 3) ", with a *footnote* —

" [3] It is probable that the former of these forms is much the commoner and should more frequently replace the latter in the text." Only the eight-armed form is shown in the Catalogue It occurs on 28 coins of different varieties in Class 2, Groups IV, VII, and IX, on pp 34, 35, 50, 51, and 54. In each case Mr. Allan notes that the symbol is in the six-armed form. The eight-armed form does not appear on any known punch-marked coin

15. . Variety No. 3 of the symbol consists of

a hare together with four arrows, the remaining sixth symbol not being decipherable. The hare is well known in Indian mythology associated with the moon.

Nine coins (Class 2, Group IV, vars. *h*, *k*, *l*, pp. 35–37) are shown as bearing this mark. They all also bear the mark of the goat-and-branch. Four of these coins are illustrated (Coin 40, p. 35, Pl XLI, 23 ; Coin 44, p. 36, Pl. VI, 4 ; Coin 48, p. 37, Pl VI, 12 ; and Coin 39, p. 37, Pl. V, 22). The mark is not complete on any of the coins, the hare only appears on two coins. On Coin 49, of Theobald (Pl V, 22), the hare is complete, only the upper portion of the mark appears on the coin, an arrow-head, which has been overstamped, is to the left of the hare, and on the right is what appears to be a taurine. On Coin 48 (Pl VI, 12), also, only the upper part appears, the hare, except its head, and one arrow-head only, to the left of it On Coin 40 (Pl XLI, 23) only a portion of the mark appears on the coin It has been counter-marked by a reverse-mark, a taurine; there is nothing in this mark to indicate which variety of the six-armed symbol it is On Coin 44 (Pl. VI, 4), also, only a portion of the mark appears on the coin, which may be four arrows, as shown, which have been mutilated by overstamping But as the remaining three marks on Coins 44 to 49*a* are the same, which do not occur in any other variety, this rare mark may be safely attributed to them. On the other two coins, 40 and 40*a*, however, the remaining three marks are not the same, but those coins are not illustrated Theobald [1] illustrated the hare on his coin (Coin 49), on his Pl. VIII, 22, but was not aware that it formed part of the six-armed symbol, as, after describing another mark on the coin as "42—20, A goat (browsing on a vine)", he describes it as "43—22, A kid (of the last)".

16. The variety of the six-armed symbol on a particular

[1] "Notes on some of the Symbols found on the punch-marked coins of Hindustan," by W Theobald, *JASB*, 1890, pp 181–268, *vide* pp 221 and 253

group of coins is of importance, as a possible means of dating the coins, as in the case of Britannia on the penny, on which the particular variety dates the coin from the time of Charles II to the present day Certain types are found only on the oldest coins, and other types on coins which, from other considerations, appear to be older than others which bear a different variety. This point has been fully considered in regard to the Bhir Mound coins.

Coins not Bearing the Six-Armed Symbol

17 There are 52 coins of ten different varieties of Class 2, which do not bear either the six-armed symbol or the sun, but bear other marks in their place [1] They are all of the later class of coins and bear marks on the reverse which associate them with Taxila The remaining three marks on them, except the marks of human figures, also occur on other varieties which bear the sun and the six-armed symbol, and they would therefore appear to be a later form of that coinage, in which those two marks have been discarded. That this was a later development is also supported by the fact that the six-armed symbol only occurs on a single class of the Tribal coins (Class 3, pp 253–6), which appear to be of Ujjàin, though not bearing the Ujjàin mark, and does not appear at all on the cast coins

[1] These coins are — Class 2 Group I var *f*, p 21, 2 coins, var *g*, pp 21–3, 25 coins, var *h*, pp. 23–4, 4 coins Group II, pp 26–7, var *c*, 3 coins, var d, 1 coin, var *e*, 8 coins, var *f*, 1 coin, var *g*, 2 coins, var *h*, 5 coins, and Group VII, var *f*, p 47, 1 coin

(To be concluded)

Concerning the Variation of Final Consonants in the Word Families of Tibetan, Kachin, and Chinese

By STUART N WOLFENDEN

THE purpose of the present somewhat desultory notes may be said to be twofold firstly, to emphasize the necessity of comparing the word stock of one Indo-Chinese language with that of another by word families only,[1] secondly, to make a preliminary investigation into certain variations of a particular type within such families, as there are here certain anomalies of which very careful note will have to be taken in any comparative work along these lines

The importance of the word family rather than the single word in comparisons from language to language has, indeed, previously been brought forward by others,[2] but until quite recently its real significance has been only just glimpsed, no definite examples in illustration having been adduced

To emphasize this particular matter at the outset we may here consider the following case

In Tibetan we have the word family *abyed-pa*, P and Imp *p̓ye*, *p̓yed*, *p̓yes*, F *dbye* to open (vb tr.), to separate, to keep apart, to divide, to distinguish, to classify, to pick out, to choose, to select, *p̓yed* half, *dbyad* an instrument to open the mouth by force, *dbyen-pa* difference, dissension, discord, schism, *abyer-ba*, P and Imp *byer* to disperse (as in flight), to scatter (vb intr), to flee in different directions, *dbye-r* (= *dbye-ru* in *dbyer-med* lit devoid of difference) difference, distinction, *abye-ba*, P and Imp *bye* to open (vb intr), to divide, to separate, *dbye-ba* parting, partition, division, distinction, section, part, class, species, kind, while in Kachin we have *šă-byet* to separate into bundles, to make up into lots,

[1] This has already been very clearly stated by Karlgren, "Word Families in Chinese," *Bull of the Mus of Far Eastern Antiquities*, No. 5, Stockholm, 1934, p. 9, quoted hereinafter as K WF.

[2] See, for instance, Dragunov, *OLZ*, 1931, Sp, 1088–1089.

kă-čyan, *lă-čyan* to divide, to deal out, to allot, to apportion, *gin-čyan* to divide, to exchange, *čyen* half, *a-čyen* band, shred, strip, *lă-ǰen* to divide equally, to apportion, to distribute, *mă-ǰen* (a cutting) a clearing, *ǰe* to tear apart, to rend asunder, to separate, to cut off, (*mă-ǰen ǰe* to make (lit to cut) a clearing (*mă-ǰen*)), *p̓ye* to allot, to assign, to parcel out

There is a temptation here to equate Tibetan *p̓yed* half, with Kachin *čyen* half, and, indeed, if we were working with single words this is probably just what we should do. Following this, we should probably look for other examples of this supposed *-d* *-n* equivalence in finals But this would be completely wrong, and the results, on such an assumption, entirely without value, for what has happened here is that Tibetan has taken one member of the family to specialize into the meaning of " half " while Kachin has selected an entirely different member for a similar purpose. Tibetan *p̓yed* evidently belongs on the Kachin side most closely with *šă-byet*, while Kachin *čyen* must be regarded as having its nearest Tibetan relative in *dbyen-pa* [1] But in dealing with single words we should probably never have arrived at this conclusion. Meaning must not be overemphasized at the expense of form We can only get the correct perspective from the family as a whole, not from the individual members of the family.

From this instance alone, then—and there are hundreds of others of exactly similar type—we have clearly set before us the fact that before we can safely do anything in the way of equating single words with one another we must first be able to see as a whole the families to which the words in the proposed equation belong Only after we have been enabled thus to understand, at least in part, how their members have been moving around within their own families, specializing their senses and changing their forms, can we ever really first propose with any safety anything in the way of equations

[1] For the Chinese connections here see K WF., H 26–44, and *JRAS.*, 1936, pp 415–416.

between single members. In the sequel we shall adduce a certain number of representative families, but before entering upon this phase it may be well first to consider certain well-known facts setting limits to their assembly.

In the first place, as first clearly stated, I believe, by Simon,[1] Tibetan word families remain very true to their own single type of final, viz guttural, dental, or labial, as the case may be, and it is impossible—except in certain peculiar cases, each of which requires its own special treatment—to establish anything in the nature of families with mixed finals.[2] This is a particularly valuable guide in instances where words without finals have obvious relatives with them, such, for instance, as *ạk̔ra-ba* and *mk̔ran-ba* or *ak̔ran-ba* hard, *bka* and *skad* speech, *sna* nose and *snam-pa* or *snom-pa* [3] to smell, for when once an open syllable form can be shown to have a definite relative in some particular class of final, say the guttural, there can be no turning back, and we must look with extreme suspicion, to say the least, upon any form which would lead us over also into a second, and unrelated, class of final When, for instance, *ạgyu-ba*, P. *agyus* to move quickly, *ak̔yu-ba*, P *ak̔yus* to run, *dkyu-ba* to run a race, lead us by means of *rgyug-pa*, P *brgyugs*, F. *brgyug*, to run, to hasten, and *ak̔yug-pa*, P. *k̔yug* to run, to dart along rapidly (as fish), into the guttural final type, we cannot possibly include *ak̔yam-pa* to run about, to

[1] "Tibetisch-Chinesische Wortgleichungen," *Mit d Seminars f Orient. Spr*, Bd xxxii (1929), Berlin, 1930, Abt. 1, p. 162. This work I shall hereinafter quote as "Wortgl"

[2] Assimilation is sometimes clearly the cause of an aberrant final A well-known example is *mdzub-mo* thumb, beside *mdzug-gu*, in a family with guttural finals (cf "Language", *JLSA*, iv (1928), p 278 (No 4)) There can be but small doubt here that *mdzub* owes its final *-b* to the influence of the following suffix At other times associative interference has probably been at work, but the forces involved are obscure and each case will need special treatment by itself

[3] With these, Simon (Wortgl, p 162) would include *snabs* mucus, which gives us a good example of how assemblies uncontrolled by families in related languages may go astray, even under the best of judgment. *snabs*, we shall see below (No. 33) belongs with another family entirely, but from Tibetan alone this would never be apparent.

wander, and its relatives in final *-m*, even if the vowel alternation *u* ∼ *a* ∼ *o* were possible, which, in Tibetan, it almost certainly is not. This, in fact, is one principle which we must with considerable certainty rigidly enforce.

It must naturally be understood here that we are not speaking of anything but the older and more stable Tibeto-Burman languages, for, in some late dialects and in spoken Burmese, the finals have been converted into others of unrelated classes in an enormous number of cases. To see, then, into this problem with a greater feeling of certainty we shall be obliged, when extending our field beyond Tibetan itself, to select some other language or languages differing from it in sufficient degree to give us an idea of the direction in which development has proceeded, but yet which does not depart from the original stability of its finals by classes For present purposes we will here take Kachin which stands sufficiently close to Tibetan to give us a great many families in common, while at the same time standing in relation to it in the matter of final consonants very much as does Archaic Chinese in the families put together by Karlgren. Of this we shall discuss the possible significance later, taking here the following selection of word families [1] common to Tibetan and Kachin.

Guttural Finals

(1) [2] T *agug(s)-pa*, P *bgug*, F *dgug*, Imp. *k'ug* to bend, to make crooked, *kug*, *kug-kug* crooked, a hook, *k'ug*, *k'ugs* corner, concave angle, nook, creek, bay, gulf, cove, *k'ug-ma* pouch, small bag, *gug-ge-ba* bent

K *guk* to be bent, to be curved, *dă-guk* curve-horned, *nuk* to bow, to incline the head, *t'in-kun* bent, to be bent, *gu* to be bent, to be curved, *a-gu* bent, humped, *lă-gu* to hang down, to droop, *nu* to bow, to incline the head, *kă-nu* to be bent, to be bowed down, to hang the head.

[1] The entries, as far as possible, follow the order *-g*, *-ṅ*, -O , *-b*, *-m*, -O , *-d*, *-n*, *-r*, *-l*, *-s*, -O The assemblies must not be regarded as necessarily correct in all particulars. In some cases there are other possible alignments which I have indicated in the footnotes

[2] Cf K WF, A 266–275

(2)[1] T. *ągog-pa*, P. *bkog*, Imp. *k̔og* to peel, to tear off, to remove by force, to pull off, *kog-pa* (vb. neut.) to peel, to splinter off, to scale off, to fall off in chunks, *k̔og-pa*, *skog-pa*, *skogs-pa* peel, rind, bark, shell, *gog-pa* to crumble off, to scale off (as plaster), *gog-po* dilapidated, ruinous, *ko-ba* hide, skin, leather

K. *gâ* to peel, to skin, to flay.

(3)[2] T. *kyog*, *kyog-po* crooked, bent, winding, *kyag-kyog* curved, crooked, *k̔yog-po*, *ak̔yog-po* crooked, curved, bent, *skyog-pa* to turn (as the neck), *skyogs* scoop, ladle, drinking cup, bowl, goblet, *gyog-pa* curved, crooked.

K. *k̔yâk* (crooked surface) to be sunken, to be concave, to be depressed, *lă-k̔yâk* hole, depression, concavity, *gyâk* to be concave, to be cup-shaped, *lă-gyâk* shallow hole, depression, to be full of concave holes (as a road), *lă-gyâ* to be contracted, to be crooked (as a paralysed limb)

(4) T. *bkrag* brightness, lustre, beautiful appearance or colour, *bkra-ba* glory, beautiful, fine, well, of good appearance.

K. *k̔rak* to be good, *grak* to be beautiful, fine, or good, beautiful, fine, well

(5)[3] T. *nag* speech, talk, word, *mnag-pa*, P *mnags* to commission, to charge, to delegate, *snag(s)-pa*, P. *bsnags*, F. *bsnag*, Imp. *snog* to praise, to commend, to extol, to recommend, *snags* incantation, *sno-ba*, P *bsnos*, F. *bsno*, Imp *snos* to bless, to pronounce a benediction upon, to dedicate, *bsno-ba* a blessing, a benediction, *na-ro* loud voice, cry.

K *na* to say, to speak, to tell, to relate

(6)[4] T *gčog-pa*, P *bčag*, Imp *čog(s)* to break, to smash, to crack, to split, *ačag-pa*, P. *čag(s)* to be broken, to be smashed, to be cut off, *čogs-pa* to be broken, *ačag-pa*, *ačeg-pa*, P *bšags*, F. *bšag*, Imp *šog* to cut, to split, to cleave, *ačog* (cutting off) wall, partition, *čag-čag*, *čag-pa* ("breaking" the lips) smacking the lips (in eating), *aǰog-pa*, P (*b*)*žogs*, F. *gžog*, Imp.

[1] Cf K WF, A 35–7, 330–1
[2] Cf K WF, A 266–275
[3] Cf K WF, A. 27–8
[4] Cf. K WF, B 150–189

žog to cut, to chop, to hew, to chip, *ľćag* rod, switch, whip, stick, strike, cut, blow, hit, *ạťsog-pa*, P. *btsags*, F. *btsog*, Imp. *ťsog* to hew, to chop, to cut, to pierce, to cudgel; (also *mťsog-pa*) to find fault with, to blame, to censure, to tease, *mťsog-ma* (cleft ·) fontanel, *gšog-pa*, *bšog-pa*, *gšag-pa*, *gšeg-pa*, *ạčegs-pa*, P. *gšags*, *bšags*, F *gšag*, *bšag*, Imp. *gšog* to cleave, to split, to break open, to break through, to rend, to tear, *bžag-pa* to tear, to wear (of clothes), to burst, to crack, to split (vb intr.), *šag-ma* (broken up) gravel, pebbles, small stones.

K. *ťåk* to be broken, to be snapped in two, *kă-ťåk* to break (vb tr), to smash, *ťek* to snap, to break, *kă-ťek* (" break " the fingers) to snap the fingers, *a-ťek*, *lă-ťek*, id.

(7)[1] T. *adzugs-pa*, *zug-pa*, P. *btsugs*, *zugs*, F. *gzugs*, Imp. *zug*(*s*) to insert young plants into the ground, to plant, to erect (as a pillar by setting it into the ground), to prick, to stick into, to thrust into, to pierce, to penetrate, to bore, to sting, *ạťsugs-pa*, P. *ťsugs* to go into, to enter, to bore into, to take root in, *mdzug-gu* (also *mdzub-mo*) (inset) finger, toe, claw, *ạǰug-pa*, P *bčug*, F. *gžug*, Imp. *čug* to put into, to insert, to inject, *aǰug-pa*, to be combined with, to have added to, to go in, to walk in, to enter.

K. *čyåk* to pierce, to be pierced, to be run through (as with a spear), *a-čyå* to prod, to goad, to thrust, to prick.

(8)[2] T *gtsan-ba* to be clean, to be pure, cleanness, purity, clean, pure, *gtsan* clean, pure, *aťsan-ba*, P. *sans* to make clean, to remove impurities, to take away, to remove, *ťsans* purified, clean, pure, *san-ba*, P. (*b*)*sans*, F. (*b*)*san* to clear away, to remove dirt, to cleanse, *sen-po*, *bsen-po* clean, white.

K. *sen* to be clean, to be pure, to clean, to clear away, clear space, a clearing, *tsen* to remove, to clear away, *tsån* to remove, to clear away, to put away, to drive away, to banish.

(9)[3] T. *gtug-pa*, P. *gtugs* to reach, to touch, to come up to, to overtake, to meet with, to join, *btug-pa* id, *ťug-pa* to

[1] Related to No. 50 with dental finals. Cf K WF., B. 20–5.
[2] Cf. K WF., B 295–301.
[3] Cf. K.WF., B. 112–128, 569–571 Cf. No. 10 inf.

reach, to arrive at, to come to, to meet, to light upon, col.: to touch, to hit, to strike against, *ťug* until, to, *rdug-pa*, P. *brdugs*, F. *brdug* to strike against, to stumble over, *rduṅ-ba*, P. *brduns*, F. *brdun*, Imp. (*b*)*rdun*(*s*) to beat, to strike, to cudgel, to hammer, to pound, to thrash, *bduṅ-ba* id.

K. *ťuk* to hit against, to come in contact with, to come close up to, to reach, to attain, to arrive at or in, until, as far as, up to, *kă-ťuk* to hit against, to collide with, *ťu* to pound, to hammer, to pulverize, *a-ťu* to hit, to strike, to kick against

(10) [1] T. *ťogs-pa* to strike, to stumble, to run against, *rdeg*(*s*)-*pa*, P. (*b*)*rdegs*, F. *brdeg*, Imp. (*b*)*rdeg*(*s*) to beat, to strike, to knock, to kick, *mťo-ba* a hammer.

K. *ťâk* to touch lightly, *kă-ťâk* id , *a-ťâk* to touch, to strike lightly, to tap.

(11) [2] T. *ạťegs-pa* to lift up, to raise up, (mounted) to set out on a journey, *ťeg-pa* to lift, to raise, to hold up, to support, vehicle, carriage, riding animal, *ạdeg*(*s*)-*pa*, P *bteg*(*s*), F. *gdeg*, Imp. *ťeg* to lift, to raise, to elevate, to support, *ťog* (uppermost part) top, roof, *ťog-ma* summit, upper end, uppermost place, origin, source, beginning, *tog* top, top ornament, *ltag* above, over, *ltag-pa* upper place, upper part, back of the neck (i.e top of the back), back (" top ") of a knife.

K. *ťâk* to brace, to prop up, *ťek* to rise, to get up.

(12) [3] T. *p̓un-po* a heap, a pile, a mass, *spun-ba*, P. and Imp. *spuns* to heap up, to pile up, to accumulate, to amass, *dpun* host, a great number, troops, army, *buns* mass, heap, bulk.

K. *p̓un* gathering, assembly, congregation, flock, herd, *p̓âṅ* to gather, to congregate, to assemble, *ǰă-p̓ân* to collect, to cause to congregate, *n-p̓ân* a clump, a cluster, *mă-p̓ân* a clump, a cluster, *bân* to confer with, to consult, to hold council, *p̓â* to mix, to mingle, *să-p̓â* to consult, to confer, to hold council, *bâ* to pack, to get one's goods together.

[1] Cf. K.WF, B. 112-128, 569-571, and cf. No. 9 sup.
[2] Cf. K.WF., B. 64-84.
[3] Cf K.WF., D. 188.

(13) T. *abyug-pa*, P. and Imp. *byugs* to stroke, to pat, to tap lightly.

K. *a-p̔uk* to tap, to pat, *gŭm-p̔uk* to tap, to pat.

(14) [1] T *abug(s)-pa*, *abig(s)-pa*, P. *p̔ug*, *p̔igs*, F. *dbug*, *dbig*, Imp. *p̔ug*, *p̔ig(s)* to sting, to pierce, to bore, to make a hole, to break into, to break open, *sbug-pa* id., *p̔ug-pa*, *p̔ig-pa* = *abug(s)-pa*, *abig(s)-pa*, *p̔ug-pa* cave, cavern, *p̔ug(s)* innermost part, inmost apartment, *sbug(s)* (more frequently *sbubs*) hollow, cavity, excavation, recess, interior space, *sbug-po* hollow, *abug* awl, chisel, punch, *bug-pa*, *bu-ga* hole, orifice, aperture, *bu-gu* hole, *sbu-gu* hollow, tubular cavity (as in plant stems)

K. *pâk* hole, cavity, *kă-pâk* to dig out, to hollow out.

(15) [2] T. *ap̔og-pa*, P. *p̔og* to hit, to strike, to touch, to meet.

K. *p̔âk* to hit with a thud, to whack.

(16) [3] T. *smag* dark, darkness, *mog-pa* dark-coloured, *rmon-ba*, P *rmons* to be obscured, *rmon-ba* obscurity, obscured.

K *mân* to rise in a cloud (as dust or smoke), *kă-mân*, *gă-mân* id., *śă-mân* to stir up dust, to spread defamatory reports, *lă-mâ* to be black, to be dark, to be shaded, *n-mâ* to be stained, to be soiled

(17) [3] T. *rmugs-pa* dense fog, languor, languid, *smug-pa* fog, *smug-po* dark bay, cherry brown, purple brown, *mug-pa* overcast, troubled (of the mind *yid mug-pa* to despair), *rmu-ba* dullness, heaviness, fog.

K. *muk* to be sullen, to be sulky, to be sour-tempered, *mun* to be sullen, to be sulky, to be cloudy, to be overcast, to be dull, *mu* to be cloudy, to be overcast.

(18) [4] T. *mig*, old form, *dmyig* eye.

K. *myi*, *a-myi* eye.

(19) T. *min*, old form *myin* name.

K. *myin* to name, *a-myin* a name.

[1] Cf. K WF., D. 62–71 ?
[2] Cf. K WF., D. 89–94.
[3] Cf. K.WF., D. 1–23, 24–7.
[4] Cf. K.WF., D. 60–1.

LABIAL FINALS

(20)[1] T. *ạgebs-pa*, P. *bkab*, F. *dgab*, Imp. *ḱob* to cover, to spread over, to put on, to protect, *sgab-pa* id., *gab-pa* to hide, to conceal oneself, *ạgab-pa* (cover one's actions) to be cautious, to take care, *ạḱeb-pa*, P. *ḱebs* to cover, to spread over, *ḱebs*, *ḱyebs* covering, coverlet, *skyob-pa*, P. *(b)skyabs*, F. *bskyab*, Imp. *skyob(s)* to protect, to defend, to preserve, to save, *skyabs* protection, defence, *skyobs* help, assistance.

K. *gap* to cover, (put up a covering) to build a house, to pitch a tent, *dă-gap* to cover (especially with something wide and flat), *mă-gap* a cover, a lid, to cover, *lă-gap* (coverer) one who brings up the rear of a Kachin army, *ťin-gap* a cover, a lid, *kâp*, *a-kâp* (covering) crust, rind, shell, *mă-kâp*, *mă-nâp* to cover, to shield, to defend, defender, defence, protection, *ḱin-kâp* a sheath (usually of bamboo), *gup* to be covered, to be doubled over, *gup*, *n-gup* (coverer) mouth, *ḱa-gup* a hat (*ḱa-gup gup* to wear a hat), *kă-gup*, *lă-gup* a hat, *dă-gup* to cover, to envelop, *mă-gup* (all-embracing) every, all, *n-kup* (cover .) to turn over, to fold over, *šă-gup* to fold over, to double over, *kă-yâp* to wrap up, to cover, to encase, *yâp* to be wrapped around, to be wound around.

(21) T. *skum-pa*, P. *bskums*, F. *bskum*, Imp. *skum(s)* to contract, to draw in, to crook, to bend, *kum-pa*, *kum-po*, *kum-kum* crooked, shrivelled, *ạḱum-pa*, P *ḱums* to shrink, to be contracted, *ḱums-pa* crooked.

K. *gum* to bow, to bend forward, to make obeisance, *n-gum* to bend forward, to be flat on the face, *n-num* to bend forward, *dă-gum* bent, curved, concave, arched, *šă-gum* bent, curved, concave, arched, to lie prone, to lie on the face, *mă-gum* the ridge or comb of a house, *mă-kum* a ridge, *n-nup* to bend forward, *dă-gup* to bow low, to sit or kneel with the face towards the ground, to make obeisance.

(22)[2] T. *bgom-pa*, P. *bgams* to walk, to step, to stride, *gom-pa* a pace, a step.

[1] Cf. K.WF , I, 1-20.

[2] The underlying sense here may be one of "succession" or "series" (of events or actions). Cf. Lepcha *góm*, *a-góm* series, chain, train, continuity, whence · *ťoň góm* a step, a stride (lit. foot (*ťoň*) step), *a-dyaň góm* a step, a pace (lit. foot (*a-dyaň*) step), *kă-góm* a stride.

K. *n-gam* a step, a notch (of a ladder), *lă-kam* to step, a step, a pace, *kâm* to walk, to travel.

(23) T. *ągrib-pa* to grow less, to decrease, to diminish, to grow dim, to become dark, *sgrib-pa*, P. *bsgribs*, F. *bsgrib*, Imp. *sgrib(s)* to darken, to obscure, *sgrib-pa* darkened, dark, obscured, (mental darkness) sin, *grib* shade, shadow, filth, defilement, contamination, *srib-pa* to grow dark, to become dusk, *srib(s)* darkness, gloom, night, shady side, north side, *rab-rib* (> col. *hrab-hrib*) (lessened visibility) mist, dimness.

K. *krip* to diminish, to subside, to become less, to die down (as a fire), *šă-krip* (take down) to humble, to punish.

(24) T. *sgrim-pa*, P. *bsgrims*, F. *bsgrim*, Imp. *sgrim(s)* to hold fast, to force together, to twist together, *krims* moral law, custom, duty, precept, rule (i e restrictions or prohibitions restraining one's actions)

K. *krim to act in unison*, all *at once*, with one accord, *grim* to act in unison, *krip* to act in unison, *a-krip* unison, concord, unity, harmony, agreement, *lă-krip* to keep step.

(25) T. *agrum-pa* to pinch off, to nip off, to prune, to lop off, to clip, *dkrum* broken, *grum-pa* lame, crippled, *hrum-pa* to break, to smash, *akrums* (torn) carcass, game torn by wild beasts, *skrum*, *srum* (carved off) meat (as food).

K *krum* to trim, to prune, to lop off

(26) T. *ągrem(s)-pa*, P *bkram*, F. *dgram*, Imp. *kroms* to put in order, to lay out, to spread out together, to place together (as articles for sale), *krom* market-place (where objects are laid out together for sale), crowd, assemblage, gathering.

K. *kram* to spread out (as a trailing plant on the ground), to become bushy (as trees), *kram* (the spreader) hamadryad, *jă-kram* to widen, to spread, to attain full size, *krem* to be side by side, to be in line, *lă-krem* to come up beside, to edge up to, *n-krem* side of the body, edge or back of a book, *krep* to be in line, to be in a row.

(27) T. *krab-krab* a weeper, one given to tears.

K. *krap* to weep, to cry.

(28) T. *ǯum-pa*, P. *bčum*, F. *gžum*, Imp. *čum* to shrink, to contract, to draw in, *ạčum(s)-pa* to shrink, to contract.

K. *čyum* to be puckered up (as the lips), to be drawn up, to be contracted.

(29) [1] T. *ạdzom(s)-pa* to come together, to meet.

K. *čyâm* to act together, to act in unison, *ǰâm* to join forces, to co-operate, together, in unison, in company, *kă-ǰâm* to gather round, to crowd round (a common centre), *čyâ* to be joined, to be united, to be fitted together, to be related (as by family ties), *šă-čyâ* to fit together, to adjust one thing to another, *šın-čyâ* to tie together, to bind up together, *mă-čyâ* (meeting place) socket, vulva, *ǰâ* to be collected together, to be massed together, *mă-ǰâ* to gather together, to tie together, top-knot, *n-ǰâ* top-knot.

(30) T. *ńams-pa* injured, damaged, spoiled, impaired, stained.

K. *nyam* to be decayed, *čyă-nyam* decayed, crumbling, to be decayed, *nyâm* to be decayed, *čyă-nyâm* weak, failing, tottering, *nyâp* to be decayed, to be crumbling, to be broken down.

(31) [2] T *sdeb-pa*, P. *bsdebs*, F. *bsdeb*, Imp. *sdebs* to join, to unite, to put together, to mix, *ldeb-pa* to bend back, to double down, *deb-ma* poultice, application, *lteb-pa* to double down, to bend back, *ťebs* (put together ·) series, succession, *aťeb* (added member) surplus, extra, supernumerary, *ltab-pa*, P. *bltabs*, F. *bltab*, Imp. *ltob* to fold, gather, or lay together, *ạdab-ma* flat board, wing, petal, leaf, fan, flag, *adabs* side, surface.

K. *ťep* to be close together, to be near, *kă-ťep* to be close together, to come close up to, *ǰă-ťep* to bring close together, *a-ťep* (bring the hands together :) to clap, *tep*, *mă-tep* to pinch, to be squeezed together, to be fastened together, *dep* to be close, to be crowded together, *šn̄-dep* to be or act in unison, co-operation, *ťap* layer, stratum, lamina, *kă-ťap* to add, to superimpose, again and again, repeatedly.

[1] Cf. K.WF., K. 79–84. [2] Cf. K.WF., K. 16–19.

(32) T. *gtam(s)-pa* full, *ltam(s)-pa*, P. *bltams*, F. *bltam* to be full, *ltem-pa* full, overflowing, *ťam-pa* full, complete, *ťem-pa* to be full, to be complete, to be finished, *ağems-pa* to be sufficient, to suffice

K. *tâm* to have completed, to have finished, *šă-tâm* to finish, to complete

(33) T *snabs* mucus, discharge from the nose.

K [1] *nep* mucus, discharge from the nose, *a-nep* id., *nyep* to be soft, mucus, *nyap* to be soft and paste-like, *a-nyap* soft, sticky, viscous, *mă-nyap* soft, moist, spongy, *nya* to be soft, to be pliable, *šă-nya* to soften, to make soft, *čyă-nya* soft, flabby.

(34) [2] T *snub-pa*, P *bsnubs*, F *bsnub*, Imp. *snub(s)* to cause to perish, to suppress, to annul, to destroy, to abolish, to abrogate, *nub-pa* to fall gradually, to sink, to decay, to decline (as religion), to set (of sun and moon), *nub-mo* evening, *nub* the west, evening

K. *nip* to cast a shadow, to be overcast, *šă-nip*, *šin-nip*, *čyă-nyip* shade, shadow

(35) T *nom-pa*, P *noms* to seize, to grasp, to lay hold of, *snom-pa*, P *bsnams*, F *bsnam* to take, to seize, to grasp, to take up

K *nâm* to be enclosed, to be housed, to be comprised in, to be held or contained in, *kă-nâm*, *gă-nâm* to gather, to amass, to collect, to hoard

(36) T *ap̓am-pa*, P *p̓am* to be beaten, to be conquered, to be overcome, to be deprived of power to act (as *bdud* demons).

K. *p̓am* to be numb, to be benumbed, to be without the power of feeling, *kă-p̓am*, *gă-p̓am*, id.

(37) [3] T *ap̓rab* a fluttering movement (as in *ap̓rab byed-pa* to flutter (of a wounded bird))

[1] On the Kachin side it is possible that *nya*, *šă-nya*, and *čyă-nya* belong with T *mñen-pa* flexible, pliant, supple, soft, as their final affinities are uncertain Cf Burmese *ñan*

[2] Cf K WF, K 87–90 ?

[3] Also (?) *ap̓ra-va*, P. *ap̓ras* to kick, to jerk (as the legs); *pra-ba*, id , *ap̓ras-pa* stroke, blow, kick.

K. *prap* to flutter, to flicker, to flash, *n-prap* lightning, *kă-prap* to blink (as the eyes), to flutter (as wings), to move back and forth (as animals their ears), *kă-prap*, *prap* to flash (as lightning or a mirror).

From this selection of families in guttural and labial finals we see that the allowable alternations include only *-g* (> K. *-k*) ~ *-ṅ* ~ -O, and *-b* (> K. *-p*) ~ *-m* ~ -O, a fact which we shall have to bear well in mind when dealing with the families in dental finals, where the range is considerably wider, as is exemplified in the following cases.

DENTAL FINALS

(38) [1] T. *mgur* (bending part) neck, throat, *dgur*, *rgur*, *sgur* crooked, *mgul* neck, throat, *dgu-ba* to bend, to make crooked, bow, inflection, bent, stooping.

K. *kun*, *tın-kun* to be bent, to be curved, *ťın-kun* to bend, to be pliable, to wriggle, to twist, *šin-kun* (assume a bending position :) to crouch down, to prowl, *mă-kun* to crouch down, *ku* to be bent, to be curved.

(39) [2] T. *rkod-pa*, P. *(b)rkos*, F. *brko*, Imp. *rkos* to dig, to dig out, to hoe, to engrave, *rkon-pa*, *skon-pa* (scooped out :) basket, *rko-pa* = *rkod-pa*.

K. *gàt* to be scooped out, *dă-gàt* to scoop out, to ladle out, *šă-gàt* to scoop up with the hand, *lă-gàt* to scoop, a scoop, a small shovel, *n-gàt* tray, shallow bamboo basket, *mă-gàn* to scoop up, to collect into a heap, *n-gàn* bamboo spade (used for digging graves), *gàn* to be sunken, to be concave, *din-gàn* to undulate (as waves).

(40) T.[3] *rkun-ma* thief, theft, *rku-ba*, P. *(b)rkus*, F. *brku*, Imp. *rkus* to steal, to rob.

K. *kut* to rob, *lă-gut* thief, robber, *lă-gu* to steal.

(41) T. *skar-ma* star, constellation.

K. *šă-gan* star, meteor

(42) [1] T. ***skad-pa*** to say, to tell, to relate, to name, to call, ***skad*** voice, speech, language, talk, words, ***bka*** word, speech, ***sgo-ba***, P *bsgo* to say, to bid, to order, ***sko-ba***, P. ***(b)skos*** F. ***bsko***, Imp. *skos* to appoint, to nominate, to name, to commission

K. *ga* word, speech, language, ***a-ga*** word, instruction, command, order, *šă-ga* to call, to summon

(43) [2] T *aǩyil-ba* to be twisted, to be winding, to be spiral, *skyil-ba*, P and F *bskyil* to bend, to make crooked, (encircling) to pen up, to shut up or in, to dam up (also > to retain, to detain)

K. *kyit* to girdle, to gird, to tie round, ***šin-kyit*** belt, girdle, sash, *mă-kyit* to tie, to make a knot, *gyit* to tie up, to bind together, *a-kyin* to roll into a ball, to make round, ***kyin*** a package, a bundle, *kă-ǩyin* to gather (lit. roll) into a heap, *gyin* to roll into ball form, to make pellet-shaped, ***šin-gyin*** to roll together, pellet, shot, *šă-gyin* (" belt " in) to tighten a belt, to shorten a strap, *n-gyin*, *kum-gyin* (roll-shaped) cucumber, *yin* to be turned around, to encompass, to make a circuit, *kă-yin* to turn around, to rotate, *din-yin* to be dizzy, to be giddy, *lă-yin* a four-armed reel for reeling yarn, *gyi* to be curved, to be crinkled, *mă-gyi* to be curled, to be spiral, to be kinked, *tin-gyi* id , *n-gyi* (circular form) a picture of the sun

(44) [3] T *bgrad-pa* to scratch, to scrape, *hrad-pa* to scratch, *ạbrad-pa*, *adrad-pa*, P *brad*, Imp. *brod* to scratch, to scrape, to gnaw, to nibble at, *sbrad-pa*, *dbrad-pa* = *ạbrad-pa*.

K *gret* to graze (as a bullet), *a-gret* to scratch (as a thorn), to graze (as a bullet), *din-gret* to touch, to rub against, to graze, *kret* to gnaw, gnawing, *mă-kret* to gnaw, *ǩret* to rasp, to grate, *a-ǩret* to gnaw, *mă-kret* (scratching) to draw a line, to rule,

[1] Cf K WF, E 138–144.

[2] See *JRAS*, 1936, p 408 Jäschke (Dic, p. 358) notes *ạǩyil-ba* to wind, to twist, as a form of *ạǩyil-ba* Note, however, K. *ǩyin* to go round, to encircle, windlass, capstan.

[3] Cf K.WF, G 24–34 ?

to strike a match, a ruler, *pret* to rasp, to grate, *n-prat* to strike a match, to strike fire (as with flint and steel), *bret* rasping noise (as when tearing silk), *mă-ret* to scratch, to lacerate, *rat* to scratch, to wound, to lacerate, to cut, *a-pré*, *a-pri* to scratch, to dig (as with claws or fingers).

(45) [1] T. *ạkrud-pa*, P. *bkrus*, F. *bkru* to wash (as *gos* clothes), to bathe (as *ka-lag* face and hands), *krus* bath, washing, ablution, *ạkru-ba* = *ạkrud-pa*.

K. *krut* to wash (as clothing, or *bun* (< *pun*) the head).

(46) T. *sred-pa* to desire, to wish for, desire, wish, *akren-pa* to wish, to desire, to long for.

K. *mă-rit* to desire, to long for, to hanker after, *mă-rin* to be covetous, to be avaricious, to be greedy

(47) T. *ạgril-ba*, P. *gril* to be twisted, to be wrapped round, to be rounded, to be turned, *sgril-ba*, P. and F. *bsgril* (vb. tr.) to wind round, to wrap round, to wrap up, to wind up, *ạkril-ba* (vb. intr.) to wind round, to coil, to embrace, to clasp, *gril* a roll, *hril-po* round, globular, *adril-ba*, P *dril* to be turned round, to be rolled round, to be twisted, to wrap up, *ril-ba*, *ril-po*, *ril-mo* round, globular, cylindrical, *dkri-ba* to wind, to wind up, *ạkri-ba* to wind, to roll, to twist, *sri-ba* to wind round, to wrap round.

K. *rit* to twist, to wind, to twine, *tă-rin* to roll, to be rolled, *kri* to revolve, to spin, *mă-kri* a braid, *kri* to braid, *šin-ri*, *sum-ri* a cord, a rope, *ri* thread, string, cord.

(48) T. *blud* release, ransom, *blus-ma* anything ransomed, *blu-ba*, P. *blus* to ransom

K. *lăt* to get loose, to escape, to become free, *šă-lăt* to liberate, to set free, *n-lăt*, *šan-lăt* freedman, escaped prisoner, *mă-lă* to loosen, to become loose.

(49) T. *ṅur-ba* to grunt (as pigs or yaks), *snur-ba* to snore.

K. *ṅut* to grunt (as a pig), *nun* to growl, to grumble, to murmur, *a-nun* grumbling, growling.

(50) [2] T. *ạtsud-pa*, P. *tsud* to be put into, to go into, to enter,

[1] Cf K WF., E. 238–246.

[2] Related to No. 7 with guttural finals.

šud-pa id., *adzud-pa*, P. *btsud*, *zud*, Imp. *tsud* to put into, to lay in, *ajud-pa* id., *adzu-ba*, P *adzus*, to enter, to go in.

K. *ǰut* to be pierced, *mă-ǰut*, *num-ǰut* to pierce, to thrust in, *šă-ǰut* to pierce, to thrust through, *ǰu* to prick, to be pricked, thorn, bramble, spike, *a-ǰu* thorn, bramble, spike, to prick.

(51) T. *aǰun-pa*, *gčun-pa*, P. *bčun*, F. *gžun* to subdue, to make tame, to make soft, *žun-pa* melted, *ačun-pa* to be tamed, to be subdued, to be made to yield, *aǰu-ba*, *žu-ba*, *bžu-ba*, P. *bžus*, F. *bžu* to melt, to digest, *aǰu-ba* digestion.

K *tun* to dissolve, to melt, *šă-tun* to liquefy, to melt.

(52)[1] T. *mtsan* grandchild, nephew, *btsas-ma*, *rtsas-ma* (brought forth) harvest, wages, pay, *btsa-ba*, P. *btsas* to bring forth, to bear, to give birth to, *tsa-bo* grandson, *tsa-mo* granddaughter, niece.

K. *ša*, *a-ša* child, son, daughter, nephew, niece, *kă-ša* child, young of animals, *mă-ša* human being, man.

(53)[2] T *rñed-pa*, P. *brñed*, *brñes*, F. *brñed* to get, to obtain, to meet with, *sñen-pa*, *bsñen-pa* to come near, to go near, to approach, *gñen*, *ñen* relative, kinsman, *gñer-ba* to apply oneself to, to take pains with, to procure, to acquire, *ñe-r* (= *ñe-bar*) near, *ñe-ba* to be near, to approach, *sñe-ba*, P. *bsñes*, F. *bsñe*, Imp *sñe* to lean against, to lie down on.

K *ni* to be near, *a-ni* nearness, proximity, to come near, to approach, *šă-ni* to bring near, to put in proximity, *nyē*, *nya* to meet.

(54) T *gsal-ba* to be clear, to be bright, to be distinct, clear, bright, pure, *sal-le-ba* clear, bright, brilliant, *sel-ba*, P. and F. *bsal*, Imp. *sol* to cleanse, to remove impurities, to clear.

K. *san* to be clear, to be transparent, to be pure, *a-san* clear, clean, pure, *ǰă-san* to clear, to purify, *tsan* to clear, to cleanse.

(55)[3] T. *gzan-pa* to eat, to devour, to gnaw, *bzan* food of

[1] Cf. K WF., F 46–7 [2] Cf. K WF., G. 40–5.

[3] Cf. K WF., F. 100–102. It is possible that the Tibetan and Kachin families here assembled are distinct and that the only relative that Kachin has in Tibetan is *ša* flesh, meat. The position remains in doubt.

animals, pasture, pasturage, *zan* pap, porridge, fodder, an eater, *ạfan-ba* to swallow, to devour, *zas* food, nourishment, *za-ba, bza-ba*, P. *zos, bzas*, F. *bza*, Imp. *zo, zos* to eat, food, meat, victuals.

K. *šat, a-šat* (food :) boiled rice, *n-šat* food supply, *mă-šat* food basket (figurative name), *šan, a-šan* flesh, meat, *ša* to eat.

(56) [1] T. *sdud-pa*, P. *bsdus*, F. *bsdu*, Imp. *sdud, bsdu* to put together, to join, to unite (others, e.g. *Kyo-šug-tu* as husband and wife), to marry, to compress, to condense, *sdud* (pressing together :) folds of a garment, *mdud* knot, bow, *dud-pa* to tie, to knot, *ạdun-ma* council, association, assembly, meeting, *mdun* (meeting one) fore-part, front side, *mdun-ma* wife, *ạdus-pa* assembly, gathering, meeting, *bsdus-pa, ạdus-pa* to consist of, to be made up of, *ạdu-ba*, P. *ạdus* to assemble, to come together, to meet, to join one another (e.g. *Kyo-šug-tu* as husband and wife), to get married, to be pressed or crowded together, *ạdu-ba* assembly, gathering, meeting.

K. *tut* to be joined, to be bound together, to be united, *mă-tut* to connect, to join, to link together, *kă-tut* to meet, to run up against, (urge to meet .) to press on, to push on (towards a goal), *dun* to tie together, to tether, to be connected, to be united, to join, to adhere to.

(57) [2] T. *sdod-pa*, P. and F. *bsdad* to sit, to stay, to remain, to abide, to halt, to come to a stop.

K. *kă-tdt* to stumble and fall, *mă-tdt* to stub the toe or foot, to kick against an obstruction, *kă-ddn* to stumble, to stop abruptly, (of *ga* speech :) to stutter, to stammer, *kă-td, gă-td* = *kă-tdt*.

(58) [3] T. *mton-po* high, elevated, *mtos* high, elevated, *mto-ba* to be high, height, high, elevated.

K. *kă-tan* to bound up (as a ball), to leap (as a frog), *tan* to raise, to put up (as a ladder), *ta* to be above, to be high, to

[1] Cf. K.WF., F. 150–3. [2] Cf. K.WF., F. 243–6.

[3] Cf. K.WF., F. 63–7. It is possible that K. *tad, mă-tad*, and *šă-tad* do not belong here, but rather with T. *gtso-bo* highest in perfection, most excellent (of its kind).

rise, *lă-ťa* upper, *kă-ťa* above, overhead, ***mă-ťâ*** **pinnacle,** summit, high, elevated, *ťâ* (raised.) to transport, to **carry,** *tsâ* to be high, to be tall, to be lofty, ***mă-tsâ*** **upper regions,** celestial heights, *šă-tsâ* to heighten, to raise, to elevate.

(59) [1] T *adrud-pa, abrud-pa,* P. and Imp. ***drud*** **to rub, to file,** to rasp, to scour, to polish, to smooth, to plane, to drag, to pull along, *bgrud-pa,* P *bgrus,* F. *bgru* to husk, to shell.

K *rut* to rub, *a-rut* to rub, to abrade, to erase, ***mă-rut*** **a** grater (*mă-rut rut* to grate), *mă-krut* to gnaw, ***ǩrut*** **to snatch** away, to pull away forcibly, whetstone, ***n-ǩrut*** **whetstone,** *krut* to grind (as *wa* the teeth), *a-rut* to rub off, to pull off (as bark from a tree).

(60) [2] T *adred-pa* to slide, to slip, to glide, *ạdren-pa,* P. *dran(s),* F. *dran,* Imp *dron(s)* to draw, to drag, to pull, to tear out, to press out, to squeeze out (as pus), to conduct (as water), to lead, to guide, to fetch, to transport.

K *ret* to be snatched up, *kă-rât, gă-rât* to draw, to drag, to pull, to haul, *să-rât* to drag, to scrape (as the feet), ***krân*** **to** be dragged, to be pulled, to be led along, to be conducted, *gă-re* to tear away, to snatch away, to pluck away from.

(61) T *gnas-pa* to stay, to remain, to dwell, to live at, *gnas* place, spot, abode, dwelling place.

K *nat* to be fixed, to be held firmly, ***mă-nat*** to grasp firmly, to hold tightly, *ʄă-nat* for ever, always, constantly, ***nan*** to stay, to remain, to tarry, to be permanent, ***mă-nan*** always.

(62) T *abar-ba* to open (of flowers), to bloom, to blossom.

K *pan, ban, nam-pan* a flower, *lă-pan* (Ǩauri), id.

(63) T. *abar-ba* to burn (intr.), to catch fire, to be ignited, *sbar-ba, sbor-ba,* P and F *sbar* to set fire to, to kindle, to light

K *lă-wât* cooking place, *wan, a-wan* fire, ***wân*** **(Ǩauri), id.**

(64) [3] T *abud-pa,* P. *bus, ṕu(s),* F. *dbu,* Imp. ***ṕu(s)*** **to blow** (intr. and tr.), to remove by blowing (as chaff), ***sbud-pa***

[1] Cf K WF, G 24–34, and No. 60 below.
[2] Cf No 59 above
[3] Cf K WF. H 54–7.

bellows (*sbud abud-pa* to blow bellows), *bud* (blown by wind :) a cloud of dust, *spun-pa*, *sbun-pa* (blown by wind :) chaff, husks, *sbur-ma* = *sbun-pa*, *ṕu* a puff of breath, *pu-ṫse* husks of barley, bran.

K. *wut*, *kă-wut*, *gă-wut* to blow, to puff, to blow upon (as a fire), *n-bun* (blown by wind :) dust, *bun* to scatter dust, to sprinkle liquids, *wu* dust, fine ash (*wan wu* fine ashes from a fire (*wan*)), *n-ṕu* dust, *a-ṕu* to scatter dust, to remove dust (as by shaking a garment).

(65) [1] T *pus-mo* knee.

K. *ṕut* knee, to kneel, *lă-ṕut* knee, *ṕun* to cover (as with a blanket), to put on (as a coat), *bu* to put in place, to place upon (as on a shelf)

(66) T. *aṕar-ba* to bound up, to leap up, to fly up (as sparks), *spar-ba*, *spor-ba*, P. and F *spar* to lift up, to raise, *aṕyar-ba*, Imp. *aṕyor*, *ṕyor* to raise, to lift up, to hoist, *ačar-ba*, P. *šar* to rise, to appear, to become visible, (of the sun) to shine forth, *šar* the east

K. *n-ṕat* (bring up) to vomit, *ṕan* to rise, to be raised (as dust by the wind), *kă-ṕan* to be in motion, to be astir (as a crowd).

(67) T. *spel-ba* to augment, to increase, to add to, to multiply, to put together, to spread, to propagate, *aṕel-ba*, P. *ṕel* (vb neut) to increase, to grow, to become larger, to improve, to grow better, *dpal* glory, splendour, magnificence, abundance, wealth, welfare, *ṕal-pa* (widely distributed :) usual, common.

K. *ʄă-ṕat* (enlarge the mind) to instruct, to teach, *ʄă-ṕan* id., *šă-pan* to bring up (as a child), to rear, *pan* to be enlarged, to grow, to mature, *ṕan* to be mature, to be developed, to form, to create, to cause to be, *ba* to be big, to be great, to be large, *mă-ba* (great man) chief, ruler, *kă-ba* big, great, large, *šă-pa* (vb. tr.) to extend, to spread out, to expand, to enlarge, *n-ba* great, big and ferocious.

[1] Cf. K.WF., H. 111-134.

(68) [1] T. *abyid-pa*, P. *byid*, *ṗyid* to disappear, to pass away, to make an exit, *dpyid* (time of budding forth :) Spring, *abyin-pa*, P. and Imp. *ṗyun*, F. *dbyun* to cause to come forth, to take out, to remove, to draw out, to pull out, to tear out, to produce, to bring to light, to send out, to emit, to shed (*mči-ma abyin-pa* to shed tears), to draw (as *k̓rag* blood), to drive out, to turn out, to expel, to throw away, to liberate, to release, *sbyin-pa*, P. and Imp. *byin* to give to, to bestow upon, to hand over to, to deliver over to, *abyun-ba*, P. and Imp *byun* to come out, to emerge, to go to, to proceed to, *ṗyin-pa* to go forth, to proceed, to advance, to come to, to reach, *dpyis* end, conclusion (*dpyis ṗyin-pa* to reach the end), *aṗyi-ba*, *aṗyid-pa* to wipe away (*mči-ma aṗyi-ba* to wipe away tears), to blot out, to pull out, to tear out (as *rlig* the testicles), to remove, *abyi-ba*, P. *byi*, *ṗyi*, *ṗyis* to be wiped off, to be blotted out, to be effaced.

K. *ṗyet*, *kă-ṗyet* to vanish, to disappear, *šă-byet* to extort, to take away, to levy (as a fine), *šă-pyen* to throw out, to eject, to drive out, to expel, *pyen* to remove, to strip off.

(69) [2] T *gšid* funeral, *gšin-po* a dead man, one deceased, *ači-ba*, *ši-ba*, P *ši* to die, to disappear (as a flame), to cease, death.

K. *si* to die, to expire, *a-si* death, dead, *čyă-si* dead, a dead person.

(70) [3] T. *gčid-pa*, *gči-ba*, P. *gčis*, F. *gči*, Imp. *gčis* to make water, to urinate (*gčin gčid-pa*, *gčin gči-ba* id.), *gčin* urine.

[1] Cf K WF, F 247–250, H 141–2 This and the next three families are very confusing They all appear to belong together at base, as is indicated by the various collocations of the type *mči-ma aṗyi-ba*, etc., where the families are used together as though one. Probably the form *aṗyin-pa* liver, of the Berlin Gzer-Myig (v. Francke, *Asia Major*, vol. i, p. 287) is something more than a homophone, and indicates recognized relationship (present in the scribe's mind) between this word and *abyin-pa* to tear out, of the present family See footnote to No 71.

[2] Cf. K WF., F. 48–49 See note to No 68.

[3] Cf K WF., F 147–9 ?. See note to No. 68. The basic idea here seems to be that of "ejection" (ejected matter) *mči-ma* (welling forth :) tears, may belong here Cf. the Chinese family quoted.

K. *ǰit* urine, *ǰin* vagina, female private parts, *ǰi* to make water, to urinate (*ǰit ǰi* id.).

(71)[1] T. *mčin-pa* liver.

K. *sin*, *a-sin*, *mă-sin* liver.

(72) T. *p̓yen*, *ạp̓yen* wind, flatulence.

K. *p̓yet*, *a-p̓yet* wind, flatulence.

(73)[2] T. *ạbyed-pa*, P. and Imp. *p̓ye*, *p̓yed*, *p̓yes*, F. *dbye* (vb. tr.) to separate, to keep apart, to open, to divide, to distinguish, to pick out, to choose, to select, to classify, *dpyad* an instrument for opening the mouth by force, *p̓yed* (divided :) half, *dbyen-pa* difference, dissension, discord, schism, *ạbyer-ba*, P. and Imp. *byer* (vb. intr.) to disperse, to scatter, to flee in different directions, *dbye-r* (= *dbye-ru* in *dbyer-med*, lit. devoid of difference) difference, distinction, *abye-ba*, P. and Imp. *bye* (vb. intr.) to open, to divide, to separate, *dbye-ba* parting, partition, division, distinction, section, part, class, species, kind.

K *šă-byet* to divide into lots, to do up into separate bundles, *kă-čyan*, *lă-čyan* to divide, to deal out, to allot, to apportion, *gin-čyan* to divide, to exchange, *čyen* (divided :) half, *a-čyen* band, shred, strip, *lă-ǰen* to divide equally, to apportion, to distribute, *mă-ǰen* a clearing, *ǰe* to tear, to rend asunder, to divide, to separate (as combatants), to cut down (as brush) (*mă-ǰen ǰe* to make (lit. to clear) a clearing (*mă-ǰen*)), *p̓ye* to allot, to assign, to parcel out.

(74) T. *byed-pa*, P. *byas*, F. *bya*, Imp. *byos* to make, to do, to cause, to fabricate, *spyod-pa*, *spyad-pa*, P. *spyad* to do, to act, to accomplish, *ạčos-pa*, P. *bčos*, *ạčos*, F. *bčo*, Imp. *čos* to make, to construct, to manufacture, to build, *ạča-ba*, P. *bčas*, *ạčas*, F. *bča*, Imp. *čos* to make, to prepare, to construct.

K. *čyen* to do (obsolete word), *šă-čyen* to do, to accomplish, to perform, *lă-čyen* work, labour.

(75) T. *ạbral-ba*, P. *bral*, Imp. *brol* to be separated from, to be

[1] See note to No. 68. Possibly the basic meaning here is "that which is torn out" (pointing to very early hepatoscopy in Tibet ?).

[2] Cf. K.WF., H. 26-44.

deprived of, to be parted from, to be bereft of, ***brel-ba*** to be destitute of, to be without, to be in need of, to be poor, *apral-ba*, P *pral*, F *dbral*, Imp *prol* (vb. tr.) to separate, to leave, to take away from

K. *ran* to be apart, to be separated, to be divided, ***mă-ran*** to separate, to push away, to send away, *šă-ran* to place apart, to put down separately, *pă-ran* to separate, to sort out, *pă-ran* to judge, to decide, *kă-ran*, *gă-ran* to divide, to distribute, to apportion, *ra* to be parted, to be separated.

(76) T *bris* picture, drawing, representation, ***bris-ma*** written book, *ris* figure, form, design, *ri-mo* figure, picture, painting, drawing, mark, *abri-ba*, P. and Imp *bris* to write, to draw, to design.

K *rit* to mark a boundary, to trace a boundary line, *jă-rit* boundary line, border, *a-rit* dividing line, ***mă-ri*** to mark, to rule, to make a line, *tsă-ri* a scribe.

(77) T. *rman-pa* wounded, *dmas-pa* wounded, ***rma-ba***, P. *rmas* to wound, *rma* a wound

K.[1] *n-ma* wound, cut, laceration, scar.

(78) T. *rmod-pa*, P and F. *rmos* (cut the ground) to plough, *rmed-pa* to plough and sow, *rmon-pa* ploughing, ***rmo-ba*** = *rmod-pa*

K *mŭt*, *mŭn* to cut, to slice, to shave, to castrate.

(79)[2] T *mun-pa* obscurity, darkness, obscure, dark, *dmun-pa* darkened, obscured (as *blo* the mind), *rmun-po* dull, heavy, stupid, *rmus-pa* dull, heavy, peevish, listless, foggy, gloomy, dark, *rmu-ba* dullness, heaviness, fog

K *mut* to be blue, *a-mut* blue, *čyă-mut* blue, (faded :) shabby, dull, dusky, *mă-mut* bluish, dark (as clouds), *dă-mun* grey.

(80) T. *rud* a fallen or falling mass (of *ka-ba* snow . a snow-slip, of *ču* water a deluge, of *sa* earth · a landslide).

K. *šă-rut* a landslide (*šă-rut ru* to cave in, to slide down,)

[1] Note also K *mya* to be torn, to be ragged, *a-mya* to tear, to lacerate, to maul, *čyă-mya* torn, ragged These, however, may belong with T. *dmyal-ba* to cut up.

[2] Cf K.WF, H 94–110.

ñum-rut to slide down, to slip down, *nin-rut* to be broken, (fallen in :) ravine, gap, landslide, *zin-rut* pit, pitfall, *rut* to pour out, to spill, *run* to pull down, to tear down, to demolish, to fall down, *šă-run* to demolish, to tear down, to destroy, to remove, to strip off, *ru* to fall, to tumble, to pour down.

The most striking thing that we notice here is that while in Tibetan the guttural and labial final families have only two consonantal finals (*-g* and *-n* ; *-b* and *-m*), the dental class has no less than five (*-d*, *-n*, *-r*, *-l*, and *-s*), a fact which puts the dental families at a distinct advantage over the other two. This is, in itself, sufficiently peculiar to suggest a special inquiry into the dental finals to see if they have not undergone in Tibetan some special expansion from an original state where they also possessed only two types, which, by analogy with the other classes, we might suppose were *-d* and *-n*, and which actually exist in this form (*-t* and *-n*) in Kachin.

In this inquiry it seems to me that something may perhaps be deduced from the behaviour of the suffixes *-s* and *-d* with the so-called Perfect roots of verbs. Their occurrence, including the obsolete usages of *-d* with final *-n*, *-r*, and *-l*, may be summarized as follows —

Suffix.	Guttural Finals.	Labial Finals.	Dental Finals.
-s	(1) *-g*	(1) *-b*	
	(2) *-n*	(2) *-m*	
-d			(2) *-n*, *-r*, *-l*

To begin with, the use of the same suffix (*-d*) after differing finals naturally follows the close relationship in sound between them, and it is, indeed, quite conceivable that *-n*, *-r*, and *-l* may represent simply varieties of one and the same sound, which, in fact, is supported by various developments occurring later in various parts of the Tibeto-Burman field, such as the interchange of *-n* and *-r* and *-n* and *-l* between Kachin and Tibetan,[1] and the similar alternation of *-n* and *-l* in Manipuri,[2]

[1] See above, Nos. 38, 41, 49, 62, 63, 66, and 43, 47, 54, 67, 75.

[2] As e.g. in *čen-ba* ~ *čel-ba* to run, *han* ~ *hal* the causative infix, *kan-ba* ~ *kal-ba* to think, *na-ton* ~ *na-tol* nose, *pun-ba* ~ *pul-ba* to tie,

and of Tibetan *-n* with Manipuri *-l*,[1] and so on. Between Chinese and Tibetan Simon[2] has already proposed a number of *-n* = *-l* equations, on some of which we shall comment a little later.

This, then, would reduce our dental finals to three: *-n*, *-r*, and *-l* in one group, with *-d* and *-s* still standing apart.

Now it is a fact, the significance of which is considerable, that as far back as our knowledge of Tibetan goes, neither *-d* nor *-s* can be attached to *-d* verbs in the "Perfect" tense, but that very frequently *-d* falls out and *-s* occurs in its place, giving the type *ạbud-pa*, P. *bus* to blow, *byed-pa*, P. *byas* to do, and indeed one receives the distinct impression that here *-s* of the "Perfect" is for older *-ds*, an idea to which support is also lent by the alternation of *-d* and *-s* in the Perfect of one and the same verb, as in *ṕyed* or *ṕyes* (P of *abyed-pa* to open), *bríed* or *bríes* (P. of *ríed-pa* to find), which is a feature of frequent occurrence seeming to indicate older forms **ṕyeds*, **bríeds*, and so on.

I am thus led to restate an idea which I first put forward[3] on general grounds only, and which was afterwards advanced more definitely by Simon,[4] that *-s* as a final in Tibetan in a great number of cases presupposes older *-ds*, which is then the parallel in the dental series of *-gs* and *-bs* among the guttural and labial finals, and in what follows we shall somewhat expand this idea, which indeed finds considerable support

to bind, *sa-gon* ~ *sa-gol* (Beng *ghōṛā*?) horse, etc. This *-n* ~ *-l* and also an *-r* ~ *-l* alternation likewise come out strongly in the Bodo and related languages of Assam, notably in Garo, Bårå, and Kachari G *pān* ~ *bol* tree, Mikir *in-čin*, G *šil* iron, G, K *sān*, G. *sāl* sun, G, K *šur*, G *šil* iron, K *bi-bār*, G. *pārr*, *bi-bal* flower, K. *bār*, G. *lam-pār*, *bāl* air, and others. Note also Tibetan *ṕar* exchange, barter, G., K. *ṕāl* to sell.

[1] As e g T *rgan-pa*, M *a-hal* old, T. *mton-po* high, M. *ma-tol* summit, etc.

[2] Wortgl, pp 183–4.

[3] *Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Morphology*, London, 1929, p 19, n 1 This will be abbreviated hereafter as "*Outlines*".

[4] Wortgl, p 185.

when the word families of Tibetan, Kachin, and Chinese are examined together.

Let us now, then, fill in our scheme as follows :—

Suffix.	Guttural Finals.	Labial Finals.	Dental Finals.
-s	(1) *-g*	(1) *-b*	(1) *-d*
	(2) *-n*	(2) *-m*	
-d			(2) *-n*, *-r*, *-l*

We then have our two groups corresponding to the situation in the guttural and labial types.

But we are left, then, if this scheme is complete, without any " final " *-s* in Tibetan. And this, I believe, can be shown with a very high degree of probability to be the case, and that the occurrence of *-s* as a " final " in Tibetan can be ascribed to phenomena which we have already mentioned and which we shall consider in greater detail almost immediately below.

Before, however, passing to this phase of the question, we may profitably turn aside for a moment to inquire how the situation in practice agrees with the proposals so far made.

We have seen already that Kachin has only *-t* and *-n* as dental finals as against Tibetan *-d*, *-n*, *-r*, *-l*, and *-s*. Does, then, Kachin represent an older position in this regard than Tibetan ? *A priori* this does not seem very probable, and yet it is certainly significant that its equipment is just that which we have suggested may have been original to Tibetan before its supposed expansion of the dental series.

Taking first Tibetan *-r* and *-l* we have among the individual families already listed the following representative cases :—

No. 49.	T. *-r* ;	K. *-n* ∼ *-t*
No. 63.	T. *-r* ;	K. *-n* ∼ *-t*
No. 66.	T. *-r* ;	K. *-n* ∼ *-t*
No. 38.	T. *-r* ∼ *-l* ∼ -O ;	K. *-n* ∼ -O
No. 62.	T. *-r* ;	K. *-n*
No. 41.	T. *-r* ;	K. *-n*
No. 43.	T. *-l* ;	K. *-n* ∼ *-t* ∼ -O

No. 47. T. *-l* ~ -O ; K. *-n* ~ *-t* ~ -O
No. 67. T. *-l*, K. *-n* ~ *-t* ~ -O
No 75. T. *-l*, K. *-n* ~ -O
No. 54. T. *-l*, K. *-n*

which seem, indeed, to give support to the idea that *-r* and *-l* on the Tibetan side represent varieties of *-n*.[1] Phonetically, of course, the close relationship requires no comment, and we have already adduced other concrete instances of the same interchange elsewhere in the Tibeto-Burman family.

We then come again to the question of Tibetan *-s* Among the word families already listed we have the following cases :—

No 61 T *-s* ; K. *-t* ~ *-n*
No. 65. T. *-s* ; K. *-t* ~ *-n* ~ -O
No. 55. T. *-s* ~ *-n* ~ -O, K. *-t* ~ *-n* ~ -O
No 79. T. *-s* ~ *-n* ~ -O, K. *-t* ~ *-n*
No 76 T. *-s* ~ -O, K. *-t* ~ -O

The evidence of cases like these seems, indeed, very straightforward, and what appears to be an equation *-s* · *-t* in the type T *pus-mo* K. *ṕut* (No 65) seems, indeed, to find quite definite support in a number of similar instances which are of particularly frequent occurrence between Tibetan and Lepcha One thus finds, for instance —

T *zas* L. (*a-*)*zót* pasturage (K *śat* (food) boiled rice)
T *rus-pa* L. *a-hrăt* bone (K. *n-rut*)

[1] It should be noted here that it must have been at a very early time indeed when Tibetan first placed the basic roots of what are now its word families in the final *-n*, and *-r*, and *-l* classes. This is shown by the very great comparative rarity of alternations between *-n* and *-r* in the same family (for examples, see Nos 53 and 64 in the preceding pages, and *JRAS.*, 1936, p 415, No 22, and p. 406), and the almost total absence, so far as I am aware, of *-n* ~ *-l* and *-r* ~ *-l* alternations of similar type (for *-r* ~ *-l* see No 38, sup) In other words this move must have taken place while the root was still single and alone, and free of prefixes, which were only added to it in mobile fashion as required (cf *Outlines*, p 53) Though at other times families in *-n* and *-r*, *-n* and *-l*, or *-r* and *-l* may approach each other fairly closely in both form and meaning, I do not believe that any such cases involve alternations between these finals Such families seem to me to be altogether too evidently distinct (v *JRAS*, 1936, pp. 407-408, and (for a contrary view), K WF, p. 36)

T. *pus-mo*	L. *tŭk-pat* knee	(K. *ṕut*)
T. *gñis*	L. *nat* two	
T. *gros*	L. *krut* advice	
T. *bkres*	L. *krít* hunger	
T. *dgos-pa*	L. *gat* to desire	

But the same kind of thing can also be set up between Tibetan and Chinese, as, for instance, in —

T. *mḱas-pa* shrewd, wise	Ch. 黠 *ǵat* wily, cunning	K. *ḱet* to be wily
T. *śes-pa* to know, to understand	Ch. 悉 *sḭĕt* to know thoroughly	
T. *bris* picture, drawing	Ch. 筆 *pḷĭĕt* stroke in writing	K. *a-rit* dividing line

and I am strongly of the opinion that all these *-t* forms in Lepcha, Chinese, and Kachin, presuppose a *-d* somewhere in their Tibetan relatives, and that, indeed, the Tibetan words in question almost certainly at one time ended in *-ds*.

To illustrate the consequences of this possibility, I believe, in fact, that we are justified in advancing equations of the following type.—

(1) T *pus-mo* (< **puds*) knee, Ch. 巿 *pḭwət* knee cover, K. *ṕut* knee; etc. (See K WF., H. 117, etc, and Family No. 65, sup.)

(2) T. *bris* (< **brids*) picture, drawing, representation, Ch. 筆 *pḷĭĕt* stylus, writing, stroke in writing, K. *a-rit* dividing line, boundary mark; etc. (See Family No. 76, sup.)

(3) T. *rmus-pa* (< **rmuds*) dull, listless, Ch. 忽 *χmwət* dull, stupid, K. *mă-mut* bluish, dark; etc. (See K WF., H. 105, etc., and Family No. 79, *sup.*)

(4) T. *ạdus-pa* (< **ạduds*) gathering, assembly, meeting (cf. *sdud-pa* vb. tr. to join), Ch. 隊 *ďwəd* group of soldiers, regiment,

K. *tut* to be joined together, etc. (See. K.WF., F. 151, etc., and Family No. 56, *sup.*)

And we do not then have the *-s* : *-d*, *-t* equations that appear on the surface, but a much more probable T. *-d*, Ch. *-d*, *-t*, K. *-t*.

In this view, then, a considerable number of equations involving the so-called "Perfect" root of Tibetan verbs may be expected, of which the type is again exemplified in e.g.: T. *(b)rkos* (< **brkods*) excavated, the so-called "Perfect form of *rko-ba*, *rkod-pa* to dig, Ch 穴 *ģiwet*, or 窟 *kwət* hole, pit, cave (< 'excavated' place ?)."

But what, then, is the final implication of all this ? Clearly (1) That it is highly probable that Chinese, as well as Kachin, never possessed any final *-s* of any type, either true final or suffix,[1] and (2) that the following is a fairly definite series of equations which we may expect between Tibetan and Chinese :

Tibetan	Chinese
-d	*-d*, *-t*
-s < **-ds*	*-d*, *-t*
-n	*-n*, *-r*, *-l* (?)
-r	*-r*, *-n*, *-l* (?)
-l	*-r*, *-n*, *-l* (?)

In other words, the inescapable conclusion seems to be that there was no *-s* in pre-Archaic Chinese at all, and that archaic *-r* can be descended only from pre-Archaic *-r* or *-l* or some variety of *-n*, and I shall be obliged to withdraw a proposal I made on a former occasion[2] that the alternations *-s* ∼ *-n* and *-s* ∼ *-d* of Tibetan and *-r* ∼ *-n* and *-r* ∼ *-d*, *-r* ∼ *-t* of Chinese support the descent of Archaic Chinese *-r* from *-s* in an undetermined number of cases. On the Chinese side

[1] By this I, of course, mean *-s* standing alone as final, or following a vowel as a suffix We have no knowledge as to the existence of a *-ds* or *-ts* combination in Chinese at some very early time. It is, of course, just possible that a suffixed *-s* of this nature is at the bottom of the *-d* : *-t* differentiation in Archaic Chinese.

[2] *JRAS.*, 1936, p. 402.

there is, of course, no certainty that any spread of the dental finals ever occurred in the pre-Archaic language producing a series anywhere nearly paralleling Tibetan with its *-d*, *-n*, *-r*, *-l*, and *-s*, and I thus cannot follow Simon [1] in his suggestion that, for instance, 卷 *kiwan* [2] a roll, a scroll, has changed an older *-l* into *-n* on the evidence of Tibetan *gril* a roll. There is small doubt to my mind that Chinese *-n* is always older than Tibetan *-l*. In this particular equation of Simon's I also seriously doubt whether 卷 *kiwan* and its relatives (v. K.WF. E. 1–31) are related to Tibetan *gril* and the other members of its family (v. No. 47, sup.) at all.[3] In the case of Kachin the situation is better known Not only does the language lack a final or suffixed *-s*, but no spread of the original dental finals *-d* and *-n* can be traced.

I cannot help feeling that this elision theory for Tibetan *-d* explains a very great deal. Even where Tibetan verbs regularly end in *-s* throughout I believe there is ground for supposing the disappearance of *-d* before it. The type is —

> *agas-pa*, P. *gas* to split, to be cleft, to be cracked, to be burst asunder.
>
> *ages-pa*, P. *bkas*, F. *dgas*, Imp. *kos* to split, to cleave, to divide, to cut open.

Here Chinese relatives in *-d* and *-t* appear to be to hand in 害 *ǵâd* (to cut ·) to injure, 膾 *kwâd* to cut meat to pieces, to mince, 劊 *kwâd* cut off, 刉 *kwâd*, *kiəd* to cut, to wound, 劌 *kiwăd* sharp, to cut, to wound, 栔, 契 *k'iad* to cut, a notch, 割 *kât* to cut, 戛 *kεt* lance, 刮 *kwăt* cut off, scrape off, 鉞 *giwăt* halberd, 鍥 *k'iat* sickle, to cut, 劂 *giwət* to incise, and we also have in Kachin *k'ât* to cut, to hew, to sever, to cleave, *a-k'ât* to make a semicircular incision with a dah, *lă-k'ât* to

[1] Wortgl., p. 183, and No. 312.

[2] K.WF., E. 8

[3] Cf. also e.g Simon No. 320, T. *ạgral* Ch. 分 *piwən* to divide (K.WF., H. 38). The Chinese family here, I believe, belongs with an entirely different one in Tibetan (v. *JRAS.*, 1936, p. 415, No. 22) where a Tibetan *-n* Ch *-n* equation is present. For the Tibetan and Kachin relatives of T *ạgral-ba* see above No. 75.

cut obliquely, and finally, I believe, Tibetan itself supports *-s* < *-ds* here with *agyed-pa*, P. *bgyes*, F. *bkye* to divide, to scatter, to disperse, to dismiss, to distribute, the transitive verb form corresponding to the intransitive *agye-ba*, P. *gyes* to be divided, to be separated, to come apart.

The origin of this class of verb is, indeed, perhaps to be traced to the habit which Tibetan has of using its so-called "Perfect" roots as secondary Present forms. In this way, for instance, *rgyas-pa* is used as a Present, though properly the Perfect of *rgya-ba* to increase, *ągyes-pa* is employed as a Present though really the Perfect of *agye-ba* to disperse, giving, in practice *rgya-ba* or *rgyas-pa*, P. *rgyas*, and *ągye-ba*, or *ągyes-pa*, P *agyes* There is only one more step for the verb then, to take before the "Perfect" form has entirely usurped the field and the verb appears with *-s* throughout, exactly as it does in the case of *agas-pa* and *ages-pa* above.

It thus transpires that we get a somewhat different view of many Tibetan word families, and especially among those with dental finals is it evident that only a critical examination of all the material which they offer with, where possible, a comparison with the related families in other languages, can give us any sure idea of where the equations from word to word should be set up

The same principle, indeed, applies to words which are apparently completely isolated in their own languages. A case in point is Tibetan *ḱa* mouth Only from the Kachin family *ḱan* to be pushed back, to be separated, *mă-ḱan* to push open, to force apart, *sŭm-ḱan* to be open, to gap, *mă-ḱa* to be open (as a door), to open (as the mouth), *ǰă-ḱa* to part, to separate, *ḱa* to be remote, to be at a distance, to lose (as a tooth), *ḱa* to be parted, to be separated, to gap, to be open, *čyın-ḱa* door, gate, *lă-ḱa* to crack open, to chap, *n-ḱa* door, does it appear that Tibetan *ḱa* was originally "the opener". However reasonable the unsupported supposition [1] might have

[1] From Tibetan alone one, of course, gets a fairly clear impression of the origin of this word from the fact of its carrying the sense of "opening",

appeared, one could never from Tibetan alone have supported it with a series of similar nature.

Finally, also, as an additional example of how very essential the word stock of one language may be to the correct evaluation of that of another, we may take the following case.

The writer has previously [1] suggested that in Tibetan there was formerly, with some probability, a word family of the type *-n* ~ -O with the general sense of "to bend". Chinese alone gives one this idea, but within the Tibeto-Burman family additional proof is supplied by Kachin,[2] where we have *kun, tin-kun* to be bent, to be curved, *tin-kun* to bend (as a stick), to be pliable, to wriggle, *šin-kun, mă-kun* (assume a bending position.) to crouch down, *ku* to be bent, to be curved

"gap", "vacancy", in such combinations as *k'a ɣgebs-pa* to shut an opening, *k'a skoṅ-ba* to fill a vacancy, etc, but the family as still extant in Kachin is lacking

[1] *JRAS*, 1936, pp 404–5.

[2] See No 38 sup

339.

Hellenistic tradition of Egypt their buildings and their pottery were greatly superior in workmanship to the Arab work, which is later in point of time, they wrote their funerary inscriptions in tolerably good Greek; they read the scriptures in Greek and in Coptic, and they even developed a literature in their own language, of which scanty fragments have been preserved.

The immigration of the Arabs into Nubia may have begun on a small scale soon after the Muslim conquest of Egypt, but for a long time Nubia was strong enough to offer effective resistance to Arab expansion The process was one of gradual infiltration until it gained momentum in the thirteenth century, but the details of tribal wanderings and of conflicts between the Arab tribesmen on the one side, and Nubians and Beğa on the other, are unrecorded and largely lost even to oral tradition

From the thirteenth century onwards Nubian affairs begin to loom more largely in the Egyptian records, and during the reigns of Baybars and Qala'ūn we find that Egypt frequently intervenes in the northern kingdom, which is now in a state of increasing confusion and disintegration. Nubian kings war with the Mamlūk sultans and amongst themselves, Nubian pretenders gain the throne of Dongola through Egyptian military aid, only to lose it again as the armies withdraw Arabs of Rabī'a and Ǧuhayna ally themselves by marriage to the royal house of Dongola and grasp at the throne, and in the second decade of the fourteenth century we suddenly hear of a king of Dongola who bears a Muslim name. From an Egyptian author of a handbook for secretaries, who wrote between 1340 and 1348 (*Kitāb al-ta'rīf bil-muṣtalah al-šarīf* of S͟hihāb al-dīn Ahmad al-'Umarī), we gather that in his time Dongola was regarded as a protectorate or dependency of Egypt, and that the *k͟hutba* was read in the name of the caliph of the age and the ruler of Egypt; yet Christian kings still alternated with Muslims, and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in 1352 still speaks of the Nubians as a Christian people. From these

indications we get an approximate date for the gradual disappearance of Christianity in the northern kingdom, though no chronicle has recorded the sequence of events. The mass immigration of Arab tribes must be placed in the same period, and when the immigrants at last were masters not only of the upland plains but of the Nile valley the Nubians ceased to exist as a nation: those who survived the slaughter adopted Islam and were absorbed amongst that section of the Arabs which chose settlement on the river in preference to the nomadic life, and survivals of their customs and their material civilization may still be traced amongst tribes which now consider themselves to be of pure Arab lineage. The process must in some respects have resembled that which centuries before had taken place in Egypt, when Christianity and the Coptic language had given way to Islam and Arabic; but, unlike Egypt, Nubia retained no remnant of its ancient faith. It is a strange phenomenon, however, for which no obvious explanation is ava lable, that the riverain strip from Aswān to Dongola has retained its ancient Nubian speech to the present day.

The next event of importance is the rise of the Fung̃ kingdom of Sennār at the turn of the fifteenth century. Egypt for some reason or other appears to have lost interest in Nubia after the period just referred to at any rate, there is a complete gap in the records for some 150 years, and then the story is taken up by the oral tradition and the native historians of the Sudan. The southern kingdom of 'Alwa survived the fall of Dongola, but, hard pressed by the Arab invaders, and cut off from the sources of its religious and cultural life, it simply faded out of existence. The Portuguese Alvarez writing in 1520 speaks of the Nubians—and no doubt the southern people are meant—as still dwelling in the Nile country bordering on Abyssinia's maritime province. These people, he tells us, had once been Christians, and 150 churches were still to be seen in their country; but having for a long time been unable to obtain priests and teachers from Egypt and

Abyssinia, they were now neither Christians, Moors, nor Jews; they had no king but a number of chiefs living in ancient castles When this account was published Sennār had already been founded, and little time was to elapse before this last remnant of the Nubians should disappear from history, becoming merged in their Muslim conquerors.

"Know that the Funǧ possessed and conquered the land of the Nubians in the year 910 of the Flight, then the town of Sennār was founded by ʿAmāra Dunqas" With these words of the native chronicler[1] the Funǧ make an abrupt appearance in history, and little that is certain can be said of their origin and of the events which brought them into the Sudan. According to their own account their kings were descendants of the Umayyad caliphs, for they claimed as their ancestor one Sulaymān b ʿAbd al-Malik b Marwān, who is related to have fled to Abyssinia at the time of the rise of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty, and thence to have made his way to the Sudan, where he married the daughter of a local king. Whether this tradition be true or false, it tells us little that matters · for some seven hundred years had elapsed between the time of this ancestor and the first appearance of the Funǧ in the chronicles, and so much is certain that, as they emerged into history they were a clan or family of distinctively African type, clearly marked off from the Arabs with whom they allied themselves Bruce, the discoverer of the sources of the Blue Nile, believed them to be connected with the Hamito-Negroid Shilluk of the Upper Nile, but the evidence for this theory is far from convincing Their own tradition points to an Abyssinian origin, and it appears that they looked upon the country on the upper reaches of the Blue Nile as the home of their race

Be this as it may, they invaded Sennār and the country to the north of it about the year 1500, and there met the tide of the Arab advance. An alliance ensued between the Funǧ king ʿAmāra and a clan of Rufāʿa known as the Qawāsma,

[1] *Ṭabaqāt Wad Ḍayfallāh*, p. 3.

whose chief was ʿAbdullāh Ǧammāʿ. The allies destroyed the last strongholds of Nubian ʿAlwa, and founded a new kingdom, of loosely feudal structure, of which ʿAmāra was king and ʿAbdullāh Ǧammāʿ the premier vassal; the Fung monarch made his residence at Sennār, while ʿAbdullāh and his descendants the ʿAbdullāb chose as their headquarters Ḥalfāya near the junction of the two Niles.

We have seen that Dongola had Muslim kings in the fourteenth century, and there is no doubt that the nomad tribesmen who overran Nubia were Muslims at least in name; yet it appears clearly from native tradition, supported by other sources of information, that the Islamization of the country in a real sense took place after the establishment of the Fung dynasty and was, in fact, brought about by the new régime. The native historian, whom I have just quoted as recording the foundation of Sennār continues as follows —

"Now in these countries there flourished neither schools of learning nor the reading of the Qur'ān, it is said that a man might divorce his wife and she be married by another man the self-same day without any period of probation (*ʿidda*), until Shaykh Mahmūd al-ʿArakī came from Egypt and taught the people to observe the law of *ʿidda* then in the second half of the tenth century (of the flight) . . Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Būlādī came from Egypt to the Shā'iqīya country where he taught Khalīl and the Risāla, whence learning and a knowledge of law spread to the Ǧezīra. Then after a short time came Shaykh Tāǧ al-dīn al-Bahārī from Baghdād and introduced the path of the Ṣūfīs into the Fung country. . . "

And so he goes on to mention the names of other scholars and saints, all of whom flourished in the sixteenth century of our era, and with whom the introduction of Muslim learning and of the Ṣūfī organizations is associated. It is worthy of note that these teachers and missionaries came from all parts of the Muslim world—Egypt, the Maghrib, and Baghdād are specifically mentioned—and it would appear that the kings of the new dynasty favoured the settlement of learned men and,

by their liberality, attracted not only genuine teachers and zealous devotees, but many spurious claimants to learning and saintliness ready to exploit the credulity of a primitive people and their devotion to their new faith

The information of the native historians is here happily supplemented from an unexpected quarter. I refer to the diary of David Reubeni, an Oriental Jew who appeared in Italy in 1524 purporting to be the brother of a king Joseph who ruled over an independent and warlike community of Jews somewhere in Arabia he professed to have been entrusted with the mission to enlist the interest of the Christian powers with a view to combined action against the Muslims, and he appears to have negotiated with the Pope, and the Portuguese court, and the Emperor Charles V In the early part of his narrative[1] he relates his travels from Suakin to the kingdom of Sheba—which no doubt stands for Soba—and thence by way of Dongola to Egypt He refers to King 'Amāra by name, mentions Sennār in the biblical disguise of Shinar, and knows the kingdom of al-Ǧa'l, i e the country of the Ǧa'liyīn tribe between Soba and Dongola, these references prove that David Reubeni, though a somewhat shady character in other respects, is entitled to the honour of being the first traveller to give an account of the Fung̃ kingdom, a fact which has hitherto escaped the attention of his editors and translators.

David relates that he presented himself at the court of 'Amāra—a black king who ruled over black men and white—purporting to be a Meccan sherif; the claim was accepted not only by the king but even by a certain Abū Kāmil described as chief of the descendants of the prophet living in the land of Kush King 'Amāra treated both Abū Kāmil and David with great honour and deference and was lavish with gifts, we also hear of a third Meccan sherif who presented to King 'Amāra a book "brought from the house of the

[1] See the present writer's article in *Sudan Notes and Records*, vol. xvi (1933), part 1.

prophet" and both David and Abū Kāmil testified to its authenticity. It is outside our subject to follow David Reubeni in his adventures: the point in which we are interested is his description of this primitive African king, whose adherence to Islam was still no more than nominal, but who was eager to show his religious zeal in precisely the manner which the native historians ascribe to these Funǧ kings of the sixteenth century.

We possess an excellent account of the scholars and saints of the Sudan during the Funǧ period, i e from about the year 1500 to the end of the eighteenth century, in a book entitled *Ṭabaqāt al-awliyā' wa-l-ṣāliḥīn fil-Sūdān*, composed by a native scholar of the Ǧa'liyīn tribe, Muhammad wad Dayfallāh, who lived at Ḥalfāya near the modern Khartoum, and died early in the nineteenth century.[1] It is a kind of biographical dictionary containing notices of 260 men of learning and religious distinction, and it throws much light not only on the state of learning and the religious life but also on social conditions and political history. Incidentally it is of great linguistic interest because it is largely written in the colloquial dialect and preserves many words which are now obsolete.

To those who know Islam only in the highly developed forms which it assumed in the centres of its civilization the book opens up a strange world. The Sudan for all practical purposes was cut off from the outside world; for although precarious contact with Egypt and the Red Sea coast was maintained by means of arduous caravan routes, travellers had to face great hardships and dangers from thirst and from brigands. Troubled political conditions added to the insecurity and communications were often interrupted for years. We frequently hear of men performing the pilgrimage to the holy

[1] For accounts of this work see MacMichael, *History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, vol. ii; and the present writer's paper in *Sudan Notes and Records*, vol. vi (1923). The text has been printed at the Muqtaṭaf Press, Cairo, in 1930 (ed. Sulaymān Da'ūd Mandīl); and at the Maḥmūdīya Press, Cairo, in the same year (ed Shaykh Ibrāhīm Ṣādiq) Extracts have been published by the present writer in *Sudan-Arabic Texts* (Cambridge, 1935).

places, and there are occasional references to contacts with al-Azhar in Cairo, yet the influences which reached the Sudan from these sources were feeble indeed, and it is not surprising that the country developed a tradition strongly imbued with a native flavour It knew none of the refinements of civilization, and had no share in the industries and arts which flourished in the more favoured countries of Islam. Life was close to the soil, and the struggle for bare necessities in an uncongenial climate left little opportunity for the cultivation of the things of the mind and the spirit

Every trend of thought represented in Sudanese Islam and every extravagance of its hagiology and its superstition has its origin and its parallel in the popular religion of other Muslim countries what is characteristic of the Sudan is the absence of that cultural background which in the other countries kept superstition and popular fancy within certain bounds Here there was no class of cultured men of letters and no school of rationalist theologians to combat the spurious growths of pseudo-learning and pseudo-mysticism, and even the best amongst the men of learning were tainted with leanings towards the miraculous It is significant that in the Sudan the terms *faqīh* and *faqīr*, which usually denote the opposing tendencies of rationalism and mysticism, became confused in the word *fakī* (pl *fuqarā*), which is applied indiscriminately to the scholar and the mystic and, at the lowest point of the scale, to the ignorant hedge-priest and to the dubious dealer in charms and amulets. The stream of tradition reached this remote backwater in a very attenuated form, and it would not be fair to measure the unsophisticated learning of Nubia and Sennār by the standards of Damascus and Cairo

Of the men who founded schools it was said that they "lit the fire of the Qur'ān" [1] or "the fire of study", a term which has a literal as well as a metaphorical implication, for after nightfall study was carried on by the dim light of a

[1] *Auqad nār al-Qur'ān (al-'ilm).*

bonfire, and one of the daily tasks of a learned man's disciples was to collect firewood for this purpose, as well as to labour in his cultivation and to attend to his flocks and herds. A school was called *khalwa* (a term also used for the retreat of ascetics and for the guest-chambers attached to the settlements of holy men); and a distinction was made between *khalwas* of the Qur'ān, in which the sacred book was the only subject of study, and *khalwas* of study (*'ilm*) in which lectures were given on the various branches of law and theology.

To memorize the Qur'ān was the ambition of every student, and a knowledge of the book as well as ability to quote from it aptly seems to have been a fairly common accomplishment. In the teaching no MSS were used: the teacher dictated from memory, and the students took down the daily lesson on wooden tablets from which it could be washed off after it had been thoroughly mastered. Instruction in reading and writing thus inevitably accompanied the study of the Qur'ān, but no attempt was made to explain the meaning. A complete reading was called a *Khatma* or sealing, and it gave the student who had achieved it a title to some distinction; many, of course, who began the study left off without completing it, thus we are told of an almost illiterate person, who, nevertheless, attained sainthood, that he had read no further than the *Zilzila*, i.e. the chapter entitled Earthquake, which comes early in the first section studied by beginners

In the *khalwas* of study the most popular subject was law; and as the country followed the Mālikī rite the most favoured textbooks were the *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd and the *Mukhtaṣar* of Khalīl, two well-known compendia of Mālikī *fiqh* The study of either or both of these was almost universal in the case of any aspirant to learning, the subjects next in popularity were the treatises of al-Sanūsī on the Articles of Belief, and certain books on the correct enunciation of the Qur'ān. Other subjects of the traditional scholastic course, such as Tradition and Qur'ānic exegesis and the Arabic language, are referred to much less frequently, and they seem

to have been cultivated only by exceptionally gifted scholars. From numerous passages of the *Ṭabaqāt* we get the impression that the general level of scholarship never amounted to very much, and we have to think of these scholars as men of a particularly dark age, endeavouring with the scanty means at their disposal to serve the cause of religion and learning in an environment not far removed from barbarism. Some concentrated on missionary teaching and preaching, a very necessary task amongst a people comparatively new to the faith and ignorant of its most elementary tenets. A point of some interest is that such men, who naturally sought close contact with the masses, did not disdain the rough vernacular dialect and the homely proverbs and sayings of the countryside thus Shaykh Farah wad Taktūk, a learned man of the late seventeenth century whose tomb near the Sennār dam is still visited by pilgrims, composed proverbs and homilies, and a metrical version of the articles of belief in colloquial Arabic[1], and of Ḥamad Umm Maryūm, his contemporary, it is recorded that amongst his following women outnumbered men, a fact alluded to in the following verses composed by one of his disciples —

"Our father of the patchèd cloak uncouth,
A bubbling well of wisdom and of truth;
Who turned our hearts from wrong and sins away,
And taught Fezāra women how to pray."[2]

He was a somewhat formidable puritan who insisted on very strict observance of the moral and the religious law: thus he required of penitent sinners that they should give

[1] For examples see the present writer's *Sudan-Arabic Texts*, pp 156 ff
[2] *Ṭabaqāt* (ed Ibrāhīm Sādiq, p. 67)

أبونا أبو دلقاً مرقّع
العده الرأى والصِيحْ المقّع
أبونا المنع من الماكر والكبائر
أبونا الخلا الفراريات فقائر

Mandīl's edition reads المقع at the end of the first line.

away in charity any ill-gotten gains in their possession, and that they should fast until all flesh raised up by forbidden or unlawfully acquired food had wasted away; he insisted on the seclusion of women with such strictness that not even their voices were permitted within the hearing of men, and he taught his disciples to fix their eyes on the ground when passing a woman. Of his sons-in-law he required that they should leave their wives in their father's care lest his daughters should be corrupted in strange surroundings; and if any of the people of the royal court would have dealings with him he insisted that they, as well as their attendants and children should know the six pillars of belief and the five pillars of Islam It need hardly be said that such strictness of religious observance was the exception rather than the rule, and that the common people were as quick to relapse into laxity as they were susceptible to the emotional appeal of revivalism.

Learning, then, or a reputation for learning was held in high esteem, yet the type most characteristic of the country is not the scholar but the saint, whose claim to spiritual distinction is attested by ecstatic states and visions and miracles, and who therefore has no need of the formal learning of theologians and lawyers Some of those who attained saintship pursued the ordinary studies at the beginning of their career, but there were many who repudiated all formal learning as immensely inferior to the spiritual enlightenment of sainthood. We have already met a saint who had read no further than the *Zilzila*. Another story relates that Ḥasan wad Balīl, a holy man of Dongola, used to perform the miracle of walking on the Nile by means of reciting the formula *yā hayy yā qayyūm*; yet being of Nubian speech he pronounced the latter word with a *kāf* instead of a *qāf*, a forward disciple presumed to correct his pronunciation, but he sank in the water and was only able to perform the feat when he imitated his master's mistake. At the deathbed of a holy man, named ʿAlī al-Nīl, discussion arose as to who should be his successor; the dying man said My successor shall be the herdsman,

meaning his son Abū'l-Qāsim, who was herding the cattle in a shirt black with dirt and stained with dung, and though the dying man's brothers as well as his other son were learned in the Qur'ān, he preferred Abū'l-Qāsim as being more advanced in divine knowledge On a later occasion a certain disciple noticed that this Abū'l-Qāsim was casual in performing the ritual prayers, and he secretly doubted about him in his heart. The holy man miraculously knew his most secret thoughts, and reproved him, saying when you sit with people guard your thoughts and do not imitate the lawyers whose hearts are veiled from the vision of God

One more anecdote may be quoted to illustrate the quarrel between the representatives of formal learning and the miracle-working saints it is related of a certain Shaykh Daf'allāh that he used to lie half the day amongst his women-folk studying the books of learning for his lectures. One day his daughter, Sittenā, said to him "Father, the people of Walad Abū Ṣādiq have gained power over Funğ and Arabs by their miracles, for them elephants carry *dulayb* palms from the forests of the south His disciples take his horses from Mandara to the river, a three days' journey in one noontide, and bring them back with their tails still wet. But from you and my brother Mahmūd we hear nothing but talk of books and authors" Shaykh Daf'allāh replied "The people of Walad Abū Ṣādiq possess the gift of having their prayers answered, and thus they have gained power over the world; yet at the end of time your father's principles shall prevail"

The miraculous powers of the saints have an exceedingly wide range including, as they do, a knowledge of the hidden thoughts of men and of future events; power over animals and inanimate objects, ability to fly in the air and to walk on the surface of the waters, the art of healing by prayers or incantations, and even of restoring the dead to life. A feature of which there are several instances in the lives of the saints is the occurrence of visions, based on the Mi'rāğ legend, in which the saint is transported to the heavens, where he holds

converse with angels and with the prophets and saints of Islam, and receives revelations of divine mysteries. In a saying ascribed to a holy man of the seventeenth century three degrees of sainthood are distinguished: the lowest degree is that the saint is able to fly in the air, and to walk on the water, and to speak of hidden things; the middle degree is that God grants him the creative power whereby he says to a thing "be", and it is; the high degree is that of the Quṭb or Pole. In the hierarchy of saints the Qutb occupies the highest place, and the lower ranks—the Awtād and Nuqabā' and Budalā'—are described as the troops of the Qutb. In theory there can be only one Quṭb living on earth at one time, yet we are told that of the disciples of Ibrāhīm b. Ǧābir no less than forty attained this exalted rank.

The most important earthly office of the saint is to confer spiritual benefit on those who come in contact with him, a result not achieved by teaching or preaching, or by the example of a holy life, but through the *baraka* or virtue inherent in him, which acts as an influence on his surroundings. He is visited by the faithful with the object of partaking of this influence—*lil-tabarruk*—and though he may give material assistance as a healer and a worker of miracles, it is the spiritual comfort of his presence which is most eagerly sought. This *baraka* survives after the holy man's death in his descendants and in places and objects associated with him, more especially his tomb, which becomes an object of pilgrimage. Visitors to such tombs are conscious of the feelings of awe and spiritual comfort.

The boundless extravagance which prevails in the claims made by the saints and their disciples could not fail occasionally to shock Muslim orthodoxy, but the author of the *Ṭabaqāt* probably represents the general attitude in recording them not only without disapproval but with unquestioned acceptance. The farthest limit is reached in a saying recorded of a disciple of Shaykh Daf'allāh al-'Arakī: "The name of my father Daf'allāh is the great name of God. When writing

amulets Daf'allāh used but to write his own name, repeating it a number of times "

Before leaving the saints reference must be made to the curious type of antinomian and eccentric saints; the antinomians are called Malāmatīya, a word derived from the root meaning " blame ", and their characteristic is that they ostentatiously act in a manner which exposes them to reproach and obloquy A number of different ideas and tendencies are mingled in their teaching; there is the protest against the hypocrisy of those who pray and do good deeds in public in order to gain fame; the Malāmatī argues that there is greater merit in leading the holy life under the cloak of profanity and even of evil fame Then there is the ascetic motive which causes the persecution and the indignities provoked by such a reputation to be welcomed as a form of spiritual discipline. Finally there is the belief that the saint, by virtue of his spiritual enlightenment, is no longer bound by the restrictions of moral and ritual laws. It is easy to see how the pursuit of " blame " could be made to serve as a cloak for unblushing immorality, and how the shocking behaviour of mentally deranged saints could be excused and even glorified as an expression of the Malāmatī spirit Thus we hear of a famous worker of miracles, Muhammad al-Hamīm, also known as Walad Abū Ṣādiq, who was married to seven wives at a time, the total of his wives reaching ninety, and who openly flouted the law forbidding the marrying of two sisters by one husband. At one of his numerous wedding-feasts the slave-girls sang of him —

> " He curses the devil and praises the Lord,
> And is swayed by Ḥalīma's lightest word." [1]

To which he replied. " Aye, even thus." Dushayn, the *qāḍī* of Arbağī, who is known as the Just Judge, openly reproved him

[1] *Ṭabaqāt* (ed Ibrāhīm Ṣadīq, p. 150):

الشيخ يعبد الله ويلعن ابليس
ويكون لحليمة طائعاً حبيس

and pronounced his marriages invalid, whereupon the holy man put a curse on him, and he was stricken with skin disease.

There are numerous anecdotes of holy men, who manifested their spiritual enlightenment by eccentricities of conduct such as the use of music and dancing, or the wearing of articles of apparel pertaining to women, or by trances in which they uttered verses of mystic meaning or spoke in strange tongues, or by wandering about the country owning neither homes nor worldly possessions. Such men gained the veneration of the populace, and the approval of our author, no less than the serious scholars and the orthodox saints.

A singularly observant European traveller, the Swiss John Lewis Burckhardt, visited Nubia soon after the date at which the *Ṭabaqāt* were written, and his references to the state of learning and to holy men form an interesting commentary on our author. There are few respectable families, he tells us, who have not a son or a relation that dedicates his youth to the study of the law After attending school, where they are taught as much of the Qur'ān and some other prayer-books as their memory can retain, as well as the art of writing charms and amulets, they return to their homes and, for the rest of their lives, affect great uprightness of conduct and strictness of morals, which amount, however, to little more than not to smoke tobacco or drink bouza in public, and not to frequent the resorts of debauchery. Many of them have a reputation as writers of amulets, and there are specialists for various kinds of charms such as love-receipts, febrifuges, and others.

Damer, now the chief town of the Northern Province, was in Burckhardt's time a large town or village containing about 500 houses, and the greater part of the inhabitants were Fokara or religious men. Under the rule of the Great Faky or High Pontiff, as he calls him, they formed a little hierarchical state, the affairs of which were conducted with great prudence. There were several schools, to which young men repaired from

Darfour, Kordofan, and other parts of the Soudan, and in which the reading of the Qur'ān, as well as Tafsīr and Tawḥīd, was taught. Many of the young fakys had studied at al-Azhar or at the Great Mosque at Mecca, and the learned men of Damer possessed many books on religious and judicial subjects. The family of the Mağādhīb, of which the Great Faky was the head, had the reputation of producing necromancers, or persons of supernatural powers, from whom nothing remains hidden, and whose spells nothing can withstand. Thus it was related of the father of the Great Faky, that he had caused a lamb to bleat in the stomach of a thief who had stolen and eaten it The holy men of Damer were, accordingly, held in high respect by their neighbours, and even the treacherous Bishareen had never been known to hurt any of the people of Damer, when travelling through their mountains, and they particularly feared the power of the Fakys to deprive them of rain The chief fakys lived with great ostentation of sanctity and the Great Faky lived the life of a hermit, passing the greater part of the day in seclusion without any attendants and separated from his own family About three o'clock in the afternoon he used to quit his chamber and take his seat on a large stone bench in front of his house. There he was joined by all his fraternity and public business was transacted until sunset "I went once to kiss his hands," relates Burckhardt, "and found him a venerable figure entirely wrapped up in a white cloak He asked me from whence I came, in what schools I had learnt to read, and what books I had read, and he seemed satisfied with my answers." Life at Damer, however, was not altogether saintly; for Burckhardt records with some surprise that, notwithstanding the austerity of the Fakys, there were a great many bouza shops and houses of debauchery established all over the town.

The date of Burkhardt's travels brings us within a few years of the Turco-Egyptian annexation of the Sudan The sixty years of Egyptian rule were marked by appalling misgovernment and a great increase in the slave trade with all its

attendant horrors; but it opened up the country, for the first time in its history, to the commerce of the civilized world. The official islamic institutions, introduced by the new rulers, such as *sharī'a* courts and government *qādīs*, and official mosques do not seem to have acquired much influence with the mass of the people; but it appears that the new regime gave some impetus to the spread of the Muslim Fraternities or Ṭarīqas. The holy men of Wad Ḍayfallāh's period had, it is true, claimed spiritual affiliation with these bodies; thus Shaykh Tāğ al-dīn al-Bahārī, who introduced Ṣūfism into the Sudan, was of the order of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Ğīlānī, and the Mağādhīb of Damer regarded their community as an offspring of the Shādhilīya order; yet it was not until the Turkish period that the Sudan began to adopt the typical forms of organization characteristic of these Fraternities. The Ṭarīqa which at the present day enjoys the greatest popularity, the Khatmīya or Mīrghanīya, is first heard of in the early decades of the nineteenth century, when it was introduced into the Sudan by Sayyid Muhammad 'Uthmān al-Mīrghanī, a native of Ṭā'if in the Ḥiğāz. His son and successor, Muhammad al-Ḥasan, occupies an important place in popular hagiology to the present day On the eve of the Mahdist revolt the atmosphere was still that depicted by Wad Ḍayfallāh, and the country had not ceased to produce new saints and new miracles. An Englishman writing in 1883 (Lieut.-Col. Stewart, who later fell a victim to Mahdist fanaticism) recognized that the characteristic feature of Sudanese Islam was its emotional and superstitious nature, and he drew attention to the enormous influence of the fakīs who were credited with supernatural power and almost venerated more than the prophet.

It is to this world of fakīdom that Muḥammad Aḥmad the Sudanese Mahdī belonged; in his early life he had been a disciple of a shaykh of the Sammanīya Ṭarīqa, and the movement originated by him had its roots in the tradition fostered by the holy men and their schools. Superficially it bears

some resemblance to Wahhābism, and it is probable that Muḥammad Aḥmad had some knowledge of the Arabian sect, but the psychological foundations of the two movements are profoundly different. Both professed to uphold the strict *sunna* of the prophet and his companions, and both decried the innovations which the consensus of later ages had permitted or at least condoned. But Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb derived from the scholastic tradition and never claimed to be more than a man of learning exercising the common duty of "enjoining the right and forbidding the wrong", as the phrase goes. The Sudanese Mahdī, on the other hand, appeared as a Messiah proclaiming the millennium, and he derived the sanction for his mission from a new revelation communicated to him in visions, in which he held converse with the prophets and the saints of Islam, and the Deity himself, and his activity as a preacher and a warrior were accompanied by a constant flow of miracles The Mahdī liked to represent his career as a repetition of the prophetic life thus he had his *hiǵra* and his *ansār* and his caliphs, and he wrote to Gordon and the Khedive in terms such as the Prophet is recorded to have used in letters to Khusrau and Cæsar; yet his real world was far removed from that of primitive Islam, and he stands in the direct line of succession from the scholars and saints of his own country, from whom he differed only in this, that he was a man of action as well as a preacher, and that he found the time propitious for a political movement which had far-reaching consequences The theological learning displayed in his numerous and verbose proclamations does not exceed in range or in critical judgment the normal attainments of a Sudanese scholar, while his visions and his communications with the Unseen World have a striking family resemblance to similar experiences of the saints. The public which he addressed was used to the pretensions of holy men, and not entirely uncritical of their claims; but the call to arms against the hated Turk, which was a dominant note in his teaching, made a ready appeal to a people groaning under oppression,

and the series of victories gained over an apparently invincible government convinced all doubters of the divine nature of this revelation.

The Mahdī's innovations in doctrine and ritual deserve separate treatment. In this place it is desirable to refer briefly to the survival of the Mahdist cult and the growth of a Mahdist legend long after the political power of the Mahdist state had passed away. Neither the death of the Mahdī in 1885, nor the reconquest of the Sudan by the British and Egyptian forces in 1899, was sufficient fully to discredit the pretensions of one who had told his followers that he was destined to conquer Mecca and to end his victorious career at Kūfa, and for a number of years the danger of fanatical risings inspired by the Mahdist tradition called for the anxious watchfulness of the new government.

In the survival of the Mahdist cult two tendencies are to be distinguished: the fanatical spirit of a die-hard remnant, and the more recent transformation of Mahdism into an orthodox Ṭarīqa. The former held that, as Muhammad Ahmad was the true Mahdī, the prophecies must be fulfilled which foretold that the revelation of the Mahdī was to be followed by the short reign of Antichrist and the second coming of Jesus. The new government was accordingly cast for the part of the Daǧǧāl, and the dreamers of dreams looked anxiously for the revelation of the Nabī 'Īsā. Amongst this fanatical remnant there circulated prophecies, sometimes quoted as *ḥadīth*, and sometimes ascribed to such authorities as Muhyī al-dīn b. al-'Arabī, which were intended to strengthen the belief in the true mahdīhood of Muhammad Aḥmad it had been prophesied of old, they said, that upon the coming of the Mahdī "Hicks would die of thirst and Gordon be killed at Khartoum"; and the Mahdī himself had foretold that after him there were to come "people coarse of body, red-coloured, and blue-eyed, who neither fast nor pray . . . who drink wine and smell of tobacco, and who are addicted to every form of vice." The Daǧǧāl, according to one of these vaticinia, would

ride upon the she-ass Bil, a she-ass without legs, the Arabic word *atān bil* being intended, presumably, to suggest an automobile. The Daǧǧāl, according to the legend, is one-eyed, and there are those who believe that Kitchener was one-eyed. Then there are numerous stories of signs and wonders which occurred at the final battles of Mahdism, and of the remorse of those who had fought against the believers.

It need hardly be said that such beliefs were confined to a small circle of devotees, and that their teaching had no serious effect on the mass of the people who were weary of Baqqāra tyranny, and conscious of the peace and prosperity which had come in the wake of the new government. The turbulent Baqqāra might lend a ready ear to preachers who promised them a return of their rule, and the unsophisticated tribesmen of the remote west might be impressed by apocalyptic prophecies. But for the majority of Sudanese Muslims there were but two ways many now rejected Mahdism root and branch, a course not difficult for those who had only accepted it under compulsion, and for those whose personal and political loyalties pointed in other directions. In other quarters the memory of the Mahdī continued to be revered as that of a great religious leader, and of a notable figure in history; and as time elapsed a new interpretation was put on the past. So it came about that a new Mahdist community has grown up, which recognizes the Mahdī's surviving son as its religious head, and which has the status of a Ṭarīqa rather than that of a dissenting sect. They lay no stress on the messianic implications of the Mahdist dispensation, and their adherence to the Mahdist Ṭarīqa is not incompatible with Muslim orthodoxy and with loyalty to the government. Their outward sign is the use of the Rātib, a book of prayers and Qur'ānic passages, ordained by the Mahdi for the use of his followers. The Rātib contains no reference to Muḥammad Aḥmad's messianic claims, and no elements of doctrine to which orthodox Muslims could take exception. It is similar in type to such books as the *Dalā'il al-khayrāt*

and the *Awrād* used in the several Ṭarīqas. The neo-Mahdists also study the letters and proclamations of the Mahdī, and observe certain of his ordinances such as the prohibition of tobacco.

The changes which the Sudan has undergone in the last thirty-five years have been more rapid and more far-reaching than any which it has experienced in the whole course of its history It must not be supposed, nevertheless, that the world of the old holy men has entirely passed away, or that superstition has ceased to be rife amongst the masses. The fakī is still a power in the land, and the reverence shown to men of religious distinction, and especially to the heads of the great Ṭarīqas, is a remarkable feature of the religious life. Yet, as a result of the educational system provided by the government, the Sudan now possesses the element which was lacking in the past · a class of men schooled in the best traditions of Muslim scholarship, and open to the most enlightened and most progressive tendencies in Islam. Many of the ancient Qur'ān *khalwas* have been absorbed in the educational system and, in addition to their religious function, perform useful service as elementary schools The advanced study of religious subjects is mainly carried on at an institution connected with the Omdurman mosque and supervised by an enlightened body of ʿulamā ; and the training of judges for the sharīʿa courts is provided in a special section of the Gordon College. The young men who have enjoyed these educational facilities, both religious and secular, look to the future rather than to the dreams of the past.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Near East

A Grammar of the Phœnician Language. By Zellig S. Harris. American Oriental Series, Vol. 8. 10½ × 6¼, pp. xi + 172. New Haven, Connecticut: American Oriental Society, 1936.

So many years have passed since the last effort was made to prepare a grammar of Phœnician that this is a book that has long been wanted. The sources are, in the first instance, the *C.I.S.* and Lidzbarski's *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, but numerous Phœnician and Punic texts have been brought to light in this century, and they number an important series from Byblos which, at a stroke, carried back the date of the earliest Phœnician inscriptions to the close of the second millennium B.C. Confining himself strictly to Phœnician and Punic, the author enlists the "Canaanisms" of the Amarna Letters and the Ras Shamra texts only for purposes of illustration. Egyptian transcriptions of Canaanite (or Palestinian) words and the evidence from Plautus and other classical sources are duly taken into account, and the book as a whole is an excellent survey of material which is at present somewhat scattered and miscellaneous.

After an introduction on the sources, the author discusses the alphabet, orthography, and the phonetic system in general (pp. 1–37). There follow pages on the morphology and on the little that has to be said concerning the syntax (pp. 39–66). A complete and invaluable glossary takes up 80–90 pages, and the book ends with lists of inscriptions and a bibliography, confined mainly to the literature since Lidzbarski's exhaustive survey (1898). The treatment throughout is scholarly and adequate; and since so much is given us it seems ungracious to comment upon lacunae. Students will be well advised to interleave the glossary, if not the whole book.

Turning over the pages we may make the following cursory remarks. For the Iphil conjugation (pp. 42 seq.) see also Lidzbarski's survey of the verbal forms, *Handbuch*, p. 403, where he gives the Punic העלא (p. 341, apparently wanting in Harris), and suggests certain participial forms. As for the vowel of the first syllable, it may be noticed that in Akkadian the name Hoshea appears as *a-u-si-'* in the case of the king of Israel, and as *u-si-'* in the Aramæan bilingual, *C.I.S.*, ii, 17. As for the suffixes of the 3rd sing. masc. (p. 52) it may be useful to take note of the curious ויקדשיו in the Nash papyrus. The ת in זת (masc. and fem.) is described as "adverbial" (p. 54), whereas it is surely better to compare the "deictic *t*" in המת as on p. 47. Apropos of the forms נתן and יתן (p. 44) it seems appropriate to compare נצב and יצב, and to proceed to ask whether the special forms הציק, הצית, etc, may not point to the existence of the roots נצק and נצת by the side of יצק and יצת. For אזרם (p 75), cf. Torrey, *AJSL.*, xxxiii, 58; for חזען (p. 101) Cooke's note may be referred to, and for ציץ (p. 141) see A. H. Lloyd, *Numismatic Chronicle*, v (1925), 129 sqq As for מארח as a title of Eshmun (p 115), may one think of a denominative of אֲרֻכָה "the healer"; with the interchange of ח and כ; cf אָנֹכִי and אֲנַחְנוּ, and note that in Jer. xxxiii, 6, where it occurs, the verb רפא is also used as in the Phœnician inscription. On p. 127 the form סלמת (fem. plur.) for סמלת, *C.I.S.*, i, 88, 5, might have been noticed Also for סםמי (ib), see Peters and Thiersch, *Painted Tombs of Marissa*, p. 39. In the bilingual in which this name occurs, the name בעלשלם corresponds to the Greek Πραξίδημος; this might be noted on p. 90.

These haphazard jottings—and every reader will make his own—illustrate the timeliness of a compilation which every Semitic student will be glad to have and—to repeat a suggestion—should hasten to interleave.

A. 707. S. A. Cook.

LE TOMBEAU D'AMONMOS. 4me partie. Tombes Thébaines: Nécropol de Dirâ' Abû'n-Nâga. By GEORGE FOUCART. Mémoires publiés par les Membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. Tome lvii. 14¼ × 11, pls. xxxvi. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1925.

The present work adds another member to M. Foucart's useful series of Theban tombs, and one which is to be welcomed for a special reason. Hitherto the invaluable book, *The Tomb of Amenemhēt*, by Dr. Alan Gardiner and Mr. N. de G. Davies, which is the classic work of reference regarding the decoration of an Eighteenth Dynasty tomb, has had no corresponding volume serving the same purpose for the Nineteenth Dynasty. *The Tomb of Amonmos* may possibly be taken as such, at least in the fulness of its ritual scenes, although these resemble those of Amenemhēt in their indifferent state of preservation The tomb is situated in the Dirâ' Abu'n-Nága, and its owner was high priest of the deified Pharaoh Amenhotep I, patron of the Theban necropolis The painted scenes are rich in detail, and frequently are reproduced by M. Foucart in two forms, as they appear in the early drawings by Hay and as they exist now. The comparison is, alas, a sad one. Scenes of special interest are the funeral procession (pl. 2), with the ceremony of sprinkling milk, discussed in some detail by the author in the accompanying volumes of text; the boat shrine of Queen Nefertari-Aāhmes (pl. 4), mother of Amenhotep I, the statue of Amenhotep being carried in procession (pl. 6); the worship of departed kings of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties (pl. 12); scenes of wrestling and single-stick fighting (pl. 13); and a statue of the deified Amenhotep being carried out of his temple. The scenes are well drawn and impressive in appearance, but throughout are strongly marked with that *embarras de richesses* which is so characteristic of Nineteenth Dynasty art.

A. 669. ALAN W. SHORTER.

LISTE DES STRATÈGES DES NOMES ÉGYPTIENS À L'ÉPOQUE GRÉCO-ROMAINE. By M. HENRI HENNE. L'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire: Tome LVI. 14 × 11, pp. xxii + 71 + 113. Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut, 1935.

This work has been expected for some time, and its publication was already announced as far back as 1927. It now appears, however, for the first time. The author takes the view, quite rightly, that for the study of the Nome and its administration, a close study of the "Stratège", the chief functionary of the Nome, is essential.

In order to accomplish this study it is considered necessary that there should be a complete list of the names, so far as can be ascertained. Until recently no such lists existed. To make a complete list was the original intention of the compiler, but in the present work the list of names of the Roman epoch compiled by Martin has been supplemented, and a list of names of the Ptolemaic period has been added, together with a complete alphabetical index. At some future date, it is the intention of the author to compile a complete list of names This present work appears to have been carried out with the greatest care, and due note has been taken of other recent publications.

An encyclopædic work, such as this is, should long be the standard work on the subject, and should be of inestimable value in providing just that very information which otherwise is extremely difficult to obtain.

The alphabetical list, which occupies pages 89–113, and is arranged according to the Greek alphabet, should be of the greatest value, since it provides both the date and the reference for the names where such information is available.

A. 668 JOHN ROBERT TOWERS.

Far East

HOANG HO-PAI HO. Comptes-rendus de onze années (1923–1933) de séjour et d'exploration dans le Bassin du Fleuve Jaune, du Pai Ho et des autres tributaires du Golfe du Pei-Tcheu-Ly. No. 38 of *Publications du Musée Hoang Ho-Pai ho.* By ÉMILE LICENT, S.J $12\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$. Tome i, pp. 4 + 296, pls. xv; 1935. Tome ii, pp. 297 to 718, pls. xvi–xxi; 1936. Tome iii, pp. 719 to 1064, pls. xxii–xxxvi; 1936. Tables, pp. 1065 to 1131; 1936. Charts, 77 + 21. $21\frac{1}{4} \times 16\frac{1}{2}$, n.d. Tientsin: Mission de Sienhsien.

These ponderous three volumes, a continuation of *Dix Années dans le Bassin du Fleuve Jaune et autres tributaires du Golfe du Pei-Tcheu-Ly*, published in 1924, consist of over a thousand quarto pages, in addition to a smaller volume containing index and table of contents and to the volume of maps and plates. They appear to be a reprint of unedited diaries recounting many years of devoted labour on the part of Father Licent. The work may be described as a combination of German attention to detail, French lucidity, and, one must add with regret, of an inability to distinguish between the essential and trivial

It is far beyond the power of the present writer, and possibly of any reviewer, to criticize the mass of information collected with such labour and devotion. To do so a knowledge would be required of mineralogy, ornithology, geology, meteorology, archæology, anthropology, biology, entomology, and many other sciences as well as of the terrain, which includes the Sungari basin of Manchuria as well as the basins of the Huang Ho, Pai Ho, "and other rivers flowing into the Gulf of Pechili" Intermingled, however, with information of great interest and value, items constantly occur which jar the seeker after knowledge, but at the same time do not attract the interest of the casual reader To show what is referred to, the following instances are given, one from each volume :—

Vol. 1, p. 57, recounts a case of hostility to a Catholic mission, and pp. 71 and 72 one of hostility to the author.

Vol. 2, pp. 688 and 689 are largely taken up with the difficulties and unpleasantnesses of travel by rail and road in China.

Vol. 3, p. 771. The author recounts with a wealth of detail his meeting in Japan with a gentleman who was about to return to France to take part in the Citroen Transasiatic Expedition.

The numerous photographs are not well reproduced according to European or American standards, and a large portion of them might have been omitted without lessening the value of the work.

The route surveys, of which 77 sheets of maps and photographs are given in a separate volume measuring 21 inches by 16, appear to have been carefully made. The printing has been done with commendable clearness.

A. 805. H. I. HARDING.

THE BIRTH OF CHINA A SURVEY OF THE FORMATIVE PERIOD OF CHINESE CIVILIZATION. By HERRLEE GLESSNER CREEL. 8 × 5½, pp. 396; pls. 16, figs. 2 and map. London Jonathan Cape, 1936. 15*s*.

Among the many thousands of books by Western writers on Chinese subjects, probably those relating to history are the least satisfying. A comprehensive history of China is so immense a task that it is almost beyond the capacity of one man; but, apart from that, the attempts have invariably suffered from our notion that the last few centuries of free intercourse with the West were of a major importance justifying treatment at grossly disproportionate length Then there has been an apparent disregard of the fact that authentic records hardly began before the *Ch'un-ch'iu* period (722 B.C.). Traditional accounts of earlier ages have been accepted and set down as history, though they are mainly remnants of

folklore greatly distorted and obscured by idealists who sought to systematize the past, upholding the fiction that China started from a Utopia

The truth is that the beginnings of Chinese civilization must be learnt afresh from material remains. The book under review is the first in a European language to make an attempt in accordance with the times During four years of intensive study in China Dr Creel gathered from Chinese scholars and personal observation the results of an extraordinary archæological activity which has marked the present century His service to Western readers in thus making known these momentous revelations is specially notable, because hitherto they have been only partly accessible to the few who read Chinese Take, for instance, the exploration of An-yang carried out since 1928 by the Academia Sinica Four volumes of preliminary reports in Chinese have been published under the editorship of Dr. Li Chi; but they do not include the surprising yields from the so-called royal tombs which were opened systematically for the first time in 1934, though they had been plundered long ago. Only scanty reviews have been attempted on these preliminary reports—two by Dr. Eberhard in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* of 1932 and 1933, and two in this *Journal* of July, 1933, and July, 1935 Then there are the finds at the Hsin Ts'un cemetery which were briefly described last year in the Academia Sinica publication, entitled *T'ien yeh k'ao ku pao kao*, containing also accounts of other sites, some prehistoric. The Hsin Ts'un finds illuminate early Chou culture, linking it with the parent Shang-Yin. Again the medium is Chinese, and hardly any notice of these reports has appeared in a European language One can well understand the lack of translations. Many of the conclusions are as yet but tentative, and years must elapse before the staff of the Academia Sinica can sort, photograph, study, and definitively pronounce upon the vast amount of excavated material. Mention should be made, too, of a field of research in which rapid advances have been made recently. A group

of Chinese scholars has re-examined inscriptions on bronzes with enterprise and critical acumen.

Therefore this book is needed by those eager for a comprehensive survey of the fresh and abundant clues to the great enigma of Chinese origins. Dr. Creel's aim has been "to make it readable, and as interesting as possible, for the general intelligent public". He has ably succeeded, and though he says that he has not written for specialists, certainly the specialists will be among his appreciative readers.

A 722. W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

THE CRIMINAL CODE OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA. Translated into English by CHANG-LIN HSIA and BOYER P H CHU. Shanghai · Kelly and Walsh, Ltd., 1936.

The British Criminal Law, like the British Constitution, seems to work fairly well without being put into writing, but there is no tendency in this country to believe that because we have no penal code, "the nations not so blessed as we" would be better off without one. Indeed, in each case of the surrender of British extra-territorial privileges in countries like Japan and Siam, the history of the antecedent negotiations shows the importance attached by our Government to the formulation of the codes, and especially the penal code, to which British subjects were to be subjected after surrender The Chinese Criminal Code may perhaps be thought to be of more interest—from this point of view—than that of other foreign countries, inasmuch as China will soon be the only country in which extra-territorial jurisdiction still lingers. It is to be noted that in the "Memorandum for Treaty Modification" communicated by the British Government to the Chinese authorities in January, 1927, the Government declared themselves "prepared, as soon as the revised Chinese Penal Code is promulgated and applied in Chinese courts, to consider its application in British courts in China". In the subsequent negotiations which have been carried on with a view to the eventual abolition of British courts in China, the question of the suitability of Chinese codes has no doubt

occupied as prominent a position as it did in the above declaration.

The code, of which the present volume is a translation, came into force on 1st July, 1935, being the result of a revision by the Criminal Codification Commission of the Criminal Code of 1928, which in its turn was based on the Provisional Criminal Code of 1912. The translators observe that in China the revision of the 1918 code was necessary in order to make its provisions consistent with the social ideas and principles of the Kuomintang.

Book I contains twelve chapters on "General Provisions", mostly in regard to punishments "Principal" punishments are (1) death; (2) imprisonment for life; (3) imprisonment for a definite period (maximum twenty years); (4) detention (maximum four months), (5) fine. "Accessory" punishments are (1) deprivation of civil rights; (2) forfeiture. It will be noted that—in theory at least—the bamboo has disappeared from Chinese courts of justice. The method of carrying out sentences of death is not specified in the code

Book II—"Specific Offences and Punishments"—sets forth thirty-five offences with their appropriate penalties. The only feature in this list which is noteworthy as a departure perhaps from usual legislation is in regard to adultery: it appears that, in the 1928 code, adultery on the part of a wife only was punishable, but after much discussion and as a result of protests from feminist societies in China, adultery of a husband and of a wife are now subject to the same penalty; the maximum, which in the 1928 code was two years, having been reduced to one year The other party in the adultery is liable to the same punishment. Whether or not the treatment of adultery as a criminal offence is an expression of "the social ideas and principles of the Kuomintang", it is quite in accordance with the practice of pre-Republican China, when a district magistrate, "the father and mother of the people," would naturally send a man or a woman to prison for immoral acts in violation of the basic principles of family life.

A. 808. W. P. KER.

MÉGALITHES DU HAUT-LAOS (HUA PAN, TRANH NINH). By Mlle. MADELEINE COLANI. 11 × 7. Vol. i, pp. 1–271 and pls. i–lxix; vol. ii, pp. 1–358, pls. lxx–cii; coloured pls. 2, map 1, many figs. Paris Les Éditions d'Art et Histoire, 1935.

It is a great pleasure to welcome this important work upon the megaliths of Haut-Laos, French Indo-China—a *magnum opus* of the apparently delicate, but intrepid and indomitable little lady to whom we owe much for throwing light upon the prehistory of South-East Asia Her two volumes are so filled with material that, in the short space allowed to a review, it is possible to do little more than give some slight idea of what they contain.

The book is divided into four parts, and the first deals with the ancient menhirs and the cromlechs (recent) of the Hua Pan Province, while the second treats of the ancient funerary monoliths of the Tran Ninh Province, comprising stone jars, stone disks, and bas reliefs, etc, funerary stones, and the cave at Ban Ang that was anciently used as a crematorium and columbarium The first set of plates follows here at the end of vol i. The second part is continued into the second volume, where the author describes her finds in the Ban Ang crematorium, the contents of the stone jars, and the objects excavated around them and the funerary stones

The third part (second volume) is devoted to discussing the relative ages of the objects discovered and of the jars, the relative age of the most ancient objects from the Ban Ang cave, and the possible ages of the Tran Ninh stone jars, and the Hua Pan menhirs After this, in the same part, the industries in connection with the ancient monuments, as exemplified in the author's discoveries, are considered—cutting and polishing of stone, the cornelian bead industry, ceramics and their decoration, glass objects and those of bronze and iron. Salt routes in relation to ancient monuments come under review and also such funerary rites in South-East Asia and elsewhere, as tend to throw light upon the author's

investigations. A comparison is made, too, between the stone images of South Sumatra and the bas reliefs of Tran Ninh, the stone jars of Kachar and those of Haut-Laos, etc. The part concludes with a section on the iron age in Malaya, based on the present writer's work, and a summary.

The fourth part is devoted to supplementary sections on ethnography, results of the microscopical examination of glass beads, indices, plate descriptions, addenda, etc., etc., as well as to the remainder of the plates, including two coloured plates of beads

In some preliminary remarks Mlle Colani makes it clear that the stone jars are funerary urns Where suitable (fairly soft) rocks were found stone jars were made, but where the rocks were not easily workable (gneiss and mica schist), but split naturally into flakes, menhirs, with disks subtending them, were erected, as at San Kong Phan. It may be remarked here, however, that the menhirs are older than the jars.

The making of the menhirs is attributed by the present-day inhabitants of the district where they are found to one of the chiefs of the Kha Yeni who lived when the sky was very low.[1]

The menhirs are frequently set in rows, three or more deep, and such alignments are often parallel to footpaths. The disks are often subtended by the menhirs[2] Both are rudely fashioned, the menhirs (as some near Malacca in the Malay Peninsula) being flakes, often of very considerable size, perhaps slightly shaped at the edges. The disks are recumbent, and various types of chambers are found below them. Some menhirs are without disks, though chambers are present. The objects found in connection with the menhirs come from around them and from the sepulchral chambers. They comprise small engraved stone disks of fine schistose rock, many of which have star-like designs upon their faces, pottery and bronze rings. Some slight human remains were found

[1] For a similar belief in British North Borneo about the sky having once been low *vide* the reviewer's *Studies in Religion*, etc., p 88.

[2] *Vide* pl. xiv, and p. 89, of *Papers on the Ethnology and Archæology of the Malay Peninsula* for an apparently similar association in that country.

shaped or sub-cylindrical), glass beads (green, rose, and terra cotta), as well as a few "pseudo-Roman" glass beads and pottery sherds treated with gum on the exterior [1] or on both faces The contemporary pottery vessels were often of the round-bottomed pipkin type. Some pieces were found decorated with chevron patterns of parallel lines or with designs of a similar type, but curvilinear. Undoubtedly such ornamentation was produced with a comb-like tool. Iron knives and spearheads occurred, as did other articles in the same metal, and also some small articles in bronze, notably little bells, a coiled bracelet, and a human statuette. Further discoveries were neolithic implements and also some objects of comparatively recent manufacture

In addition to the specimens from around the stone jars the author also deals with those from the *champs de pierres funéraires* (only mentioned casually in this review up to the present) These are found in the same province, the stones being, in some cases, intermingled with jars The funerary stones can be divided into three classes, menhirs, dolmens, and recumbent stones, naturally rounded, worked a little by man, or intact. They are sometimes grouped in lines, several stones deep, more or less parallel to paths and appear to be of much the same materials as the jars One or two of the clay vessels found near these stones and near the jars contained traces of human bones, but some of them were probably used to hold offerings.

The stone jars are of the iron age of South-East Asia, though Mlle. Colani believes that the stone age had not long passed away She is, for various reasons, inclined to date them at about the first century of the Christian Era

A. 642. IVOR H. N EVANS.

[1] Modern Bajau pottery, made in the Tempasuk District of British North Borneo, is treated in this way

RASSEN- UND KULTURGESCHICHTE DER NEGRITO-VOLKER SUDÓST-ASIENS. Band I. By Dr. WALTER NIPPOLD. Studien zur Volkerkunde, Band 11. 8¾ × 5¾. pp. xii + 430, maps 4. Leipzig. Jordan and Gramberg, 1936. RM. 7.

This work deals for the most part with the Negritos of the Andaman Islands, the Malay Peninsula, and the Philippines, and mainly with special reference to their physical characteristics and culture, which latter is discussed in full detail. The author has mastered the literature which has accumulated on these and cognate subjects (and is represented by a very long bibliography at the end of his book), and he discusses it critically. Such a work as this is therefore extremely useful, and it has been very well done The evidence is clearly set out and the reader is left to judge whether he can accept all the conclusions and inferences which the author has drawn from it.

The book is an amplification of an academic thesis accepted by the University of Gottingen and the author intends to supplement it by another volume dealing with Negrito religion.

A 791. C O. BLAGDEN.

LES PAYSANS DU DELTA TONKINOIS Étude de Géographie Humaine. By PIERRE GOUROU Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient Vol. XXVII 11¼ × 7, pp. 666, pls. xlviii, figs. 119, maps 9. Paris. Les Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1936

Cette thèse de doctorat, présentée en Sorbonne, est une étude magistrale sur le Delta du Tonkin,—région naturelle d'une parfaite uniformité qui comprend 15 000 km^2 dans les terres alluvionnaires du Fleuve Rouge et du Thai Binh.

Se prêtant à la culture intensive du riz, il nourrit 6.500.000 Annamites, soit une moyenne de 430 habitants par km^2. Cette densité de la population atteint le chiffre de 1.500 au

km² pour 460.000 h. et le dépasse pour 295 villages. La natalité est une des plus fortes du monde. L'excédent annuel des naissances est de 20 p. 1.000. Un homme âgé aurait une moyenne de 5 enfants vivants. Dans certains districts catholiques controlés par les missionnaires Européens, l'accroissement humain a été, en 14 ans, de 39%. Pour tout le Delta Tonkinois, l'excédent annuel est de 60 à 100.000 Annamites.

Les émigrations spontanées et organisées, n'absorbent que 14.800 unités par an. L'émigration dans la montagne du Tonkin, (qui est 10 fois moins peuplée) pourrait être amplifiée. L'Annamite répugne très fortement à la montagne à cause de son insalubrité et parce que le sol ne se prête pas à la culture du riz.

L'auteur s'applique ensuite à définir le village du Delta Tonkinois d'un type uniforme et original. Il y en a 7,000 sur 7·5 % de la superficie totale du pays. Il forme un bloc verdoyant, cloturé de hauts bambous qui le protègent mieux que des murailles de pierre. Il s'administre lui-même, jouit d'une réelle autonomie politique, perçoit les impôts, possède des terres. Les édifices publics comprennent la maison commune, qui est en même temps le temple du génie du village, la pagode boudhique, les temples des lettres et de la guerre, les autels aux morts. Les Annamites, très attachés à leur village, y mènent une vie sociale et religieuse d'une intensité extraordinaire. Ils habitent des maisons, d'aspect uniforme, simples mais solides et dignes, juste posées sur le sol et le plus souvent au toit de paille.

Les paysans du Delta Tonkinois vivent de la culture du riz. Il y a 500.000 hectares de rizières à deux récoltes. Le rendement moyen étant de 1.400 kilog. par hectare, il y a 22 millions de quintaux de riz pour tout le pays. Malgré son énorme densité, la consommation locale s'équilibre. La sous-alimentation est manifeste sous le rapport des éléments azotés et graisseux. Bien que le poisson sec ou frais soit un appoint très important, la viande de porc n'est point de tous les repas

pauvres. Les viandes de bœuf ou de buffle sont à peu près inconnues.

Le surpeuplement laisse disponible sur place une main d'oeuvre abondante qui fournit aux cultures alimentaires, aux cultures industrielles (sériciculture, poteries, vanneries, etc.) à la pêche, à l'élevage. Mais les Annamites du Delta vivent en économie fermée. Ils achètent et vendent peu. Leur contribution au commerce mondial est presque nulle. Le mouvement d'affaires avec les autres pays de l'Indochine et l'étranger peut être évalué à 300 millions de francs soit moins de 50 francs par paysan. L'indice de niveau de vie confirme ces faits. Une famille de cinq personnes d'aisance moyenne dépense 800 francs papier par an, la même famille pauvre seulement 450 ou 500 francs, soit une dépense quotidienne de 2 fr. 15 ou de 1 fr 35 à 1 fr. 20.

Le Delta Tonkinois surpeuplé trouve dans un travail intense le riz nécessaire à sa subsistance. La pauvreté et la sous-alimentation en viande et graisse n'affectent pas sa prolificité. L'équilibre moral et social reste remarquable. L'œuvre des autorités françaises doit se poursuivre avec prudence et sagesse, dans le cadre de cette civilization traditionnelle Annamite qui a fait ses preuves.

A. 796. DR. JOSEPH VASSAL.

Middle East

ASSAMESE GRAMMAR AND ORIGIN OF THE ASSAMESE LANGUAGE, WITH AN INTRODUCTION CONTAINING A SHORT HISTORY OF ASSAMESE LITERATURE. By KALIRAM MEDHI 10 × 6¾, pp. cxxiii + 539. Gauhati: Published by the Author, 1936. Rs. 6.

It is perhaps a matter for surprise that the Assamese language should have had to wait so long for a full and comprehensive grammar, although other languages in India have been so fully dealt with by competent scholars. Assamese, it is true, has been to some extent noticed by Robinson in his grammar, printed at Serampore as far back as the year 1839,

and by Nathan Brown in *Grammatical Notices of the Assamese Language* (Sibsagar, 1848), and by Bronson in his *Dictionary of the Assamese Language* (Sibsagar, 1867), and lastly by G. F. Nicholl in his *Assamese Grammar* of 1885, which suffers from the same defect as the Bengali grammar by the same author, that it is in the Roman character only. Mr. Medhi's work could hardly be improved upon, it has been very fully documented throughout, and from the well reasoned discussions it contains shows the immense amount of industry and care which have been exercised in its preparation. Mr. Medhi is to be heartily congratulated on the result of what must have been many years' labour. The format and printing of the work, moreover, leave nothing to be desired, and the price is a most moderate one, i.e. in cloth Rs. 6 only.

The author says with reference to the origin and growth of the language that these "are not so simple and clear as we generally suppose". He discards the theory that Assamese is a daughter of Sanskrit, although later in his introduction he says "we may say that almost the whole of the Assamese grammar and vocabulary, except the elements of a few other languages, noticed later on, are to be found in Sanskrit". He adds "Assamese, like Hindusthani, is Vedic or pre-Vedic Sanskrit, although it has greatly assimilated various other elements, notably of the Bodo group" It is a question, however, whether the author should not have written Hindī for "Hindusthani" in view of the fact that there is a very considerable admixture of Persian words in Hindustani. The author has not confined himself to the standard form of the language, but has noticed the dialects of Assamese in current use in the Brahmaputra Valley, e g. the language of Lower Assam, which Assamese of the upper districts call "Dekhari". The spelling adopted is that of the Hemakosha, which has been long considered to be the standard dictionary of the language. There are four introductions covering cxxiv pages of print, all in English. These are most interesting and deserve careful study.

Turning to grammar the author finds that Assamese pronunciation is, in several particulars, peculiar and unlike that found in the modern vernaculars of Eastern India. He says: "Assamese has really no cerebrals." The Sanskrit cerebrals are pronounced in Assamese half-cerebral and half-dental, rather more dental than cerebral. "The Assamese pronunciation of the sibilants is peculiar in India and evidently a relic of the pre-Vedic Aryan pronunciation." The author quotes Mr. Brown, who says that the Assamese pronunciation of *sh* is akin to the Greek pronunciation of the Greek letter χ, e.g. *kes* ('hair'), *barsana* 'rain', *sāthi* ('sixty'), and *son* ('gold'). Here we may compare Nicholl's statement on p. 325 of his grammar. Attention is drawn to the remarks (pp. lvi, lvii, et seq). Khasi does not belong to the Kuki-chin group of languages, but to the Mon-Khmer, of the Austro-Asiatic group, *vide* remarks of Sir George Grierson and Pater Schmidt of Vienna

The Alphabet —In the printed Assamese books the whole of the letters are the same as those used in Bengali except ৰ and ৱ. Nowadays Assamese frequently write র, as in Bengali, instead of ৰ, and do not often distinguish ৱ from ব. The emissives ঃ *h* (*bisarga*), *anusvār* ং and the *chandra-bindu*, or *anunāsik* (moon dot ঁ), are also in use. There are the same compound letters as in Bengali.

Pronunciation —Here I cannot do better than quote from Nicholl. "The vowel powers are in many respects the same as in Bengali, but there are several points of difference, notably the short *a*, with its varying and conventional sounds, presents difficulties which are not easily overcome. This vowel fluctuates between the long and short *o* of *to-morrow*, and the meaning of a word depends on its proper utterance; thus ***kalá*** (= *kolá*) "black", but *kalá* (= *kŏlá*) "deaf"; ***mah*** (= *moh*) "buffalo", but *mah* (= *mŏh*) "mosquito". Much more could be written on the subject of pronunciation, and

indeed generally regarding this most interesting and valuable work, but unfortunately space does not permit.

In conclusion may I commend this grammar to all students of the Assamese language and to philologists and ethnologists generally.

A. 865. P. R. GURDON.

THE ROAD TO OXIANA. By ROBERT BYRON. 8 × 5½, pp. viii + 341, ills. 16, maps 5. London: Macmillan, 1937. 10*s*. 6*d*

The value of this work is that its author has visited and described authoritatively practically all the Moslem monuments in Iran and Afghanistan He especially eulogizes the *Gunbad-l-Kabus*, situated to the north-west of Astrabad, the capital of the erstwhile Hyrcania , and he pours out in beautiful language his intense admiration for the exquisite mosque of Gauhar Shad at Meshed, which he considers to be the finest example of Moslem art in Central Asia.

Throughout the book the reader realizes that Mr. Byron's judgment is based on deep knowledge of his subject. Apart from this, his description of scenery is delightful, and his travel comments are interesting and amusing, although he certainly does not suffer Oriental red tape patiently. His illustrations are excellent and complete a really valuable book which distinctly fills a gap.

A 847 P. M. SYKES.

India

GAṆEŚA: A MONOGRAPH ON THE ELEPHANT-FACED GOD. By ALICE GETTY. With an Introduction by ALFRED FOUCHER. 11½ × 9, pp. xxiii + 103, pls 42, figs. 8. Oxford · Clarendon Press, 1936. 42*s*.

In her monograph on Gaṇeśa, Miss Getty presents a mass of carefully arranged information regarding the history of this strange deity, not only in India proper, but also in Greater

India and the Far East. The Introduction, from the able pen of M. Alfred Foucher, gives a lucid account in what manner Gaṇeśa must have risen from the crowd of animal-headed *gaṇas* to become first their lord and leader and, finally, the son of Śiva and Pārvatī. It is not surprising that Gaṇeśa is one of the most popular members of the Hindu Pantheon, considering that his chief function is the removal of obstacles. Hence his epithets *vighnapa*, *vighnanāśana*, etc. Obstacles may also present themselves in the acquisition of learning, as is testified in a well-known stanza from the *Pañcatantra* (*bahavaś ca vighnāh*). This explains why Gaṇeśa is often regarded as a patron of letters (pp. 4, 5). Legends relating to him are few in number; they evidently serve the purpose of accounting for Gaṇeśa's most conspicuous features—his elephant-head (pp. 6–7) and his single tusk (p. 15)

Miss Getty's book is illustrated by means of an imposing number of well-chosen and well-reproduced Ganeśa figures, in stone and metal, from India, Further India, Indonesia, Tibet, Turkestan, China, and Japan. While the author offers us such a wealth of iconographical materials, it would seem ungrateful to wish for more; yet we deplore the absence of the curious terra-cotta panel from Bhītargaon, mentioned by M. Foucher (p. xx). There is also the inscribed bronze image, still worshipped at Brahmor (Sanskrit Brahmapura), the former capital of Chamba State. The specimens from the Malay Archipelago, reproduced in plates 29–32, are very representative, and include some marvellous examples of Indo-Javanese art. The fine little bronze in the Leyden Museum (pl. 32*a*) we feel inclined to attribute to the Pāla School of Eastern India. The "bronze figure from Borneo" (pl. 32*b*) has a strange, almost spurious, appearance. We doubt whether it really comes from Borneo, which is not known otherwise to have produced bronze statuettes of Hindu gods. As to the little bronze from Bali, which was presented to the Kern Institute by Dr. Korn (not Kern!), the author is probably right in assigning it an Indo-Chinese origin. The

plates include a few reproductions of miniatures (two in colours) and drawings. Those of the frontispiece and plate 12, which are described as "Rajput", I would attribute to the Kangra School In a fine miniature (pl. 11) from the "Bibliothèque Nationale", Ganeśa is shown seated between two female figures whom the author tentatively identifies as *Buddhi* and *Siddhi* Cannot the lady with the *vīnā*, sitting on a lotus-seat to the right of the god, be Sarasvatī? The other, standing with a chowree behind him, appears to be merely a menial The text contains few misprints *Bhāla candra* (p. 16, also in *Stotra*) should be *Bāla*°, for *Chantal* (p. 55) read *Changal*, for *Bhaṭṭārī-guru* (p. 60), *Bhaṭṭāra*-°; in title of pl 22c, read *Kantaka-Cetiya*

We conclude this review by congratulating the authoress on the completion of her work which is a very welcome addition to our knowledge of Greater Indian iconography.

A 745. J. PH. VOGEL.

JAINA CHITRAKALPADRUMA. A Treatise in Gujarātī on Jain Art in Gujarāt from early times down to the 20th Century By SARABHAI MANILAL NAWAB 10 × 7½ pp. 16 + 232, pls cvii. Ahmadabad, 1936.

The sub-title of this beautifully illustrated work represents it as being a collection of characteristic specimens of Gujarātī Jain art, and it is obvious that the illustrations, many of which are in colour, are the most important part of the book. These cover the complete development of pre-Mughal Indian painting as utilized by the Śvetāmbara Jains of Gujarāt for the embellishment of their manuscripts; it is curious that the Digambaras did not begin to illustrate their books till the seventeenth century. Although a few Vaishṇava works are known, it is clear that the Gujarātī school flourished largely upon Jain patronage. It is not unique, however, for Buddhist works emanating from Eastern India exist, and in the Oriya country the style was preserved until the beginning

of the seventeenth century. It may be said that medieval Indian painting, including the work of both these areas, is distinguished by its use of the stylus and dye-colours on palm-leaf. Paper intrudes later as a substitute for palm-leaf without altering the style appreciably. It was left to the Mughals to introduce a new technique, Persian in origin, like all the fashions of their courts, the use of tempera colours on a ground prepared with lime. If it is convenient to create a subdivision of this school, so as to group together the proliferation of the fashion in numerous petty courts, and to call this subdivision "Rajput", it cannot be denied that these paintings are technically one with the Mughal paintings and distinct from the works of the older school of Gujarāt and Eastern India. That this school was not merely local or provincial is proved by the occurrence in the Gujarātī paintings of many motives and mannerisms which can be traced direct to the Byzantine tradition

This volume comes from more than one hand, for instance, an excellent chapter upon writing and writing materials is contributed by Muni Punyavijayaji As a whole the text is good, though the presentation of the essential fact is sometimes a little obscure and often tantalizing in its bland reliance upon nominalism The whole volume is, however, obviously the production of enthusiasts, and is in itself a valuable contribution. A condensed English translation would be welcome.

A. 682. K. de B. CODRINGTON.

THE ASOKAN ROCK AT GIRNĀR. By HIRANANDA SASTRI. Published under the authority of the Government of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda. Gaekwad's Archæological Series, No ii, $11\frac{1}{2} \times 9$, pp. viii + 58. Baroda. State Press, 1936. Rs. 1–3–0.

Dr. Hirananda Sastri, Director of Archæology in Baroda State, has achieved a very useful piece of work. He tells us that he found visitors who had been to Girnār returning

disappointed at not finding the means to understand the inscriptions. He has therefore issued the fourteen rock-inscriptions of Aśoka, as found at Girnār, with the inscription of Rudradāman and that of Skandagupta in the same place. The text is given in Devanāgarī, with a transliteration and an English translation. He does not pretend to originality, as the Aśokan portion, he tells us, is based on the transcript and translation of Hultzsch, with only a few slight changes here and there. Similarly in the historical notes on Aśoka he has based his remarks on Vincent Smith. He never ventures to contradict this authority, and does not seem to be aware that Hultzsch's translation is in conflict with Vincent Smith. Hence the same word is recorded in the index both as a river of South India and as Ceylon. There are some discrepancies between the Devanāgarī, the transliteration, and the translation of the inscription of Rudradāman. But as it is very difficult for the general reader to know where to find any trustworthy record or interpretation, the present production will be welcomed both as an introduction to the subject and as a convenient *vade mecum* for the visitor.

A. 823. E. J. THOMAS.

DAŚOPANISHADS. With the Commentary of Srī Upanishad-Brahma-Yogin. Vol. I Published for the Adyar Library (Theosophical Society), 1935.

We are indebted to the Theosophical Society for having made a considerable number of manuscripts in its possession accessible to a wide public by issuing commented editions of them Thus, besides the present volume, which contains the first eight of the Major Upaniṣads, namely Īśa, Kena, Kaṭha, Praśna, Muṇḍaka, Māṇḍūkya, Taittirīya, and Aitareya, there have already appeared in this series the ninety-eight Minor Upaniṣads with the same commentary, and, in another volume, seventy-one more Upaniṣads, most of which had never been published before (Preface).

The commentator, Sri Upanishad-Brahma-Yogin, doubtless belongs to the Advaita school of Śankara. His method, however, consists not so much in giving a proper sub-commentary on the lines of the Advaita school, but rather in boiling down, sometimes too much,[1] Śaṅkara's detailed explanations through similes which are such a valuable means of logical evidence.

On the other hand, B.'s commentary is a welcome contribution to our Upaniṣadic knowledge in that it supplies a deficiency of Śaṅkara's work by commenting also on the first three chapters in the second Āraṇyaka of the Aitareyāraṇyaka, the commentary on which, if it has existed at all, has at any rate not come down to us. In the editor's opinion, however, the fact that B. has commented on these chapters tends to prove that there is an Advaita tradition based on Śankara also with regard to them. This seems to be confirmed by Śaṅkara himself, when, at the beginning of his *second* adhyāya (the fifth of the original Aitareyāraṇyaka) he refers back to his *first* adhyāya with the surprising words. "In this fourth adhyāya . . ."

A. 492 BETTY HEIMANN.

THE LEGACY OF INDIA. Edited by G T. GARRATT, with an introduction by the MARQUESS OF ZETLAND. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, pp. xviii + 428, ills 24, map 1. Oxford. The Clarendon Press, 1937. 10*s*.

This small volume deals with the culture of India by means of a series of specialist studies. Hinduism is entrusted to Professor Radhakrishnan, language and literature to Dr. F. W. Thomas, while art and archæology are dealt with by K. de B. Codrington. The Editor reserves for himself a brief essay on Indo-British Civilization It is clear that the object of this work is primarily to focus information already available to scholars in well-known works; and, in some respects, this object has been admirably achieved. On the other hand, the obvious omissions are in some instances more remarkable

[1] Cf. e g. in *Ait Up.*

than the contents. In thirty pages devoted to an exposition of Hinduism we learn very little of the fiercer aspects of the creed as practised by the Śaiva section of the community; and the writer is content to sum up the character of a Hindu in the following words "Everyone is a Hindu who strives for truth by study and reflection, by purity of life and conduct, by devotion and consecration to high ideals, who believes that religion rests not on authority but on experience" (p. 277) No reference here will be found to the generally accepted tests of respect for the Brāhmaṇ, reverence for the Vedas, and acceptance of the system of caste. If this definition of a Hindu is to prevail, it would hardly seem reasonable to claim Hinduism as the legacy of India It may also be observed that Mr R P Masani, in describing caste, almost entirely ignores the existing literature on caste as it at present exists, to which valuable additions have been made in recent years He presents a picture which can with difficulty be held to portray the present system of caste prevailing in India, at least to those who are not thoroughly acquainted previously with its bewildering complexity. Perhaps, as the writer of the introduction seems to hint, the editor's own contribution lends itself most to criticism, and the estimate of the results of the British connection which Mr Garratt holds clearly requires modification. It would be extremely difficult to justify from the results of personal experience the conclusion that "towards the end of the nineteenth century it was becoming obvious that the English in India had nothing in common with the growing mass of educated Indians, and as a measure of their failure, they emphasized without much justification their special interest in the illiterate peasantry" (p. 403).

Such a sweeping indictment in a work of this description should not be allowed to pass without challenge.

It is also remarkable that even in an obviously brief account of Anglo-Indian literature no mention should be made of the beautiful poems of Laurence Hope, or the novels of Sarah

Jeannette Duncan. On the whole, this little work would have gained much by more cautious editing. We note that the much-disputed tradition of St. Thomas's visit to India is taken as an established historical fact (p. 259), and that the New College Jesuit who visited that country in 1539 appears both as Father Stevens and Father Stephens. The latter is the correct spelling.

A 877. R. E. ENTHOVEN.

---

1. TATTVABINDU WITH TATTVAVIBHĀVANĀ. Edited by V. A. RAMASVAMI SASTRI. Annamalai University Sanskrit Series, No. 3 10 × 6¾, pp. xix + 197 + 161 + 57. Chidambaram Annamalai University, 1936. Rs 3.
2. SVARASIDDHĀNTA CANDRIKĀ. By ŚRĪNIVĀSAYAJVAN Edited by K A SIVARAMAKRISHNA SASTRI. Annamalai University Sanskrit Series, No. 4. 10 × 6½, pp x + lvii + 473. Chidambaram. Annamalai University, 1936. Rs. 5.

The Annamalai University Sanskrit Series had not previously come to the notice of the present reviewer; of the two volumes named above the first is an edition of a tract by Vācaspati Miśra, which, though published once long ago, is still little known, accompanied by a hitherto unknown commentary, and deals with the various Pūrvamīmāmsā theories in explanation of the association between a word and its meaning. The second is a late seventeenth century commentary on those *sūtras* of Pāṇini which lay down the rules of accentuation, it takes its illustrations almost entirely from the *Yajurveda* In both cases, so far as I can see, the Sanskrit text is competently edited, but both editors follow the bad habit, much too prevalent in India, of prefixing a lengthy introduction of a roving character, which has little or no relevance to the text being edited. In neither case is the matter so intruded of any real value or originality, and the editors would have been better advised to use the space for the

further elucidation of the texts; the first might have been translated in full for instance, and the more interesting points raised by the second might have been discussed and elaborated.

A. 786, 787. E. H. JOHNSTON.

ÉTUDE SUR LE MAHĀVAIROCANA-SŪTRA (DAINICHIKYŌ). By R TAJIMA. Ouvrage subventionné par l'Institut de Civilization Indienne et l'Institut d'Études Japonaises de l'Université de Paris, et par la Société Japonaise pour le Développement des Relations culturelles internationales 9¼ × 7¼, pp. xx + 186 + 13, pls. 12. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1936

Professor Tajima's essay has not only the good credentials given above, but the excellent backing of having been inspired by Sylvain Lévi, his *vénéré maître*, not to mention endorsement by Messrs. Foucher, Honorat, and Satsuma. It consists in an introduction on the so-called esotericism of the school of Shingon (or Mantra) Buddhism, as introduced into Japan from China about A.D 806 by Kobo Daishi (disciple while there of a disciple of Amoghavajra), followed by a description of the titular Sūtra, known in Japan as the Dainichikyō. This is followed by a " general study " of the Sūtra, by a translation of the first chapter, an analysis of the same, and a résumé of the remainder.

There is never an end to man's manipulations of words: Dainichikyō is the Japanese corruption of Daibirushana, which is the Chinese corruption of Mahā-vairocana, great illuminator, i.e. the sun, and a patronymic, as we know, of the Buddha. The Sūtra appears to have been adopted by the Shingon " school " (which I prefer to " sect ", the more usual term), but to have been oddly passed over by " Western specialists "—a fact which my own inquiries endorse.

The essay seems to be a very finished, very careful specimen of Eastern scholarship, sharpened, widened by contact with French Indological culture. The author, so far as I can judge,

has no reason to blush for his courage in speaking to us in French. And in his translation he gives us Sanskrit and Tibetan originals at every step. He does well, for who could have guessed that "de la non-existence et de l'existence à la fois" was, in the text, an opposing of *śūnyatā* and *bhava*, "vacuity" and "becoming"? I would only demur to his partiality for capitals—why should "heart", "passions," "earth," "time," etc., get thus a peacock-feather sublimity? Nor do I like "cœur" (heart) for *citta* (mind). It is true that "inwardness" would seem to be more present here than in Pāli exegesis But *hṛdaya* also meant that, and was to hand, a matter our Pāli translators have failed to note At the same time there is this excuse for a French translation, that no such word as *mens* "mind" is to hand.

The substance of the first chapter for a purely imaginative creation like this Sūtra, is the lofty, impressive idea of the "man", under the name of Vajradhara (lightning-bearer), questioning the deified Buddha on all the deepest things we fain would know. That the man is told the source of enlightenment lies within his own nature in the self—here called *citta*! a curious survival of Hīnayāna—is noteworthy. It is older than Hīnayāna; it is older than pre-Hīnayāna Buddhism.

A. 742. C. A F RHYS DAVIDS.

ASPECTS OF BENGALI SOCIETY FROM OLD BENGALI LITERATURE By TAMONASH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xl + 371, pls. 5. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1935.

The title of this book, which is published under the auspices of the University of Calcutta, would lead one to suppose that it dealt mainly with the manners and customs and the social life of old Bengal. As a matter of fact, it contains chapters on the birds of Bengal, Bengali architecture, shipbuilding and commerce, musical instruments and weapons. Other subjects dealt with are clothing, ornaments, cookery, games, religion,

education, and the castes. Only one short chapter is devoted to manners and customs, and this one chapter, of twelve pages, has to suffice for such a medley of subjects as ordeals, marriage and dowry, *jaypatra*, charms, freedom of women, garland and sandal-paste, passport, penance, fondness for the dog, and luxuriant hair.

The period covered is only very vaguely defined. The works from which information is drawn "roughly cover a few centuries—possibly those between the tenth and the eighteenth centuries" (p. xxii) There is no discussion of the date of the different works, and in most cases there is not even any indication of the author's opinion on the point. It is doubtful whether any of the works referred to can be dated so early as the tenth or even the eleventh century.

No attempt has been made to distinguish between conditions prevailing in one part and those prevailing in another part of the eight centuries under review. One would particularly like to know at what point, if at any, in the history of Bengal, "girls were equally educated with the boys" (p. xxxvii). A good example of the loose chronology of the book is the statement on p 86 that "Bengal was under Mahommedan rule for nearly eight centuries."

It is unfortunate that the writer's knowledge of English is so inadequate that at times it is very difficult, if not impossible, to guess what he means There is a "bibliography", but it contains in most cases no indication of editions or place of publication. Page references are of no use unless one knows what edition is meant The author says he has in some cases used old Bengali manuscripts, but he has not told us anything about these manuscripts or where they are to be found.

The faults and defects of the book are the more to be regretted as it contains such a large amount of interesting and valuable information which might be very useful to students if it were arranged and treated in a more scholarly and critical manner.

A. 587. W. SUTTON PAGE.

LA PEINTURE IRANIENNE SOUS LES DERNIERS 'ABBASIDES ET LES ÎL-KHÂNS By IVAN STCHOUKINE. 11½ + 9. pp. 188, pls. xlvi, figs. 134. Bruges: Imprimerie Ste. Catherine, 1936. £2 10s.

The study of Persian miniature painting has made such progress in recent years that a detailed survey of some part of the subject matter, such as illuminated manuscripts of the *Shāh-nāma* or of a restricted period is now the course most likely to yield fruitful results No period contains more unsolved problems or involves more interesting questions than the earliest from which we have any surviving miniatures. This is the subject treated in a new book published by the well-known authority on Indian and Persian painting, M. Ivan Stchoukine, under the ægis of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. Its title, *La Peinture Iranienne sous les derniers 'Abbāsides et les Îl-Khāns*, is explicit and indicates the author's inclusion of the manuscripts of the so-called Mesopotamian school as Iranian. The same decision was made by the Committee of the Persian Exhibition in London, in 1931, and is certainly justifiable in view both of the connection of the miniatures of this period with the earlier art of Iran and also of the thorough Iranianism of the court of Baghdad under the 'Abbāsids.

M. Stchoukine has given a *catalogue raisonné* of thirty-one illustrated manuscripts produced between A.H 605 (A.D 1209) and 755 (1354) and now in the libraries of Cairo, Paris, Leningrad, Istanbul, London, New York, Edinburgh, Oxford, Vienna, Madrid, and Rampur. Three of the most important are widely divided amongst many collections. Such a catalogue will be of great service to any future student of the subject. There is only one important omission from it, a manuscript of Kalila wa Dimna, from which miniatures are to be found in a number of French and American collections. It is of crucial importance even though the date, 1237, usually attached to it cannot probably be substantiated. It cannot, however, be put later than the end of the thirteenth century.

The miniatures in this catalogue are the material on which M. Stchoukine has based his study. It is preceded by a critical survey of the literature on the subject, since it began to be studied in the West about thirty years ago, and by a résumé of archæological evidence for the practice of painting in Iranian lands from the beginning of the Sasanian period. This is summed up by the author in these words: "L'Iran sâsânide possédait une peinture florissante que la conquête arabe ne détruit pas entièrement. Les traditions de cet art s'étant conservées, refleurissent rapidement sur le sol natal" All the evidence here collected by M. Stchoukine goes to show that painters were patronized by the 'Abbāsids and that there was opportunity for them to be influenced by Sasanian painting, examples of which were undoubtedly at hand for them to imitate. What do we know of this Sasanian style? Though our knowledge is still only fragmentary, everything goes to show that it was an illusionistic figure style, whose connections were with the lands of the eastern Mediterranean. Nothing could be further removed from the Persian miniature style as it ultimately developed *in the fifteenth and sixteenth* centuries, a style of concepts set down in a colour pattern, essentially on one plane, without attempt at illusion or interest in movement If we grant, as we must, that both these styles should be called Iranian, how are we to explain the apparently complete break in tradition in painting, in view of a cultural continuity which is none the less marked in spite of the adoption of the modern Persian language and the Arabic script?

The actual break in Iranian painting tradition occurred, not at the time of the Arab conquest, but in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries at the time of the Mongol conquests. Such cataclysmic events might well have caused a breach in national life. But it is well known that Iranian culture passed through this period without suffering any such break. Nor is it the case that the earlier art is broadly that of the west of Iran, *the later, that of the east.* The typical Timurid style

first took its rise in the kingdom of Jalā'ir sultān, centred at Baghdad and Tabriz.

The problem of the evolution of the Timurid style out of the Mongol is thus a comparatively simple one. M. Stchoukine finds the clue to be the "Demotte" *Shāhnāma*, that superb copy of the Book of Kings, large in size and in the breadth of handling, from which eighteen pages formed a magnificent group at the Burlington House Exhibition of 1931. He accepts the date of about 1330 put forward by Mr. Wilkinson and the reviewer, and points out that this would agree with the date of the revival of the library at Tabriz under Ghiyath al-Dīn. This was destroyed in 1336 and he assumes that the book, being then unfinished, was completed for the first Jalā'ir, Shaykh Hasan-Buzurg, who is known from the literary sources as a patron. This suggestion is not only convincing in itself, but provides just that historical connection which is demanded by stylistic continuity. M. Stchoukine further distinguishes in the miniatures of this manuscript, of which fifty-five are known to him, three phases (1) the decline of Chinese influence (2) the Iranian recrudescence, (3) the decadence of the Mongol school. In general these three characteristics are more or less present throughout the book, while in some miniatures one element is stronger, in another, another. What was happening was the digestion of Chinese influence. But there really seems no reason why miniatures representing different stages in this process should not be contemporaneous, for no doubt a large number of artists was employed on the book No political event, like the replacement of the Īl-khānī rulers by Uzbeks, was likely to have a profound effect, and in fact, in the miniatures from a Kalila wa Dimna, now preserved at Istanbul in the University Library (Stchoukine, No. xxx) (which must be placed, on costume and textile design, somewhere about 1370 rather than about 1350) still show a very strong and only partly digested Chinese influence.

M. Stchoukine's book is perhaps of greatest value in stressing the continuity of tradition in Persian miniature painting during

the fourteenth century. In arguing for an equal continuity during the preceding centuries he seems to us to be on more doubtful ground. The evidence of Sasanian and early Islamic metal work which M Stchoukine uses to support his thesis is by no means so clearly on his side. In a recent study of part of this material in the *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Dr. Kurt Erdmann has traced the treatment of one subject, the hunting scene, on the silver dishes from the early Sasanian period to about the twelfth century. His arrangement of the material reveals a remarkable conservatism of iconography coupled with just that fundamental change from a naturalistic to a decorative art which has been suggested at the opening of this review as characteristic of the passage from the Sasanian to the Timurid period And in this connection it is worth noting that precisely some of those dishes which M. Stchoukine uses as evidence for the occurrence of the conventions of the miniature painters of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the earliest Islamic period, are placed by Dr Erdmann from one to several centuries later (cf. pls. xxiii*a* and *b*, xxvi*a*) Though we are far from wishing to deny any Sasanian influence in the earliest Iranian miniature painting known to us, we still consider the origin of this school to be an unsolved mystery.

M. Stchoukine's book is an important treatment of this problem, which is of interest to historians as well as specialists and art lovers It is the first treatment of the subject on a scale large enough to allow details to fall into place and the lines of a challenging theory to emerge For its consideration our greatest need is a full study of Sasanian art It may well be that such study would show it with connections, through Parthia, with the Mediterranean world more prominently than with the older art of the Iranian plateau or of Mesopotamia. Only when this has been done will it be possible to assess the proportions of east Mediterranean and autochthonous elements in the 'Abbāsid style.

A. 916 BASIL GRAY.

Art, Archaeology, Anthropology

ANCIENT CHINESE BRONZE MIRRORS. By R. W. SWALLOW. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xii + 78, ills. 103. Peiping: H. Vetch, 1937. 12*s*. 6*d*.

Several of the best among the few critical writings on Chinese mirrors the author of this book seems not to have consulted—the pioneer studies of Tomioka Kenzō, for instance, and two articles by Lo Chên-yu in the first series of his *Liao chu tsa chu* 遼居雜著, published in 1929. But the most important in a European language is Professor Karlgren's essential work, "Early Chinese Mirror Inscriptions," which appeared in Stockholm three years ago in the sixth *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*. Had Mr. Swallow been acquainted with the last-mentioned, his translations might have been better.

The book under review contains much interesting matter and good photographs of 103 mirrors, many of which have not been published before A prominent feature is the author's assumption, hardly justified, that a large group should be associated with either the Ch'in State or the short-lived dynasty which preceded the Han. In an appendix Mr. S. J. F. Jensen, of Shanghai, gives the metallic composition of six mirrors of various periods, affording a useful comparison with the results from the analysis of eight mirrors reported by Mr. Chikashige Masumi in the *Journal of the Chemical Society*, of 1920, though the latter are not mentioned

A. 870 W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

Cuneiform

A DICTIONARY OF ASSYRIAN CHEMISTRY AND GEOLOGY. By R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON. 9×6, pp. xlviii + 266. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936. 21*s*.

Twelve years ago, in his *Assyrian Herbal*, Dr. Thompson published the results of his long researches into the names of plants found in cuneiform texts, particularly in the scientific bilingual lists from the Nineveh library, and thereby

established his authority in this department of learning. Shortly afterwards his book *On the Chemistry of the Ancient Assyrians* investigated the ingredients, methods, and products of the glass-makers as set forth in their surviving recipes; these two studies laid the foundation for the work which he now presents in the more readable form conferred by the typography of the Clarendon Press. The principal part, as the title implies, is a complete list of all the substances which the Assyrians designated by the signs for "stone" and "earth", the former of which, if Dr. Thompson's results are correct, has to be understood in a very wide sense, for it would include not only glass but a number of chemical products including colouring matters This list is not ordered alphabetically in the usual dictionary form, but follows generally the grouping of the Assyrian texts which were arranged on a natural basis. With a few exceptions each term is made the subject of a discussion aiming at its identification, so that the main part of the book is really a collection of articles in which philology and natural science (including medicine) co-operate in the task of discovering what stones and chemicals were known to the Assyrians, and what uses they made of them.

A long introduction is devoted to more general subjects, such as the methods of the Assyrians in classification, the glass-makers' texts, earlier and later, the kinds of beads and means of colouring stones, and the transmission of Babylonian names of things to the classical and the modern world, which shows a number of very remarkable derivations, some perhaps hazardous, but the majority hardly to be doubted. And here it may be added, since the author's readiness to appeal to other languages, even the non-Semitic, might be criticized, that he always gives fair warning if he is drawing a long bow, and is more often justified by the soundness of his method, which is to rely more upon the facts of nature than upon a deceptive resemblance of words It is hardly necessary to say to instructed readers that Dr. Thompson's knowledge of all

that pertains to Assyrian science, whether of natural things, medicine, or technology, is unrivalled, and therefore a book such as this becomes at once a standard work of reference upon the matters with which it deals. Sections that will be read with particular interest are those which concern the probable use of sulphuric acid (p. 102), the distinction of stones according to their action under acid (p. 140), a Babylonian origin of the word "cobalt" (p. 95), magnetic iron (p. 85), and the "geodes group" (pp. 105 ff.). The author has anticipated on p. xxxvi of the Introduction a criticism that the word "stone" is given an unreasonable extension by some of his results, on the other hand, there are materials well known to the Babylonians which are not accounted for here, shell and obsidian being the most conspicuous. *ELTEG* is probably not a correct value of the sign generally so transcribed, and in the author's now well-known discovery the word for "sulphur" should surely be read *kibir-id* (despite the hybrid form) rather than *kibir-nari*, the second part survives in the name of the town Hit on the Euphrates. *Ṣurru* and *naglabu* (p. 126) are both used also for parts of the body, and, if correctly identified here, there is probably an allusion connecting the two senses which we do not see. And, although the ingenious explanation of *aban kašari* (p 189) as pumice is no doubt ultimately right, there is some difficulty in connecting a word *kašaru*, required to mean "rub", and *kuššarru*, which is a Sumerian loan-word meaning "a writer on (not a preparer of) skin". The book ends with a transcription of the Assyrian bilingual lists, and full indexes of the things referred to and of the words quoted from a number of Oriental and other languages. It is perhaps worth noting that the pagination of the abbreviations and indexes is incorrectly stated in the table of contents.

A. 733 C. J. GADD.

Islam

THREE TREATISES ON MYSTICISM. By SHIHĀBUDDĪN SUHRAWARDĪ MAQTŪL With an account of his Life and Poetry Edited and translated by OTTO SPIES and S. P. KHATAK. Bonner Orientalistische Studien, Heft 12. 9½ × 6, pp 52 + 121 Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1935.

The famous Persian philosopher and mystic, who was convicted of heresy and executed at Aleppo in A H. 587, composed most of his works, including the *Ḥikmatu 'l-ishráq* and the *Hayákilu 'l-núr*, in the classical language of Moslem philosophy, but among his *opera minora* are several allegories written in his native tongue, which appear to be the earliest Persian prose examples of their kind, though Avicenna and others, as is well known, had already cultivated the same style in Arabic There are now five tractates by Suhrawardí available to those interested in the method of imparting mystical knowledge by means of a "myth" One, entitled *Mu'nisu 'l-'ushsháq* ("The Lovers' Friend"), was edited recently by Professor Spies, another, *Áwáz-i par-i Jibrá'il* ("The Sound of Gabriel's Wing"), has been published together with a Persian commentary in the *Journal Asiatique* (July-September, 1935), and the work under review contains three more *Lughat-i múrán* ("Ant-language"), *Safír-i Símurgh* ("the Note of the Símurgh"), and *Tarjama-i Lisáni 'l-Haqq*, a Persian translation, or paraphrase, of Avicenna's *Risálatu 'l-tayr*, to which is appended the commentary of 'Umar ibn Sahlán al-Sáwají (*circa* A H. 540). The volume also contains a copious biography of Suhrawardí, extracted from Shahrazúrí's *Nuzhatu 'l-arwáḥ* this is important, as Shahrazúrí (*ob circa* A.H 650) belonged to the Ishráqí school.

While the editors may claim full credit for their industry and enterprise in collecting all this new material, they cannot be congratulated on the way they have produced it. Even if

we ignore obvious misprints, the short lists of corrigenda (pp. 52 and ١٠) are very far from being complete. It would waste time to demonstrate what the reader can so easily observe. Inaccuracy is a mild term for mistranslations such as "He vacated a house for me who am one of the broken-hearted" (p. 26), representing the *hadíth qudsí* فَرِّغ لى بيتاً انا عند المنكسرة قلوبهم In other respects too the English version leaves a good deal to be desired.

A. 535. R. A. NICHOLSON.

Miscellaneous

RICHARD BURTON, EXPLORER. By HUGH J. SCHONFIELD. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp 303, pl 1. London Herbert Joseph, Ltd, 1936. 15*s*.

This short "Life" gives a summary account of Burton's chief exploits, and some idea of his peculiar temperament It is readable and will probably satisfy the wants of that "large number of people of culture and wide reading" whom the author has found to be ignorant of Burton's name and achievements It neither replaces nor appreciably supplements the existing longer lives.

The writer's style has something of an exotic tang and is at times a little distressing. One example must suffice: "Yet the grim determination of the man would not suffer him to lift beseeching hands towards the iron-bound heavens." Shades of Burton, what a suggestion!

A certain atmosphere of gloom must emanate from any life of Burton. The publisher has done his best to dissipate this by a touch of humour. On the cover of the volume, ostensibly as an appropriate adornment, is stamped a

medallion consisting of an inscription in meretricious Arabic characters. The inscription, being interpreted, reads: "The Ruba'iyāt of the Sage 'Umar Khayyām." But how many of the "people of culture and wide reading", for whom he is catering, will detect the joke?

A. 727. D. L. R. LORIMER.

The thanks of the Society are also due for the following volume —

THE FLIGHT OF AN EMPRESS. By WU YUNG. Edited by IDA PRUITT; with introduction by K. S. LATOURETTE. London. Faber and Faber, 1937. 8*s.* 6*d.*

OBITUARY NOTICES

Professor Stephen Herbert Langdon

By the death of Professor Langdon Oxford has suffered a grave loss, and another link with the second generation of the pioneers of Assyriology is broken. By a fair reckoning he should have had at least two lustres more of vigorous research in front of him, probably the most valuable decade of his whole life, and his loss becomes thereby the greater tragedy for science.

He was born on May 8, 1876, on a farm in Ida township, Monroe County, Michigan, his father being George Knowles Langdon and his mother's maiden name Abigail Elizabeth Hassinger. He came of pioneer stock, his great grandfather being supervisor of the township in 1848 and 1850, and his grandfather owning a large farm in Eastern Ida Here he attended the country school, and then entered the Monroe High School, where, according to my authority, it is said that his father, intending him and his brother to carry on the farm, was opposed to his learning Latin, on the grounds that a dead language would be of no service in farming, but other counsels fortunately prevailed, and after the young scholar had graduated in 1891 he taught in a country school for a time, determined to save enough money to take him to college.[1]

Naturally it was to the University of Michigan that he went, where he received the degree of B A. in 1898, followed by the M.A. in the following year, and from this point his steps were led towards Assyriology, which was to become the absorbing passion of his life, fostered here by Professor J. A. Craig, who was editing cuneiform texts on religious and astrological subjects.

[1] I am indebted to a most appreciative article by Miss Gertrude Golden in the *Monroe Evening News* of December 12, 1935, for some of the details in the foregoing paragraph of Professor Langdon's early life, and to Dr. Montgomery, of the University of Pennsylvania, for other information.

The young student had, however, leanings towards theology, and for this reason, in 1900, he entered the Union Theological Seminary, New York City, ultimately, in 1905, being ordained Deacon in the American-Anglican Church, Paris; but happily he had meanwhile taken up the study of Semitic languages in Columbia University, which were ultimately to lead him to the Oxford Professorship. It was the Theological Seminary which brought him into touch with the two scholars, Francis Brown and Charles Briggs, who, with Canon Driver, the Regius Professor of Hebrew in Oxford, had brought out a new edition of Gesenius' great Hebrew dictionary At Columbia he was guided by Professors Gottheil and Prince, the latter doubtless encouraging the trend of the younger man towards Sumerian, which he was presently to make his special study. He was examined for his Doctorate by the Faculties of Semitic and Greek in 1904, and went to France as an International Fellow of the University, where he was thus brought directly into touch with European scholarship in the persons of Professors Scheil and Fossey, both of them most distinguished Assyriologists. From this point began his long succession of publications, which, during thirty-three years of productivity, include between twenty and thirty volumes, apart from very numerous articles in scientific journals, beginning with his *Annals of Ashurbanipal* in 1904

In 1905 he submitted his thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Columbia, *The Building Inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian Empire*, and it is delightful to see all the vigour of youth expressed in the claim which he makes (indeed, not without some justification) that it represents the first attempt to apply the rules of literary criticism to the compositions of the Neo-Babylonian School of scribes. Like most theses, it contained nothing strikingly new, but it shows a great sense of what such a book should be, both in form and style, and was a worthy forerunner of his future work. The fact that he mentions having found an unpublished duplicate of one of his texts in the Louvre (which he was able to use with good

advantage) shows that he had recognized the importance of handling the clay early, a postulate laid down by the earliest cuneiform scholars as essential in the making of an Assyriologist.

I learn from Professor J. Dyneley Prince, who has been so good as to give me the details, that Langdon was his student in Assyrian before and after taking his Ph.D. from Columbia. It would appear that Langdon was at first inclined to accept Halévy's theory of "cryptographic writing" for Sumerian, but later recognized its agglutinative character and relinquished his first trend. "He was," says Professor Prince, "a great scholar with a fixed purpose from which he never swerved."

Thereafter he went to Leipzig, and in 1908, when Miss Mary Wallace Shillito, generously recognizing the needs of Assyriology in England, founded the Shillito Readership in the University of Oxford, Langdon was the first to hold office. The Readership was permanently established in 1911 with a gift of £10,000 from Miss Shillito; Langdon was given an honorary degree in 1910, and was constituted Professor in 1919, after the retirement of Professor Sayce. Incidentally he was made Curator of the Babylonian Section of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, where he spent no little time from August, 1916, onwards, in preparing and publishing tablets in the collections. He became naturalized as an Englishman in 1913, and married in 1925, May, the younger daughter of Mr. Thomas Gregory of Cardiff.

To estimate the value of each of his books in detail would be beyond the limit of the present notice, but it is permissible to discuss a few of them. Much of his work was on those most difficult texts of all, the Sumerian hymns, and in this his careful habit of mind, of documenting every publication which appeared, provided him with that essential base, which every scholar must have, on which to start the exercise of his own knowledge and capacity. It was a task which demanded scholarship, eyesight, and above all determination and

courage in this branch of a study, and the value of Langdon's work, which will form a nucleus for fresh editions, is incalculable, and, indeed, one has only to look round the shelves of the Sayce Assyriological Library in the Ashmolean to be reminded, *si monumentum requiris*. Each work on Sumerian is indicative of his capacity. It was in 1914 that he noted the very important Sumerian tablet which he published in 1919 under the title *Le Poème Sumérien du Paradis*, a most difficult text, in which he, as befits a scholar, modestly admits the probability of errors in his publication.

On the Semitic side he published an admirable edition (both transliteration and translation) of the great Babylonian Epic of Creation. As always, he spared no pains to consult original documents in the British Museum, and the result is a most convenient and modern scholarly book, for which all Assyriologists have been grateful Nor must his publication of a unique tablet of the Gilgamish Series be forgotten, a large tablet of the older recension of the latter Epic, which was in the collections in Philadelphia. His most ambitious work, perhaps, is his *Semitic Mythology*, 1931, and in undertaking a study of what is now a vast subject he was hampered by the demands of the Series in which it formed part, which attempted to compress into one volume material which might well need a dozen He himself saw this, and, as he says, had been embarrassed by the difficulty of selecting what was strictly essential, but he certainly manages to lay a large collection of facts before his public in an interesting way, and to marshal new data in such a fashion that the book must be studied by all who would concern themselves with Semitic religion. At the same time there are points open to criticism at all events in one direction where, perhaps owing to his earlier training, he tried to maintain the theory of a belief in primitive monotheism. Obviously he must of necessity make mistakes in a study in which he published so much, but, then, no one who never made mistakes ever made anything. I am reminded of a great passage in *Tristram Shandy*: "'A

soldier,' cried my Uncle *Toby*, 'is no more exempt from saying a foolish thing, *Trim*, than a man of letters.' 'But not so often, an' please your honour,' replied the corporal" Assyriologists are no more exempt than others, and it is not for me to pose as a critic.

After the War, when British interests in Mesopotamia encouraged excavations in that country where we had expended so much blood and treasure, at Langdon's instance Oxford was not behindhand in inaugurating diggings on a site of first-class importance. He extended his energies to raising funds for an expedition, which he regarded as part of the necessities of modern Assyriology, and, with the Field Museum of Chicago, enlisted the help of Mr Weld-Blundell (afterwards Dr Herbert Weld), who shouldered the burden of financially supporting the Oxford share of the expedition. The site chosen was Uhaimer (Kish), some few miles east of Babylon, and Dr. Ernest Mackay was put in charge in 1923

Langdon himself went out for two seasons as Director, in 1923 and 1925 Whether this was advisable from the point of view of his health may be doubted ; he had never been to the East before, and Mesopotamia is a hard country in which to serve an apprenticeship. But it was in keeping with the courage of the man, and it was not until he nearly died from a severe attack of jaundice that he refrained from going out a third time. M Watelin succeeded Mackay in 1926, and conducted the excavations until his death in 1934, and in this year, owing to the exacting new laws concerning excavations in Iraq, the Oxford Field expedition, in common with many others, at once ceased These new laws, so different from their generous predecessors, were not only ungrateful to the memory of Miss Gertrude Bell, who was the prime mover in everything relating to the national collections in Iraq, but also unscientific in their claims on any fresh discoveries made in the half-excavated libraries, with all their jumble of broken antiquities, especially cuneiform tablets, pieces of which were already preserved in European Museums awaiting

what are technically called "joins", that is, the other fragments necessary to complete them. It was hardly a matter for wonder that Langdon, disappointed in this fundamental alteration in the position, should have closed down, "owing," as he says, "to the unfavourable attitude of the Department of Antiquities of the Government of Iraq in regard to the division of archæological objects and other threatening regulations, which would harass the work of the excavator." Indeed, it may be said that these laws have cost Iraq thousands of pounds, both in loss in wages and other expenses in excavating, and in the decreased interest of the tourist, who prefers to see diggings actually in progress rather than formless and uninteresting mounds But the Kish excavations, carried on for less than ten years, had been very fruitful in the discovery of buildings, prehistoric antiquities of immense interest, and above all a wonderful collection of pictographic tablets, which Langdon himself admirably edited.

An amusing passage from Miss Bell's own letters shows the former treatment of Professor Langdon himself at the first of these Rhadamanthine and unilateral divisions of spoil "'Who decides,' said the Professor, 'if we disagree?' I replied that I did, but he needn't be afraid for he would find me eager to oblige I said 'Come on, Professor, you'll see how it works out' So we went to his tent, where all the tablets were exposed There was one unique object, a stone tablet inscribed with what is probably the oldest known human script The Professor positively pressed it on me. . . . The Professor got what he longed for, a mother of pearl inlay representing a milking scene."

By his two seasons' actual control in the field at Kish Langdon showed himself to be an antiquary of the old school, which held it proper that the chief excavator should understand the language of the people whose records he is digging; our knowledge of the ancients is poor enough in any case, but miserably jejune without that last and almost only intimate

familiarity between them and us. Excavations on Greek sites to this day demand the old habit; but in Mesopotamia, after the inauguration of the German diggings at the end of last century, it had become the fashion to depose the scholar (called thenceforth with due vagueness "epigraphist") to a seat below the salt, which perhaps explains the trend of the more modern interest to prehistory.

So much therefore for Langdon's energy in so many directions, as scholar and excavator, whereby he was to become Professor, and a Fellow of the British Academy. His activities on behalf of the R.A.S. were endless, he was a Member of the Council, and wrote many articles for the *Journal*. Personally he was the kindest of men, and no trouble was too great for him to take in helping those who appealed to his wide knowledge of cuneiform As the writer of a notice in the *Oxford Magazine* says, he rejoiced in the successes of his pupils, and he counted among them nine professors, three readers, and two lecturers, and I cannot do better than append here what one of his latest pupils says "As one who has worked under Professor Langdon for nearly four years, I am glad to have the opportunity to express the sense of personal loss with which his sudden death affected me. His enthusiasm for the subject to which he devoted all his energies was a constant inspiration, and he was always ready to take endless trouble in solving any problem that arose in connection with the work of his pupils. It is not for me to criticize his work, but it always seemed to me to be the great virtue of his scholarship that he never ignored any branch of learning which might bear upon his subject, and thus, owing to the peculiar material which the Assyriologist studies, his interests ranged from astronomy to the anatomy of human speech, and from comparative law to the philosophy of the soul, though it was primarily in the spheres of philology and of Sumerian religion that he claimed to speak as an authority.

"But one thinks of him perhaps even more as one who took an immense enjoyment in the simple things of life. At golf

he had his own inimitable style, but his pleasure in the game was always fresh. He had a fund of stories about his own experiences, mainly in connection with his excavations at Kish, and his laughter was of that spontaneous kind which infects all who hear it. That his life should thus be cut short will be a real grief to his many friends, who remember him for these things "

Langdon's career, which began in surroundings where academic learnings were discouraged and ended in an Oxford Professorship, is hardly less than heroic.

R CAMPBELL THOMPSON.

Hon. Desmond Parsons

At Zurich, on 4th July, Desmond Parsons died after suffering for two years from an illness which seemed to have been the outcome of hardships while travelling in China. Though aged only 26, he had made active advances in the study of Chinese civilization which was his chosen work. Having visited places of archæological moment in the provinces of Honan and Shensi, he made a journey to Tun-huang in difficult circumstances, examining the geographical features of the ancient highway to the West along the Kansu corridor. Some misunderstanding by the local authorities led to his arrest, and he was released at Lanchou only after diplomatic intervention. Before that he had managed to take over 120 photographs in the famous Buddhist cave-shrines at Tunhuang, including certain wall-paintings which had not yet been recorded. Copies are preserved in the Courtauld Institute, and in the collections of Harvard University and several American museums.

Possessed of an unusual capacity for observation and of a fine scholarly instinct, he would doubtless have contributed ably to the Chinese studies he loved. His charming personality and transparent honesty of purpose claimed the admiration of all who knew him.

W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

Dr. Kashiprasad Jayaswal

In Dr. Kashiprasad Jayaswal the Society has lost prematurely a member whose energy and enthusiasm had won him wide recognition in India, and some of whose original speculations and discoveries, as well as his more normal contributions to learning, had been approved by Indologists in general References in standard works, such as *The Cambridge History of India* and Professor de la Vallée Poussin's admirable volumes in the *Histoire du Monde*, not to mention reviews and articles contained in Orientalist journals, show that his activities were appreciated by scholars. and it was to be expected that with increasing circumspection his insight and vigour would accomplish a work of permanent value

Returning from Oxford, where he had been a member and Honorary Scholar (1910), of Jesus College, as well as Davis University Scholar in Chinese, to a professional career as a barrister, first in Calcutta and later in Patna—he held also in Calcutta an university appointment as Lecturer in Ancient History—he quickly acquired through some notable articles published in the *Modern Review* and elsewhere a reputation for original research In the foundation of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, instituted by Sir Edward Gait, then Governor, he took an active part, becoming a member of its first Council. With its *Journal*, now in its twenty-third volume and distinguished by scholarly efficiency and regularity of issue, he was closely associated from the beginning and during some sixteen years, until his death, he was its editor. He was a frequent contributor of extensive articles; and of the general activities of the Society he may be said to have been, despite the distractions of a busy professional life, a mainspring. He took a keen interest in the archæological exploration of Patna, and himself carried on excavations which led at times to notable finds, now preserved in the Patna Museum. For that Museum, working in conjunction with the

late Rakhaldas Banerji, he procured a cast of the famous Hāthīgumpha Cave inscription of Khandagiri in Orissa. A joint edition of the inscription, with translation and commentary, was published first in the Society's *Journal* (1917) and again, after a number of further studies, in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol xx; it comprises some marked improvements in reading and interpretation In 1917 Jayaswal was selected to deliver the Tagore Law Lectures in Calcutta. When the sixth All-India Oriental Conference (1930) met in Patna, he was elected President of the Reception Committee, and at the inaugural meeting he delivered an eloquent and informative address. A much more elaborate discourse, surveying the progress of Indologist studies, signalized his presidency of the Conference at its Baroda meeting (1933). In 1935 he paid a visit to England, on which occasion he lectured before the Royal Asiatic Society on finds of Maurya coins and symbols resulting from the Patna excavations The same year brought him recognition, in the form of Honorary Doctorates, from the universities of Patna and Benares.

Probably the most notable of Jayaswal's writings is to be seen in his contributions to the *Modern Review* (1912–13), on the subject of non-monarchical states in ancient India, to which phenomenon attention had been drawn by Professor Rhys Davids in his *Buddhist India* Jayaswal showed how the procedures of the Buddhist Samgha shed light upon the administration of those states The topic retained his interest, and the states in question, concerning which he elicited much new information, occupy a large space in his extensive, but not in all features quite sound, treatise on *Hindu Polity* (1924), a matter in which he was a pioneer with many followers. In the meanwhile he had published a number of papers dealing with Nanda, Maurya, and Śunga chronology, and also with difficult early inscriptions, wherein he was, no doubt, too ready to find in obscure passages mention of historical names. Other inscriptions, of a less debatable character, he edited with commendable versions and discussions in the *Journal*

of his Society, and in *Epigraphia Indica*. Useful work on normal lines is contained also in his edition (1924) of a *Smṛti* text, the *Rājanīti-ratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara, and in the two stout volumes of *A Descriptive Catalogue of [Sanskrit] Manuscripts in Mithilā*, compiled in collaboration with Dr. Anantaprasad Śāstrī (1927–). He also edited with historical commentary the famous *Yuga-purāṇa* of the *Garga-saṃhitā*.

With the last-named may be associated the volume (1934) too optimistically entitled *An Imperial History of India in a Sanskrit Text* [c 700 B C.–c. A D 770], which is a for the most part successful attempt to identify and fix chronologically the kings and dynasties obscurely (often only by initials) particularized in a Buddhist Tantra work, *Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa*, published at Trivandrum in 1920–5 In this volume he was assisted by the Ven. Rāhula Sānkrtyāyana, who enabled him by the aid of an old Tibetan version to correct the Sanskrit text. Jayaswal enthusiastically supported his friend's very fruitful efforts to procure old Sanskrit MSS. by journeys into Tibet In his last years he himself visited Nepal, and he contributed to the *Journal* in 1936 a long article (subsequently published separately) on the chronology of the country "from 600 B C. to A D 880"

Along with *Hindu Polity*, the volume of Tagore Law Lectures (1930) and *The History of India*, A.D 150 *to* A D 350 (1933) constitute the most elaborate and characteristic group of Jayaswal's writings. Both contain speculative elements, and the former of the two will in places evoke protests from scholars, while the latter has been strongly criticized by numismatists. But Jayaswal's works, dealing with difficult problems and obscure periods, do not leave matters where he found them the two books embody important conceptions, concerning the composition and date of the "Laws of Manu" and concerning the history of the Nāga and Vākāṭaka dynasties; furthermore, they comprise valuable new particulars, and in regard to the two dynasties

the author himself brought to light some new archæological materials.

Dr. Jayaswal's sanguine and vigorous temperament, which made him a loyal friend, manifested itself also in a decidedness of view and a promptness in disposing of divergent opinions, which, together with a touch of patriotic bias—in historical studies no more a virtue than is its opposite—affected some critics unfavourably. That natural vigour carried him through an operation for carbuncle, which became necessary in the early summer of the present year, and maintained a long struggle, terminated in August last.

Our deep sympathy goes to his widow and children.

F. W. THOMAS.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Lantern slides of Assyriological and Babylonian Subjects

PINCHES BEQUEST

The late Dr. T. G. Pinches, a Member of the Society for upwards of fifty years, left directions that a collection of his Assyriological and Babylonian Lantern Slides should be held in trust by the Royal Asiatic Society for the use of Students.

Dr. Pinches bequeathed them in the hope that they may promote an interest in such subjects among Students in this country. The Society has accepted the trust, and will hold the slides available for the use of bona fide Students, Lecturers, or Educational Institutions such as the Victoria Institute There are nearly 400 slides, which were catalogued by the late Professor S H Langdon Requests from orientalists should be sent to the Secretary, with necessary references for the consideration of the Council

Dr Pinches also left nine simple Babylonian Seals, together with the copy, transcription, and translation of each, prepared by himself for the same purpose These are available for loan under the same conditions as the slides

---

Notices

Mr. Sadāshiva L. Kātre, Assistant Curator of the Oriental MSS. Library, Mādhava College, Ujjain, informs us that the Library has recently acquired an undated, but apparently a century old, MS. entitled *Kautsavyākaraṇa*. He writes that, in spite of the title and ascription, the work is generally identical with what Whitney published in *JAOS*. vii (1862), on the basis of a single MS in the Berlin Library, as the *Atharvaveda-prātiśākhya*, some colophons of which describe it as *Śaunakīyā Caturadhyāyikā*.

Dr. Quaritch Wales, Field Director of the Greater India Research Committee, is leading a mission to Malaya, at the invitation of the Government, to carry out the first systematic investigation of ancient Indian settlements in Kedah and Perak. The field work is expected to take a year.

We have to announce with great pleasure that our distinguished member, and former Vice-President, Dr. F. W. Thomas, has been elected to preside at the forthcoming (9th) Session of the All-India Oriental Conference to be held at Trivandrum under the patronage of H.H. Sir Bala Rama Varma, G C.I E., Maharaja of Travancore, in December next.

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

Acta Orientalia. Vol. xvi, Pars i, 1937.

Gaster, T. The Harrowing of Baal

Minorsky, V. Les Études historiques et géographiques sur la Perse (ii).

The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures. Vol liii, July, 1937, No 4

Thompson, R. Campbell. Assyrian Prescriptions for the Head.

Archiv Orientální Vol ix, Nos 1–2, April-June, 1937.

Lexa, F. Les participes indéclinables dans la langue ancienne égyptienne III

Gordon, C. H. Aramaic and Mandaic Bowls.

Petersen, W Zur hethitischen Etymologie

Hrozný, B Inscriptions (hittites) hieroglyphiques des rois de *Tuvana*-Tyana

Revue des Arts Asiatiques Tome xi, Numéro i, Mars, 1937.

Sirén, O. La sculpture chinoise à l'Exposition de l'Orangerie.

Leroi-Gourhan, A Documents actuels pour l'art comparé de l'Asie septentrionale.

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. Vol xxiii, Part 1, March, 1937.

Jayaswal, K P Branding Seals of the Second Century A D.

—— Jaina Image of Maurya Period

—— Numismatic Notes " On Some Hindu Coins of Pre-Christian Centuries ".

The Journal of the Burma Research Society. Vol. xxvii, Part 1, April, 1937

Desai, W. S. Events at the Court and Capital of Ava during the First Anglo-Burmese War.

Langham-Carter, R. R. Burmese Rule on the Toungoo Frontier.

Pearn, B. R. The Commercial Treaty of 1862.

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Band 91 (Neue Folge Band 16), Heft 1, 1937.

Thomas, F. W. A Buddhist Chinese Text in Brāhmī Script.

Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies. Vol. 2, No. 2, July, 1937.

Feng, Han-Yi. The Chinese Kinship System.

Poussin, L. de la Vallée. Staupikam.

Journal of Indian History.

Vol. xvi, Part 1, Serial No. 46, April, 1937.

Heras, H. Mohenjo Daro—The most important Archæological Site in India.

Moreland, W. H. Johan Van Twist's Description of India.

La Géographie Tome lxviii, No. 1, Juillet, 1937.

Dalet, R Essai sur les pagodes cambodgiennes et leurs annexes (Suite)

Tome lxviii, Nos 2–3, Août-Septembre, 1937

R. Dalet Essai sur les pagodes cambodgiennes et leurs annexes. (Suite et fin) (Avec dix gravures dans le texte)

Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient

Tome xxxvi—1936, Fasc 1, 1937.

Coedès, G Études cambodgiennes XXXI, A propos du Tchen-la d'eau . trois inscriptions de Cochinchine XXXII, La plus ancienne inscription en pāli du Cambodge

Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-land- en Volkenkunde

Deel lxxvii, 1937, Aflevering 3

Ir J L Moens Çrivijaya, Yava en Katāha

Duyvendak, Dr J Ph De plaats der primitieven in de cultuurgeschiedenis

Bijdragen Tot De Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië Deel 95, 1–11, 1937

Berg, C. C Bijdrage tot de kennis der Juvaansche werkwoordsvormen

Palestine Exploration Quarterly Sixty-ninth year, July, 1937

(Lecture) Lachish as illustrating Bible History

Rivista Degli Studi Orientali Vol xvii, Fasc. 1, 1937—xv.

Ivanow, W The Gabri dialect spoken by the Zoroastrians of Persia (II)

Syria Tome xviii, Premier Fascicule, 1937.

Virolleaud, C La déesse 'Anat Poème de Ras Shamra

T'oung Pao Vol xxxiii, Livr 2, 1937

Moule, A C Marco Polo's description of Quinsai.

Jennes, J L'art chrétien en Chine au début du XVIII[e] siècle (une gravure d'Antoine Wierx identifiée comme modèle d'une peinture de Tong k'i-tch'ang)

Boletim Do Instituto Vasco Da Gama No 34, 1937.

Amâncio Gracias, J B Uma heroina luso-francesa.

Figueiredo, D. P C A Plantas simbolicas.

ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS

No. 5127, vol. 191, of 24th July, 1937, contains some more illustrations and descriptions of the Lo-yang tomb-tiles (see 24th October, 1936), by the Rt. Rev. William C. White, Professor of Chinese Archæology in the University of Toronto. The find is dated, by the author, during the period of the "Warring States", about the third century B.C. The tiles are rectangular and triangular, and include representations of the arms and dresses of the period

In No 5128 is a report by Professor John Garstang, Director of the Neilson Expedition to the Near East from the University of Liverpool, on the discovery of an Imperial Hittite monument south of Taurus, a rock-carved figure of the bearded warrior king Muwatalli, on a cliff face beside the River Jeihan, 60 miles east of Tarsus, in Cilicia, attributed to the twelfth century B.C. Behind the rock is an extensive mound, the largest in Cilicia, marking the site of an important city

No 5130 of 14th August, 1937, gives a description from the pen of Professor A. M. Blackman, a member of the R A.S. and the Director of the Excavations, of recent finds at the old fortress at Sesebi, or Sese, situated about a couple of hundred yards from the River Nile in Nubia, the walls of which still rise to a height of some 16 feet. The fortress was probably built by Amenophis IV, before he took the name of Akhenaten

In No 5131 there appears an illustrated description of the find in a newly discovered Nabatæan temple on the hilltop at Khirbet et-Tannar, in the Tafileh district of Transjordan, indicating the eclectic Nabatæan culture influenced by Syria, Greece, Egypt, and Rome.

Hyderabad. Hyderabad State List of leading officials, nobles, and personages. 10 × 6½. *Hyderabad*, 1937.
From the Nizam's Government

India South-Indian inscriptions (texts). Vol. 8. ... Ed. by K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer (Arch. Survey of India New Imp. Ser, vol 54) 13½ × 10 *Madras*, 1937
From the High Commissioner for India.

Jains Jaina—Stotra—Sandoha [Jain hymns in Sanskrit and Prakrit, with glosses and Gujarati interpretations] Pt 2, ed. by C Mantradhiraj-Cintamani 7½ × 5 *Ahmadabad*, 1937. *From the Jain Prachin Sahityoddhar Granthavali.*

Jarring, G, The Uzbek dialect of Qilich (Russian Turkestan), with texts and glossary (Lund Univ. Årsskrift, N F, Avd 1, Bd 33, nr 3) 10½ × 7. *Lund and Leipzig*, [1937?]
Pamphlet *From the Author.*

Jerusalem, Hebrew University Annual bibliography of Islamic art and archæology, India excepted . Ed by L. A Mayer, vol. 1, 1935 9½ × 7. *Jerusalem*, 1937 *From the Editor*

Johnston, E H, Early Sāmkhya. An essay on its historical development according to the texts (Prize Publication Fund, vol 15) 9 × 6 *London*, 1937

Kabul Sāl-nāmah Kābul Almanach de Kaboul, 1936–37 Éd par le Cercle Littéraire de K. *Persian* 7½ × 6 [*Kabul* ?] 1937 *From the Government of Afghanistan*

Kohl, J F Die Sūryaprajñapti Versuch einer Textgeschichte . (Bonner Or Studien, Heft 20) 10 × 7 *Stuttgart*, 1937
From Messrs W Kohlhammer

Kramrisch, St, A survey of painting in the Deccan (India Society) 11 × 8½ *London*, 1937 *From the India Society*

Law, B C, Geographical essays Vol 1 9 × 6 *London*, 1937
From the Author.

Lévi, S, Mémorial S L [A collection of articles by him] 11 × 8½. *Paris*, 1937 *Presented by Miss A Getty*

Madras Records of Fort St George Mayor's Court Minutes, 1736–37, vol 3 1743–46, vols 7–10 13½ × 8½. *Madras*, 1937.

—— Pleadings in the Mayor's Court, 1732–3 Vol 2 13½ × 8. *Madras*, 1937. *From the High Commissioner for India*

Mahābhārata Bhagavadgīta. Shri Bhagavad Gita Revised . . . and edited with its gloss Siddhi Datri in its English rendering explaining the variants By Rajvaidya Jivaram Kalidas Shastri 10 × 7. *Kathiawar*, 1937
From the Rasashala Aushadhashram.

Malalasekera, G. P, Dictionary of Pāli proper names . . (Indian Texts Ser). Vol 1, A–Dh 9½ × 6½. *London*, 1937.
From Messrs John Murray.

Manghol un Niuca Tobca'an (Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi). Die geheime Geschichte der Mongolen aus der chinesischen Transkription . . . im mongolischen Wortlaut wiederhergestellt von E. Haenisch. 10 × 7. *Leipzig*, 1937.
From Messrs. Harrassowitz.

Marmorstein, A, The old rabbinic doctrine of God. Pt. 2, Essays in anthropomorphism (Jews' College Publications, no 14) 9 × 6 *London*, 1937
From the Oxford University Press.

Minard, A, La subordination dans la prose védique. Études sur le Śatapatha-Brāhmana 1 . . . (Ann de l'Univ. de Lyon, Lettres Sér 3, fasc. 3) 10½ × 7 *Paris*, 1936
From "Les Belles Lettres".

Modi, J J, The Naojote ceremony of the Parsees . . 3rd ed. 8½ × 5½ *Bombay*, 1936 *Exchange.*

Mysore. Annual report of the Mysore Archæological Dept for the year 1934. 11½ × 9. *Bangalore*, 1936.
—— 1935 11½ × 9 *Bangalore*, 1936.
From the Director of Arch Researches in Mysore.

Nīlakanta Śāstrī, K A, The Cōlas Vol 2, pts. 1 and 2 (Madras Univ Historical Ser, nos 10 and 10 bis) 10 × 7 *Madras*, 1937 *From the University of Madras*

Ordos Texts Textes oraux Ordos, recueillis et publiés avec introduction . par A Mostaert (Monumenta Serica, Monograph Ser, no 1) 12 × 9½ *Pei'ping*, 1937
From M Henri Vetch.

Parkinson, C N, Trade in the eastern seas, 1793–1813 9 × 6½. *Cambridge*, 1937 *From the Cambridge University Press.*

Prabhākara Miśra Bṛhatī of Prabhākara Miśra . . with the Bhāsyapariśista of Śālikanātha Ed by S K. Ramanatha Sastri (Madras Univ Skr Ser, no. 3, pt 2) 10 × 7. *Madras*, 1936 *From the University of Madras.*

Punjab Government Catalogue of books and periodicals registered in the Punjab during the quarter ending the 30th June, 1937 13½ × 8½ *Lahore*, 1937.
From the Government of the Punjab.

—— Press list of old records in the Punjab Civil Secretariat. Indices to vol 1, Delhi Residency and Agency, 1806–1857; vol 2, Delhi Residency and Ludhiana and Karnal Agencies, 1804–1816; vols 3–4, Ludhiana, Karnal and Ambala Agencies, Receipts from 1809–1840, issues from 1810–1840; vol 5, Ludhiana Agency, miscellaneous correspondence, 1816–1840, vol. 20, Political Dept., 1859 to 1863, vol. 22, Financial Dept, 1862 to 1868. 13½ × 8½ *Lahore*, [1937].
From the High Commissioner for India.

Qasim Ali Jairazbhoy Muhammad, "A mercy to all the nations" . . . 9 × 6. *London*, 1937 *From Messrs. Luzac.*

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

S

T

U

V

W

Y

Z

THE JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

THE

JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

FOR

1937



PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
74 GROSVENOR STREET, LONDON, W. 1.

M DCCCC XXXVII

STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS, LIMITED

PRINTERS, HERTFORD

CONTENTS FOR 1937

ARTICLES

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Near East

Middle East

Cuneiform

Islam

OBITUARY NOTICES

PAGE

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

1937

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF AUTHORS

PAGE